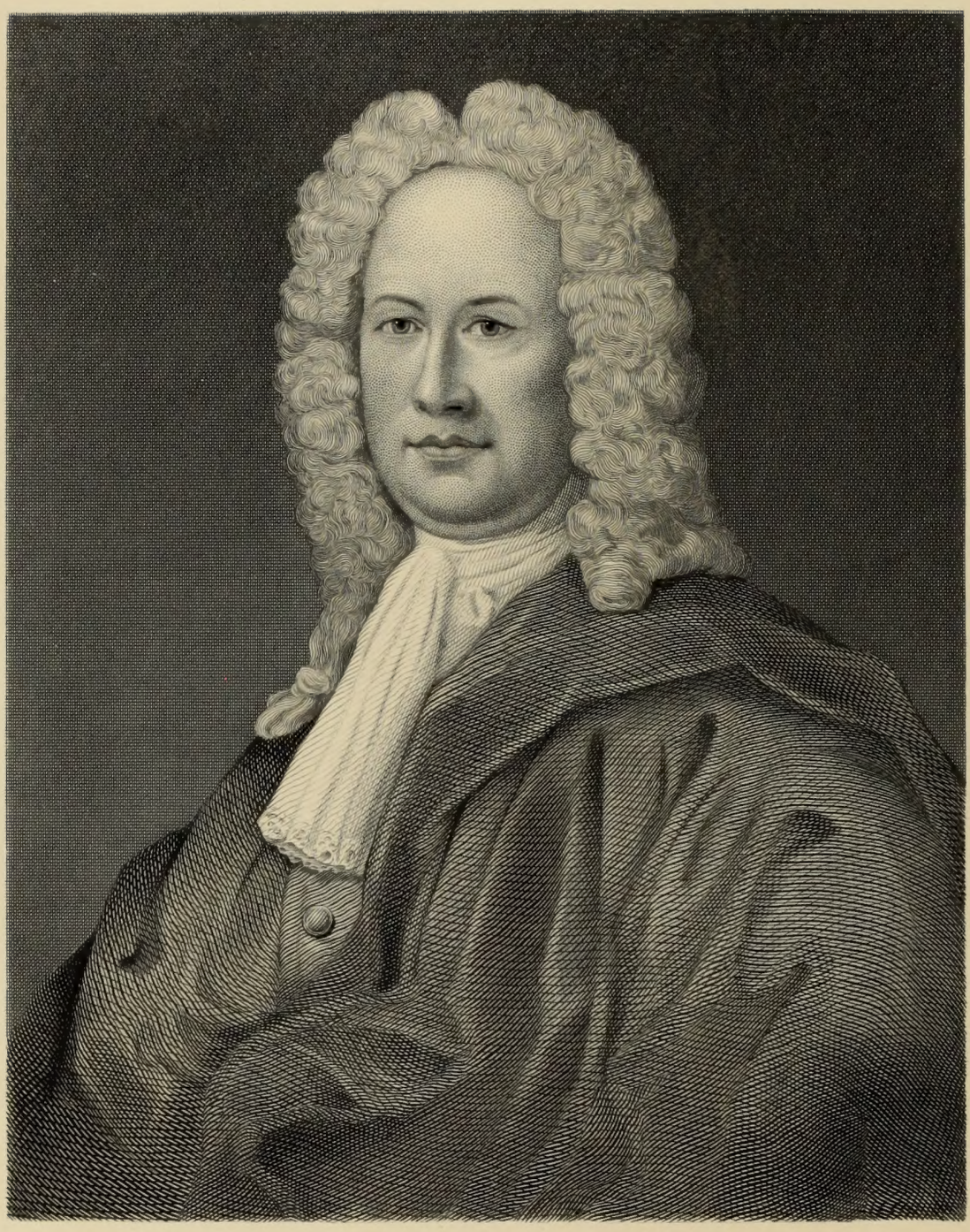
The History of Freemasonry

JOSEPH CRESWELL.
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FIRST GRAND MASTER OF THE FREEMASONS OF NEW JERSEY

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THE HISTORY

OF

FREEMASONRY

ITS

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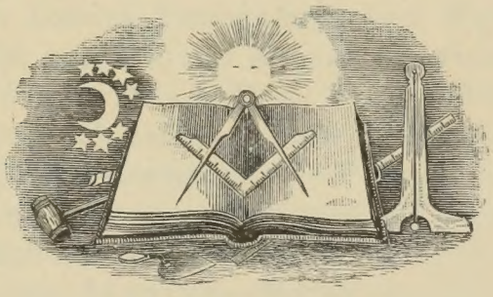
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BY

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AND OTHERS.

VOLUME IV.



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PUBLISHERS' NOTICE.

To The Fraternity:

It is with a feeling of pleasure we are at last herewith enabled to issue the fourth volume of this great Masonic Work. The long delay has been unavoidable, and we trust you will accept our apology in a brotherly spirit after reading the following from Brother Josiah H. Drummond upon the subject:

"I regret very greatly that my failure to furnish copy for the American edition of 'Gould's History of Freemasonry' has caused such a long delay in the issue of the fourth volume. The fact is, I very greatly underestimated the amount of work necessary to be done to prepare the History of the Blue Lodge and Chapter which I undertook. I found it absolutely necessary to go to the original records for my facts, as I found that in the general statements relating to the History of Freemasonry in this country, there were very many serious errors, and no work of this kind ought to be put out without the greatest care being taken to make it accurate. I have been consoled in my regret at causing this delay, by your determination to make it complete, although to do this you have to give at least four times as much matter in my part of the History than we had originally proposed, or you had promised to your subscribers. You have added all this additional matter without any extra expense or cost to the subscribers, although the extra expense to you will be very heavy, reaching into several thousands of dollars more than you ever expected.

Of course it may not be modest for me to express a judgment upon the value of my own work, but, under the circumstances, I shall be free to say to anybody, that the Appendix of American matter, including Parvin's, Carsons and my own, is invaluable to the Fraternity in this country, and alone is worth more than the price you charge for the whole of the four volumes."

While the delay has been annoying, it will have its recompense, in view of the fact that the work is very much improved by the additional matter, and it is now, comparatively speaking, complete and perfect, for not only did Brother Drummond extend his part of the work, but Brothers Parvin, and Carson did likewise in their "Histories of Knight Templarism," and the "Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite," thereby enabling us to present the most complete and reliable history of the Fraternity extant. This volume contains nearly double the number of pages originally intended, besides additional illustrations, etc., and no extra charge is made for it.

The biographical sketches of the brethren whose portraits have already appeared in these volumes will be found in the forthcoming Biographical and Portrait Gallery volume, which we are pleased to say is well under way and progressing satisfactorily, and will be issued as quickly as it is possible, consistent with the magnitude of the undertaking, and in announcing this volume to the Fraternity we feel assured we are fulfilling a long felt want, for nothing of the kind has ever before been attempted in this country, upon the scale which it is intended to produce the work and make it worthy of being laid upon the Altar of the Craft,

Fraternally,

JOHN C. YORSTON & CO.

THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF FREEMASONRY.

CHAPTER XXVI.

FREEMASONRY IN NORTHERN EUROPE.

SWEDEN, NORWAY, DENMARK, HOLLAND, LUXEMBURG, BELGIUM, RUSSIA, POLAND.

Sweden and Norway.

THE history of Freemasonry in Sweden possesses an interest peculiar to itself. The Swedes appear to have fallen away from the simple teachings of the Craft as easily and early as the other nationalities of Europe, but with this difference, that instead of flitting from one Rite to another, constantly seeking variety, they have remained steadfast to their first heresy, and still work the same ceremonies that originally riveted their attention about 1760. These ceremonies are in great part their own invention, although based—not improbably—upon the degrees of the Clermont Chapter; and as they have only been adopted by one Grand Body in Prussia, and by Denmark, Sweden has ever since been practically outside the circle of Freemasonry—a distant connection only of the great Masonic family. This want of *intimate* Masonic intercourse, combined with a marked absence of indigenous Masonic literature, is the reason that any history of Swedish Freemasonry can be no more than a sketch. The two best attempts at a history with which I am acquainted[1] are merely reproductions, as regard early facts, of Thory's "Acta Latomorum," and agree so closely with respect to later occurrences, as to warrant the conviction that they are either based on the same original, or copied one from the other. My own account will therefore present little or no novelty. Considering the peculiar position of the Craft in Scandinavia, this paucity of material is somewhat vexatious.

Among the many Swedes who were admitted to the Fraternity in England and France may be mentioned Count Axel Eric Wrede Sparre, who was initiated at Paris May 4, 1731, and on his return to Sweden, is asserted to have founded a Lodge at Stockholm. Of this Lodge nothing further is known, and it is presumed that it disappeared in consequence of a royal edict of October 21, 1738, forbidding Freemasonry in Sweden on pain of death.

The *Handbuch* informs us[2] that in 1736 Count Carl Fr. Scheffer was appointed Pro-

[1] Allgemeines Handbuch, *s. v.* Schweden ; and Findel, Gesch. der Freim., 4th edit., pp. 596-608.

[2] Citing "Northouck's Constitutions," p. 428—a reference which, after collating *all* the " Books of Constitutions " I have been unable to verify.

vincial Grand Master for Sweden, but of this worthy we know literally nothing, and can only infer that the decree of 1738 may possibly have put a stop to his activity. The edict, however, was withdrawn in the same year, and in 1740-45 we become aware of further traces of Freemasonry. In 1746 a Lodge existed at Stockholm, called "St. John Auxiliary," in which year, on the birth of Gustavus III., and again in 1753, on that of the Princess Sophia, it struck commemorative medals. From that date we may look upon the Craft as firmly established in the country, although the Lodge in question—generally considered the Mother-Lodge of Sweden—was not regularly constituted until January 2, 1752, under Count Knutson Porse. Even at this early period the Fraternity was strong enough to found an orphanage (1753), which has since grown to a most prosperous institution, the just pride of the Swedish Craft. In 1753 also, H.M. Adolf Frederik himself founded and presided over a second Lodge in Stockholm, and Lodges arose at Gothenburg (1754), Stockholm and Helsingfors (1756), and at Stockholm again in 1757. The Swedish metropolis was next invaded by a Scots Lodge—1758—and in the following year there was a further addition to its roll—the Lodge "Union"—which conducted its proceedings in the French language. So that at this important date (1759) there were at least eight Lodges at work in the country.

According to Lawrie,[1] "the first Lodge in Sweden was erected at Stockholm in 1754, under a patent from Scotland." Here, however, he apparently only follows Smith,[2] from whose pages he copied very freely. Smith, it may be observed, goes a step further, and states that the Lodge of 1754 was, in 1783, the Grand Lodge of Sweden. But as in the same work he observes, with regard to some Lodges at Prague, in Bohemia, that "they are all under the Constitution of Scotland, or at least, they call themselves *Scotch* Masons,"[3] the light thus shed upon his method of research will justify our believing, that in the *Scots* Lodge of 1758 we have the *fons et origo* of the alleged *Scottish* Lodge of 1754. To this it may be added, that the first *foreign* Lodge *on the roll* of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, was the "St. Andrew's," chartered at Boston (U.S.A.) in 1756.[4]

In 1759 a Grand Lodge of Sweden was formed, of which Count Eckleff—who had travelled far and wide—appears to have been the chief instigator and first G.M. It was formally inaugurated on December 25. As regards the presidency of Count Eckleff, the facts are somewhat in dispute, it being variously maintained that he only gave way in 1773 to the Duke of Sudermania; that he merely exercised the office for a few years; and even that he was never G.M. of the Craft at all, but simply "Head Master" of the Scots Lodge. I much regret my inability to reconcile, or decide between, these discrepant statements, which, as we shall presently see,[5] are of great importance in relation to Zinnendorff's proceedings in Germany. It is further asserted, and with much probability, that Eckleff was a member of the Chapter of Clermont; that he modified the degrees of that body; and that he gradually introduced them into Sweden—thus forming the Swedish Rite. At that date, however, there is no indication of high degrees beyond one Scots Lodge, and the High Chapter was not erected until subsequently. Meanwhile we find traces of a very few Lodges in Norway, erected by the English Prov. Grand Lodge of Denmark. At the formal union of the two kingdoms, such of these as survived, came under the rule of the Swedish Grand Lodge.

[1] 1804, p. 134.

[2] The Use and Abuse of Freemasonry, 1783, p. 199. *Cf. ante*, Chap. XX., pp. 230, 231.

[3] P. 27. [4] *Ante*, Chap. XX., p. 222. [5] Chap. XXVII.

In 1760, the first signs of the Clermont degrees making a distinct advance are to be observed.

t does not appear, however, that the new Rite made any immediate progress, as in 1763 official documents still only speak of Freemasons, and make no mention of Knights.

In 1762—December 7—King Adolf Fredrik wrote to Baron Saltza, the G.M., announcing that he assumed the title of Protector, and that he was ready to bear a part in the expense of organizing the Order. The King was W.M. of the second Stockholm Lodge.

It is curious to record, that in spite of the existence of this Grand Lodge, the G.L. of England, under Lord Blaney—April 10, 1765—issued a warrant to Charles Fullman[1] as Prov. G.M. of Sweden—but at all times English Masons have troubled themselves very little with what was going on abroad. It is of course possible, that the patent was granted at the request of brethren who were dissatisfied with the new Rite. Our records, however, are silent on this point. The result of the appointment was not very great. In the Lodge List of 1770[2] there appear under the Nos. 385-387, Lodges 1, 2, and 3 in Sweden, constituted in 1769. These were carried forward—still without names—as Nos. 250, 251, 252 (in 1792), until the Union of 1813, and then disappear. On comparing the Swedish lists, I am unable to find any Lodges constituted between 1762 and 1774, so that in these three English Lodges we are presented with a pretty little nut for future historians to crack.[3] About this time also (1765), Schubart came to Sweden to introduce the system of the Strict Observance, in which he was unsuccessful. The Swedish Rite rather aimed at a spiritual revival of the Order of the Temple, and the German at its material restoration.

It has been asserted that the influence of Swedenborg's writings was very powerful in moulding the doctrines of the Swedish Rite, which was remodelled and rearranged in 1766 in the following manner:—

It consisted of 9 degrees: 1°, 2°, and 3°, the true Craft grades; 4°, Scots Apprentices and Fellows; 5°, Scots Masters; 6°, Knights of the East and Jerusalem; 7°, Knights of the West, Templars; 8°, Knights of the South, Master of the Temple; 9°, Vicarius Salomonis. It is, however, doubtful whether the 9th degree existed before 1780. In the 8° the Templar legend is communicated: "Shortly before his death Molay discovered to his nephew Beaujeu all the rituals, treasures, etc., of the Order of the Temple. With the assistance of nine Templars Beaujeu disinterred the corpse of the G.M., and being disguised as Masons they removed the remains in their aprons. Subsequently they adopted the apron as a distinguishing badge of their new organization, and sought refuge amongst the fraternity of stone-masons."

It is of course quite possible to consider this crystallization of the Clermont ideas as the result of Schubart's mission, although it scarcely took the form intended by him.

Under these circumstances, *i.e.*, possessing a special rite of its own, only lately established, it is somewhat surprising that, in 1770, the Grand Lodge of Sweden applied to that of England for formal recognition, acknowledging the illegality of its French charters, and that it was recognized as a Grand Lodge with power to constitute Lodges in Sweden only. Possibly, this step was the result of Fullman's exertions as English Provincial Grand Master, and the three Swedish Lodges which obtained English numbers in 1770, may have been three of the already existing Lodges at Stockholm? It is certain,

[1] Secretary to the British Ambassador at Stockholm (Constitutions 1767).

Cf. Four Old Lodges, p. 65.

[3] In 1773, another English Lodge was warranted at Stockholm by the "Atholl" Grand Lodge (London). *Cf. ante*, Chap. XX., p. 222, note 6.

however, that the incident produced no retarding effect upon the propagation of the Swedish Rite.

In 1771 Adolf Fredrik died, and was succeeded by Gustavus III., whose brother Karl, Duke of Sudermania, became Grand Master in 1773. In 1775 the King entered Grand Lodge as a member. His exact position is not easily defined, inasmuch as he was superior in dignity to the G.M., although the term Vicarius Salomonis was not yet in use. It is probable that under the name of Protector he exercised the highest control; and that this title, towards 1780, was merged in that of Vicar. Gustavus III. is charged with having made use of Freemasonry for political purposes, employing it—as a counterpoise to the influence and power of the nobility—to bring into prominence and power, talented men of humbler birth who were devoted to their Grand Master. However this may be, it is not to be disputed that in no other country has the Craft been so intimately controlled and directed by the Royal Family, and that it soon acquired the aspect of a State institution, a character which it now possesses in the highest degree. The events of 1776-81, during which, for a time, the Duke of Sudermania occupied the post left vacant in Germany by the death of Von Hund, have already been narrated.[1] The fears of the Landgrave Karl, that political motives lay at the bottom of the movement, were probably not unfounded.

In 1777 the Grand Chapter was formed, and Gustavus became Vicarius Salomonis, thus putting the cap-stone on the edifice of the Swedish Rite. In the same year Zinnendorff's acts in Germany were repudiated, of which more hereafter.[2]

On March 22, 1778, the first Provincial Grand Lodge was erected—for the provinces of Schonen, Halland, and Blekinge; and on July 16, 1779, a second for Gothenburg. The third body of the kind under the Grand Lodge of Sweden was instituted at Linköping in 1813.

The Lodge of St. Magnus, No. 199, Gothenburg, was chartered by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, November 6, 1780.

In 1780 the Rite was rearranged, and divided into three classes. I.—St. John's Lodges, comprising the Craft. II.—St. Andrew's Lodges, the Scots degrees; 4°, Elects or Scots Apprentices and Fellows; 5°, Scots Master or Grand Scots Elect; 6°, Stuart brothers or Knights of the East and Princes of Jerusalem. III.—Chapter, 7°, Confidants of Solomon, formerly Knights of the West; 8°, Confidants of St. John; 9°, Confidants of St. Andrew. Beyond this is a sort of 10°, composed of three steps of honor, Knights, followed by Commanders, of the Red Cross, and Vicar of Solomon. The ruling body of the Order is this 10th degree, and its officers are called the Grand Wardens of the Crown, Lamp, Sword, Square, Temple, the Standard, the Grand Chancellor, Treasurer, and Architects, and at the head of all is the Vicar of Solomon. Owing to the Christian color of Freemasonry in Sweden, Solomon throughout is but a type of Christ, and his Vicar consequently becomes Christ's Vicar, a species of Protestant Pope. That the office is now always held by the King of the country is therefore only natural. The Rite having been remodelled, the King and upwards of 400 brethren met on the Stockholm Exchange, and with great pomp and solemnity invested the Duke of Sudermania with the attributes of Vicar and Grand Master conjoined, and the King himself, after promising the Craft his protection, clothed the G.M. with a splendid ermine mantle as his robe of office.

In 1781 Karl resigned the Provincial Grand Mastership of Germany, and in 1792 Gustavus III. was assassinated, his son, a minor, Gustavus IV., next ascending the throne.

[1] *Ante*, Ch. XXIV., pp. 364-366. Chap. XXVII. (Grand National Lodge of Germany).

Being only twelve years old, his uncle Karl, the Vicar and Grand Master, was regent of the kingdom until 1796. Gustavus was initiated by him in 1793, but even after commencing to reign independently he made no effort to assume the direction of Masonic affairs. Indeed he never took any prominent part in Freemasonry, possibly owing to his aversion to his uncle, beyond in 1796 decreeing that in future all Swedish Princes were by birthright Freemasons.

On January 24, 1798, the Duke of Sudermania wrote a long letter to the Grand Lodge of England praying for a regular intercourse and mutual representation. This was presented in Quarterly Communication by the Baron Silverhjelm, April 10, 1799—and replied to by the G.M. of England, George, Prince of Wales, on May 8, 1799.[1] In spite of the great difference in ritual, the two Grand Lodges have ever since been in fraternal communion.

On March 26, 1803, the King issued a strict prohibition against the existence of all secret societies, from which, however, Masons were specially excepted. On March 13, 1809, he was dethroned, retired in exile to St. Gall, and died in 1837. He was succeeded by his uncle, Charles XIII. (Duke of Sudermania), Grand Master and Vicarius Salomonis. Charles completed the Masonic political edifice by instituting—May 27, 1811—the Civil Order of Charles XIII., to be conferred on thirty members only, besides princes, of the 10th degree of the Swedish Rite, whereof 27 must be laymen and 3 in holy orders. The King himself to be always the Master of the Order. The insignia are a red enamelled cross, bound in gold, surmounted by a royal crown, worn on a red ribbon as a collar round the neck, and a smaller but similar cross, minus the crown, on the left breast. He then resigned the Grand Mastership in favor of his adopted son and heir, Bernadotte (Karl XIV.), retaining, however, the office of Vicarius. About this time, many complaints were made against Swedish Masons, for refusing to recognize brethren of German jurisdictions, except those of Zinnendorff's Grand Lodge. The Grand Lodge, Royal York of Berlin, formally but unavailingly, protested in 1814; and it was not until 1863, that this intolerance was put an end to, by the action of the Grand Lodge of the Three Globes. In 1818 Karl died, and was succeeded by Karl XIV. (Jean Bernadotte), who assumed the title of Vicar, and appointed his son Oscar to the Grand Mastership, which he had himself previously held from 1811. In the same year the Grand National Lodge of Berlin (Zinnendorff's) was supplied with the complete ritual, which it had never hitherto possessed, and mutual representatives were appointed. From that time their work and organization became identical.

Little remains to be narrated. In 1844 Karl XIV. was succeeded by his son, Oscar I., who, already G.M., assumed the office of Vicar, and combined both dignities until his death in 1859. His son, Karl XV., then became Vicar, and appointed his brother, Oscar Fredrik, the heir-apparent, Grand Master. In 1868 our present English Grand Master, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, was initiated by the latter, who, mounting the throne as Oscar II., in 1872 became Vicar of Solomon. His admission into the Fraternity took place in 1848. The Grand Masters under the present king have been Count Sten Lewenhaupt, who was succeeded by Magnus Huss, and the latter by the Crown Prince Oscar Gustaf Adolf—initiated January 13, 1877—the present G.M. of the Swedish Craft.[2] Its Lodge roll at the present date comprises 5 Provincial Grand Lodges, 11 St. Andrew, and 25 other Lodges.[3]

[1] Chap. XX., p. 240.

[2] For the names of all Swedish Mason Princes, See G. W. Speth, Royal Freemasons, 1885.

[3] Cosmopolitan Calendar, 1885.

Denmark.

There are before me four accounts of the progress of the Craft in Denmark, which all agree most remarkably;[1] but in truth there is very little to narrate.

The first Lodge in Copenhagen was erected by Baron von Münnich, November 11, 1743, which, January 13, 1745, took the name of St. Martin. Münnich was a member of the "Three Globes" at Berlin, but does not seem to have possessed any authority for his acts.[2] The Lodge applied for, and was granted a warrant by the Grand Lodge of England, October 9, 1749, as No. 204, and first appears in the Engraved List for 1750.[3] In 1756 it is shown as St. Martin's Lodge, No. 139, but was not brought forward at the next change of numbers in 1770.

Hardly was it established when three members resigned and erected a second Lodge, Zerubbabel, on May 26, 1744. They forthwith applied to England for a warrant, but, impatient of delay, betook themselves to Lüttmann in Hamburg, the English Prov. G.M. for Lower Saxony. As he also was too dilatory for them, they once more applied to England. Soon afterwards Lüttmann forwarded a dispensation, and on October 25, 1745, Lord Cranstoun signed their warrant. This was the "New Lodge, Copenhagen," No. 197, in the Engraved List for 1750, No. 130 in 1756, and which also drops out in 1770.

On October 2, 1747, a Danish brother, Von Dall, received a patent from the Scots Lodge, founded on the "Three Globes," to open a Scots Lodge in Copenhagen. This is probably the Lodge "Le petit nombre," which in 1753 applied to the Grand Lodge of Scotland for a charter as a Grand Lodge, with the privilege of electing their own G.M. A *Provincial* commission was granted, the holder of which, and all Lodges erected by him, were required to acknowledge the G.L. of Scotland as their paramount superior.[4] The Lodge then acted as a G.L. for some time, but died out. In 1749 Lord Byron granted a patent to Count Danneskiold Laurvig[5] as Provincial Grand Master of Denmark and Norway, and a P.G.L. was erected, the deputy G.M. being the Russian Ambassador, Baron Korff. One or two other Lodges were probably instituted throughout the country, and we hear of a new one in Copenhagen in 1753, "the Three Ardent Hearts," constituted by the Three Globes of Berlin. That the degrees of the Clermont Chapter made some little way in the following years, is to be gathered from the fact that at Johnston's first Strict Observance Convent at Altenberg in 1764, Von Prangen appeared as a deputy from a Kiel Lodge. In 1765 the Strict Observance missionary, Schubart, appeared in Copenhagen, and managed to obtain Danish signatures to the act of Unquestioning Obedience, and the Provincial Lodge of Denmark at Copenhagen then took the rank and title of Prefectory Binin, under the immediate jurisdiction of Duke Ferdinand, and the special protection of the Landgrave Karl of Hesse. From that date the History of Freemasonry in Denmark is practically that of the Strict Observance; but some few details may be cited. In

[1] Handbuch, *s. v.* Danemark; Findel, pp. 592-596; Latomia, vol. xxiii., Leipsic, 1864; and Heldmann, Die 3 Aeltesten Gesch. Denkmale, etc., 1819.

[2] Unless, indeed, the following passage from the Laws and Constitutions of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, 1836, introduction, pp. iv., v., refers to this Lodge. "The Lodge was raised to the dignity of G. Lodge of Denmark, having been erected in 1743 under the auspices of the G. L. of Scotland." But if Münnich's Lodge was warranted by Scotland, why did it apply to England in 1749? The supposition—an echo of Lawrie, who probably derived it from Smith (The Use and Abuse of Freemasonry, p. 199)—would also conflict with the former's statement respecting "le petit nombre." See the next paragraph but one above, and *ante*, p. 2.

[3] *Cf.* Four Old Lodges, Ch. XXIII., p. 310. [4] Lawrie, 1804, p. 184. [5] Constitutions, 1756, p. 333.

1767 the first two Lodges, St. Martin and Zerubbabel, united to form one—"Zerubbabel of the North Star"—working alternately in Danish and German; but on November 18, 1778, a purely Danish Lodge was opened, "Frederick of the Crowned Hope," and Zerubbabel confined itself to the German language. In 1785 the modified S.O., or the Rite of the Beneficent Knights of the Holy City, was introduced in accordance with the resolutions of the Wilhelmsbad Convent; the first three degrees becoming once more almost purely English. The highest degrees, those of the Scots Directory, were not, however, established until 1819, and created so much opposition that the Altona Lodge erected a private Directory of its own. The Lodges at this time appear to have been practically independent of any real governing body.

In 1792 Duke Ferdinand died, and the Landgrave Karl became the sole head of the Danish Lodges. This event was succeeded on November 2, 1792, by a Cabinet decree of King Christian VII., officially recognizing Freemasonry in his dominions on the sole condition that every Lodge should acknowledge Prince Karl as the Grand Master of the Craft.

Curiously enough, in the following year—February 6, 1793—a patent was signed by the Prince of Wales, appointing the same personage "*Provincial* G.M. of Denmark and Norway; his Danish Majesty's German Dominions; and also of such Lodges as had been under the immediate direction of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick."[1]

On Karl's death in 1836 the Crown Prince, subsequently Christian VIII., assumed the Protectorate, and under his rule the Craft prospered exceedingly. In 1841 the Crown Prince, afterwards Frederick VII., was initiated in the Odensee Lodge, Mary of the Three Hearts, and on his father's death in 1848, became Grand Master of the Danish Craft.

In 1853 the brethren at Helsingör and Altona introduced the Swedish Rite into their Lodges, and in 1855—January 6—a decree of the Royal G.M. made this Rite incumbent on all Danish Lodges. In the same year the two Copenhagen Lodges were fused into one, called "Zerubbabel and Frederick of the Crowned Hope." In 1857 the second grade, or the St. Andrew Lodge, was instituted, first at Helsingör, and then at Copenhagen; and in 1859 the organization was crowned by the constitution of the High Chapter at the castle of Frederiksborg, conferring only the seventh and two following degrees. This completed the formation of the Grand Lodge of the VIIIth Province of the Temple, *i.e.*, Denmark.

In 1866, by the surrender of the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia, Denmark lost the Lodge at Altona; in like manner it had in 1814 lost the Norwegian Lodges; but it has since warranted three new Lodges, 1 at Aarhuus and 2 in Copenhagen.

At the head of the Craft is H.M. King Christian IX. as Protector; the Crown Prince Christian Frederick Wilhelm Karl is G.M., Vicarius Salomonis, and a Commander of the Swedish Order of Charles XIII. The Deputy Grand Master is J. P. Trap.[2] The roll of Lodges in 1879 comprised 2 St. Andrew, and 7 other Lodges; and the Fraternity was estimated at 2800 members, thus giving an average of 300 per Lodge, a very large number, indeed, according to our English ideas. Abroad the Grand Lodge of Denmark has no daughters; the Lodges in the Danish colonies of St. Thomas and St. Croix being under the English, French, and Scottish jurisdictions.

Holland.

The first appearance of the Craft in Holland was of a momentous nature, being no less

[1] Grand Lodge Records. *Cf. ante*, Chap. XXIV. p. 359. [2] Freemasons' Calendar, 1885.

than the admission into the Fraternity of Francis, Duke of Lorraine, subsequently Grand Duke of Tuscany, co-Emperor of Austria and Emperor of Germany. Lord Lovell, G.M. of England, deputed, in 1731, Dr. Desaguliers as Master, John Stanhope and John Holtzendorff, Esqs., as Wardens; the Earl of Chesterfield, Ambassador at the Hague; and three other brethren to hold a special Lodge at the Hague, in order to confer the first two degrees on the Royal candidate.[1] It is noteworthy that among these there is only one Dutch Mason, which will tend to disprove certain random statements, that several French and English Lodges already existed at that date in Holland.[2]

The first authentic record of a Dutch Lodge is the meeting on September 30, 1734, of the "*Loge du Grand Maître des Provinces réunis et du ressort de la généralité,*" with Count Vincent de la Chapelle as Master, at the Hague. This title, Lodge of the Grand Master, is remarkable, for it is difficult to understand whence any G.M. of that date derived his authority. The mystery is increased by the next notice, a paragraph in the Amsterdam *Saturdagsche Courant* of November 3, 1735, announcing that a second Lodge had been held at the Hague on October 24, 1735, in the Hotel *Nieuwen Doelen,* in the presence of the Grand Master Rademacher, and of the Dep. G.M. Kuenen. It was apparently called "Le Véritable Zèle." I can only suppose that these titles of G.M. and Deputy were self-assumed. Rademacher—Treasurer to the Prince of Orange—was cited before the courts on December 9-12 following, and constrained to promise never more to frequent Masonic assemblies. Kuenen translated Anderson's Constitutions into French[3] and German.[4] The *Handbuch* asserts that these two were Provincial and Deputy Provincial Grand Masters of the English Lodges in Holland. If so, both the Constitutions and Preston fail to notice the appointments, and it would be difficult to name many English Lodges as existing in Holland at that time, as the only one on our roll, previous to 1749, appears in the list of 1736, as constituted in 1735 under the No. 131. This may be the latter of the two cited above, and perhaps its warrant was granted to Rademacher. The two Lodges, however, soon closed, and did not reopen till 1744. On October 16, 1735, a Lodge, composed chiefly of Englishmen, held at Amsterdam, was pillaged by a mob, which occasioned a riot. This Lodge is also absent from the English Lodge lists, but the occurrence, together with the newspaper paragraph above referred to, caused the Government to issue a commission to inquire into the whole matter of Freemasonry. Their study of the Book of Constitutions appears to have been most minute, but their report, published November 30, 1735, was unfavorable, and a magisterial order was promulgated December 2, 1735, forbidding assemblies of the Craft. In spite of this order a Lodge meeting was held at Rotterdam on the 10th, and the members were promptly brought to book. Lawrie gives us a very touching account of the noble refusal of the brethren to unveil their secrets, and of their counter-proposal to initiate one of the magistrates, which being effected, the whole bench joined the Fraternity and became zealous members.[5] The

[1] Constitutions, *sub anno*; *ante*, Chap. XVII., pp. 105, 140. Preston most unaccountably only mentions the last and least important four of these seven masons.

[2] The following sketch of Freemasonry in Holland is principally taken from the "Allgemeines Handbuch," being by far the fullest and most accurate known to me. Findel's account is more condensed, but very often supplies the exact day, where the "Handbuch" only gives the year. Rebold's is both superficial and inaccurate. A valuable contribution will be found in "Latomia," vol. xxiii., p. 144 *et seq.*

[3] Published at the Hague, 1736 and 1741.

[4] Published at Frankfort and Leipsic, 1741, 1743, 1744.

[5] *Cf.* Edit. 1804, p. 119; Smith, Use and Abuse, etc., p. 194.

facts apparently are, that out of respect for one of the chief members, himself a magistrate, and from the well-known integrity of the other members, together with the weighty consideration that the Emperor was himself a Freemason, the matter was quietly hushed up. However this may be, the prohibition of the Craft was soon withdrawn, for in 1740 the magistrates took its part against the intolerance of the clergy.

In 1744 the Hague Lodges reopened, and in 1749 the *Loge du Grand Maître* changed its title to the Union Mother-Lodge. In the same year (1749) we find from the Engraved List for 1750—those for 1746-49 are unfortunately missing—that a Lodge was warranted at Rotterdam, the Lodge of Orange, No. 202. The next Lodges of English origin were constituted at the Hague (probably the Royal), No. 223, in 1752; at Amsterdam, No. 234, November 30, 1753;[1] and at the same place the Lodge of Charity, No. 265, June 24, 1755; and the Lodge of Peace, No. 215, September 23, 1756. In Amsterdam there also existed a fourth Lodge, founded by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, "Concordia Vincit Animos," July 13, 1755, the only Lodge of Scottish origin ever warranted in Holland. This accounts for at most 8 Lodges—3 at the Hague, 1 at Rotterdam, and 4 in Amsterdam.

On November 8, 1756, the Deputy Grand Master, Dagran, of the Union Mother-Lodge at the Hague, issued invitations to thirteen other Lodges to constitute a Grand Lodge of Holland. We are therefore forced to conclude that the Union had warranted at least five Lodges, and that its designation of Mother was no empty title.

The 14 Lodges met December 25, 1756, and on the 27th constituted the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands, electing Baron Aerssen-Beyeren as Grand Master, and Baron von Boetzelaar as D.G.M.

In 1757 the former Mother-Lodge and the Royal Lodge at the Hague amalgamated under the title "Royal Union," which is still the foremost Lodge in Holland.

The same year witnessed an unsuccessful attempt to erect a Scots Lodge at the Hague, and the constitution by England of the Lodge of Regularity, No. 228, at Amsterdam on November 21.

In 1758—August 6—Count von Bentinck was elected the second G.M., and under his rule the English Constitutions were reprinted. He was succeeded—June 24, 1759—by the third Grand Master, Baron von Boetzelaar,[2] who held the office for 39 years. Up to this date the regulations of the Grand Lodge were probably our own book of Constitutions; but on July 27, 1760, new Statutes were approved, and published in 1762.

Resuming our examination of the English Lists, we find that in 1762 the following Lodges were warranted:—Royal Frederick, No. 271, Rotterdam, January 25; United Brothers, No. 284, Amsterdam, June 16; Virtutis et Artis Amici, Amsterdam, No. 288, September 16. Also in 1765, Perseverance, No. 359, Amsterdam; 1767, British Union, No. 400, Rotterdam, August 1; Three Pillars, No. 402, Rotterdam, August 21; 1768, Victory, No. 419, Rotterdam, March 17; and in 1769, the "Sun Lodge," No. 436, Flushing, February 3. From the date last given no English Lodge has been constituted in Holland.[3] A lengthy inquiry on the spot would probably be necessary to determine whether these Lodges were constituted in the first instance by the Grand Lodge of Holland, and merely

[1] This is probably "*La bien aimée*," which, however, claims to date from 1735; and is possibly the Lodge connected with Lawrie's romance.

[2] *Cf.* Chap. XI., p. 116.

[3] The Atholl Grand Lodge also constituted a Lodge in Amsterdam in 1762 (*Ante*, Chap. XIX., p. 195.

joined, i.e., were absorbed and legitimated by that of England; or whether they were totally independent of Baron Boetzelaar. Being in seaports only, I incline towards the latter alternative, and am strengthened in this conclusion by a letter from which I shall next quote.

On April 25, 1770, "the Provincial Master for foreign Lodges acquainted the Grand Lodge of England, that he had lately received a letter from Charles Baron de Boetzelaar, Grand Master of the National Grand Lodge of the United Provinces of Holland, requesting to be acknowledged as such by the Grand Lodge of England, whose superiority he acknowledged; and promising, that on condition the Grand Lodge of England did not in future constitute any new Lodge within his jurisdiction, the Grand Lodge of Holland should observe the same restriction with respect to all parts of the world where Lodges were established under the patronage of England:"[1] and concluding by requesting a firm alliance and annual correspondence. The request was acceded to. This certainly looks as if the numerous Lodges so lately warranted by England had somewhat alarmed our Dutch brethren, and will account for the sudden cessation of England's activity in the Low Countries. Many of those English Lodges were not renumbered in the 1770 list, and we may presume that they immediately joined the Grand Lodge at the Hague; but on the other hand five Lodges in Holland were retained on our roll until 1813, from which we may conclude that they preferred working under their English charters, and that at this early date England initiated the policy in these matters—ever since maintained by her—which is now the cause of querulous complaint on the part of the Grand Lodge of Quebec. The Lodges referred to were the Royal Frederick, British Union, Three Pillars, Victory, and Sun, all meeting at Rotterdam.[2]

German authorities maintain, that the compact with England was ratified May 16, 1770, by the English Prov. G.M. I cannot help believing that this is incorrect, as we do not know of any such individual, unless, indeed, Rademacher had really been appointed to the office in 1735, and was still living. I prefer to think that the ratification emanated from the Provincial Grand Master for foreign Lodges, a functionary under the Grand Lodge of England, first appointed about this time.[3]

In 1778, Prince George Karl of Hesse-Darmstadt pointed out to Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick the advisability of gaining over Holland to the Strict Observance. That country was still remarkably free from all perversions of Freemasonry, although, of course, individual members had been admitted to the various Rites during their foreign travels. Many were also members of the Knightly degrees of the Strict Observance. The result of negotiations which were now entered into was that in 1779 a pact of unity was concluded between the Directory in Brunswick and one formed at the Hague, and that on March 18, 1780, a National Chapter of Holland was constituted, with Prince Frederick of Hesse-Cassel and G.M. von Boetzelaar as Protector and Superior respectively.

The Dutch Craft was not, however, overridden as in other countries; the Grand Lodge at the Hague still retained its full power; the Chapter was merely an accessory. What the consequences might have been it is difficult to say; but the S.O. was already on the wane. It will be remembered that on September 19, 1780,[4] Ferdinand had issued a circu-

[1] Constitutions, 1784, p. 297.

[2] The "Freemasons' Calendar" for the next few years gives statistics, occasionally, of Dutch Freemasonry. Thus in 1776 it enumerates Lodges in 23 towns, in 1777 it gives 30 Lodges, and in 1778, 40 Lodges. [3] Chap. XX., p. 226. [4] Chap. XXIV., p. 366.

lar seriously questioning the very grounds of the whole movement. As a result, although Schwarz represented this Chapter at the Wilhelmsbad Convent, the system never made much progress in the Netherlands, and soon died out. Pure English Freemasonry thus once more assumed an undisputed supremacy.

On November 15, 1784, Grand Master von Boetzelaar celebrated the twenty-fifth year of his Grand Mastership, and in 1798—May 28—his rearrangement of the statutes was approved and accepted. He died a few weeks afterwards, and in the same year—June 24—was succeeded by Baron Teylingen as fourth G.M., who in turn was followed by Bijleveld, the fifth holder of that office, May 29, 1805.

At last, in 1807, the high degrees obtained a firm footing in Holland, and a code of laws was issued for their governance. The rite chosen was the French or modern rite of 4 extra degrees, of the Grand Orient of France. This is not to be wondered at, when we consider that Holland had submitted to France in 1795, when the Batavian Republic was established, and that in 1806 the bonds were drawn still closer by the appointment of Louis Buonaparte to the throne of Holland. Rather should we marvel that an oasis of good sense had so long resisted the Saharan sands of the fanciful high degrees, which had so encroached on the Craft elsewhere in Europe. The French aberration—ladies' lodges—had also found an entrance in 1801, but was peremptorily prohibited on June 10, 1810.

In the year last-named—June 24—Bousquet was elected sixth Grand Master. Louis abdicated the throne, and Holland became an integral portion of the French empire. This led to complications. The Grand Orient of France always maintained that only one supreme Masonic body could exist in each state, and some lodges established by it in Amsterdam conceived themselves justified in refusing to acknowledge the Dutch lodges until they were rectified by the G.O. Meanwhile—June 24, 1812—W. P. Barnaart was elected seventh Grand Master, and the dispute was brought to a climax by a circular of the G.O.—February 17, 1813—ordering the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands to submit and dissolve. This being met by a flat refusal—March 21, 1813—the Grand Orient immediately retaliated by warranting a number of lodges in various cities of Holland, the membership of which consisted chiefly of French officials. The strain was, however, suddenly eased by the French reverses of 1814: Holland reacquired independence, the French lodges were weakened by the withdrawal of the French officials, and May 29, 1814, the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands called upon these lodges to come in and accept Dutch warrants. Some complied, the others died out. The same year is marked by the commencement of troubles of which the high degrees were the cause. The Chapter was independent of the Grand Lodge, though composed chiefly of the same members, and had a G.M. of its own. It occupied much the same position as our Royal Arch Grand Chapter does towards our Grand Lodge, and its meetings were always held on the days succeeding Grand Lodge communications. In 1814, Bijleveld, who had presided over the Grand Lodge, 1805-10, was Master of the Grand Chapter. On May 30, violent disputes arose over some contemplated changes in these degrees, into the details of which I shall not enter.

On March 30, 1815, the Austrian (French) Netherlands, or Belgium, became an integral portion of the kingdom of Holland; and—May 30—Reepmacher was elected eighth Grand Master. In the previous March the king had expressed a wish that the lodges in both divisions of his territory should be gathered under one Grand Lodge, and this question was discussed at the meeting of May 30, but delayed and postponed for many months.

Prince Frederik Wilhelm Karl, of the Netherlands, Duke of Ursel, second son of William I., was initiated at Berlin in 1816, by a deputation from the Grand Lodge of the Three Globes, with Gujonneau, G.M., at its head. A lodge, "*Union Frédéric,*" was then formed at the Hague, with the prince as a member, which applied to the Grand Lodge—June 2, 1816—for a warrant of constitution. This was not only granted, but the prince was unanimously elected ninth Grand Master. He accepted the office, was proclaimed on June 4, and installed October 13, 1816. There is, however, much confusion in these dates.[1] O'Etzel, the historian of the Three Globes (Berlin), says he was "made" in June, 1817, and passed and raised there in the course of the next few months, which would of course render the above occurrences impossible.[2] The main facts, I apprehend, are correct, but the dates require investigation. The "Cosmopolitan Calendar" for 1871 states he was installed October 18 (?), 1817. If this be correct (and I am inclined to think it is), then we may arrive at a conclusion which is quite possible, viz., that the prince was elected in 1816 (being at that time a non-Mason), procured initiation at Berlin in 1817, passed through all the degrees there during the same summer, and was finally installed at the Hague in the ensuing autumn, viz., October, 1817. In the same year he was elected G. M. of the Chapter; but events close at hand show how little of profit he was able to perceive in the high degrees.

Scarcely was the G.M. installed before he received the mysterious packet containing the so-called Cologne Charter. As this subject has already been fully treated,[3] any further reference to it here will be unnecessary. Attempts were also made in this year to incorporate the Belgian lodges with those of Holland, but the former were desirous of obtaining a separate Grand Lodge; and after the Prince of Orange, Frederick's elder brother, had been initiated in 1817 in the Hope Lodge, Brussels, they proposed to him to become their G. M., an offer which he declined on May 7. Two days before—May 5—the Grand Master, seeing the difficulty of a complete fusion, proposed in a circular the formation of two administrative (Grand) bodies—one for the northern, the other for the southern provinces, with a single legislative (Grand) body—composed of an equal number from each side—for both. A newly-formed Grand Lodge of Belgium met for the first time—June 24, 1817—and elected Prince Frederick as their G.M. On August 30 a commission was appointed, at the prince's request, to arrange a *modus vivendi* between the two Grand Lodges, of each of which he was G.M.

It executed its mandate after four sittings, and reported September 20. The project was approved almost unanimously in Belgium, but only passed by 77 to 20 votes in Holland. The arrangements were finally concluded on December 11. Considering the extreme importance and difficulties of the matter, this promptitude speaks well for the business-like habits of our Dutch brethren. The common supreme body was by these statutes entitled "Grand Orient," and was composed of the officers of each Grand Lodge, which were to assume the titles of Grand Administrative Lodges, and of 28 Lodge Masters, 14 from the northern, 14 from the southern, provinces. It was to be summoned when necessary by the G.M., and to meet alternately at Brussels and the Hague—but as a matter of fact, it never met at all. The Belgian Grand Administration was formally inaugura-

[1] They are given on the authority of the usually accurate *Handbuch*, which, as it repeats the leading ones in a further article devoted to the Prince, forbids the idea of their being simply a printer's error.

[2] O'Etzel, Gesch. der Grossen Nat.-Mutter-Loge, Berlin, 1875, p. 138. [3] Chap. XI. p. 116.

ted in the Lodge of Hope, Brussels, April 11, 1818, and that of Holland, at the Hague, May 10 following.

In 1819 the prince's action—however well intentioned—gave rise to an acrimonious strife in the Craft, which disturbed its peace for several years. Thoroughly imbued with the uselessness of the high degrees, he proposed—April 25—to abrogate them entirely, and to substitute two steps or courses of instruction beyond the degree of Master Mason. These were not to be degrees, they were to entail no distinction beyond a small silver medal, and were to be denominated Select Master and Super-Select Master (*uitverkoren* and *opper-uitverkoren*). The proposition was received with avidity by the Grand Lodge, but rejected indignantly by the Grand Chapter. At the meeting of the latter—May 31—Frederick provisionally resigned his office, and declared his intention of abstaining in future from any participation in the high degrees. He then asked for a commission to examine his project, and when it reported unfavorably upon his proposed "Divisions of the Master's degree," but favorably as to the high degrees, sent in his final resignation. The Chapter—May 22, 1820—placed the Mastership in commission *ad interim*, and at the next meeting the commission proposed a revision of the degrees. A committee appointed for this purpose handed in a report on July 11, 1821, counselling great modifications, in order to bring the Chapter more into conformity with the principles of the Lodge. But the passions of the "high degree" members were by this time so aroused, that the report was not acted upon until eight years afterwards. The Grand Mastership was offered by the Chapter—May 19, 1823—to the Prince of Orange, and on his refusal, Nabout van der Veen was elected, and filled the office from July 1, 1824, to 1834, during which long period a ceaseless strife and bitterness of spirit reigned in the Fraternity.

The Grand Lodge meanwhile sanctioned the proposed additional steps to the Master's degree, and added a governing body to administer them. The object of their foundation was the instruction of Master Masons in the history and *arcana* of the superior degrees of every rite, so as to place them on a footing of equality with ALL Masons, without, however, according to such degrees either approbation or support. The two *steps* were called *Divisions* (or *Sections*) of the Master's degree—although the *third* degree remained intact—and a better title would have been *additions* or *supplements*.

In 1830 Belgium obtained its independence, but the Grand Lodge of Holland did not at once resume its former position, and still continued to style itself the Grand Administration for the Northern Provinces. In 1833 signals of peace were held out by Frederick, who proposed in Grand Lodge to appoint a committee to deliberate upon the means of reuniting the brotherhood. The committee reported in 1834, and a fresh committee was appointed conjointly by Grand Lodge, the Chapter, and the divisions of the Master's degree. This mixed commission reported in 1835. The report was accepted by Grand Lodge on May 10, and by the two other bodies shortly afterwards. According to the treaty the Prince once more became G.M. of all three bodies, who were to work side by side in amity. No Rite was to be admitted into Holland except the Symbolic degrees, working under their Statutes of 1798; the Modern Rite or high degrees (Statutes of 1807), and the Divisions of the Master's degree as settled in 1819. The G.M. was to appoint a deputy in each body, but as he did not himself attend high degree meetings, he was to appoint one of two candidates proposed by the Chapter.

In 1837 a certain feeling of soreness existing between Belgium and Holland was allayed, and as a sign that Holland disclaimed any further supremacy over the Belgian

Lodges, the Grand Administration for the Northern Provinces resumed its title of Grand Lodge of the Netherlands. Since that time Freemasonry in Holland has enjoyed quiet and prosperity; no changes of organization have been introduced, and few facts of first moment remain to be recorded.

On June 6, 1841, Grand Lodge celebrated the completion of the G.M.'s 25th year of office. Prince Frederick on this occasion paid into the hands of the Grand Treasurer 9000 florins for charitable purposes.

In 1847 several Amsterdam brothers petitioned for a warrant to constitute a Lodge called "Post Nubila Lux." They declared their adhesion to ten fundamental axioms, of which only a few have come to my knowledge. In these I am unable to perceive anything dangerous or unmasonic, but the Grand Lodge thought otherwise, and refused the warrant. I am not aware of their reasons—the sixth axiom, "futility of all high degrees," could hardly have influenced them, because no Lodge is bound to work these; but the petitioners having waited patiently for three years, at last established the Lodge—May 26, 1850—"by virtue of their inherent power." It is still working, and even flourishing, but never having been recognized by the Grand Lodge, is of course outside the pale of the Craft, and irregular.

The year 1851 witnessed the birth of Alexander, Prince of the Netherlands, the second son of King William III., and grandson of that Prince of Orange to whom I have already referred, who had meanwhile reigned as William II. from 1840 to 1849. He was initiated —July 26, 1876—in the Lodge "Royal Union," at the Hague, and became Prince of Orange on the death of his elder brother in 1879.[1]

On May 19, 1856, the Grand Lodge celebrated its centenary of constitution, and in 1866 the jubilee of Frederick's Grand Mastership. On this occasion the munificent Prince presented, for the use of the brethren, the superb Masonic library of the late Dr. Kloss, which —at a cost of £3000—he had purchased entire. This was a truly royal gift! The brethren marked their sense of the event by founding an orphanage—their Blind Asylum at Amsterdam, established in 1806, would be of itself creditable to the Craft in any country—for Freemasons' children. It was opened in 1869, and the Prince presented them for the purpose with a house and appurtenances of his own at the Hague. In 1876 his 60th year of office was celebrated, and he died in 1881 at the age of 84. He was succeeded as G.M. by his grandnephew Alexander, Prince of Orange—June, 1882—who unfortunately died in June, 1884,[2] at the early age of 33. No successor has yet been appointed.

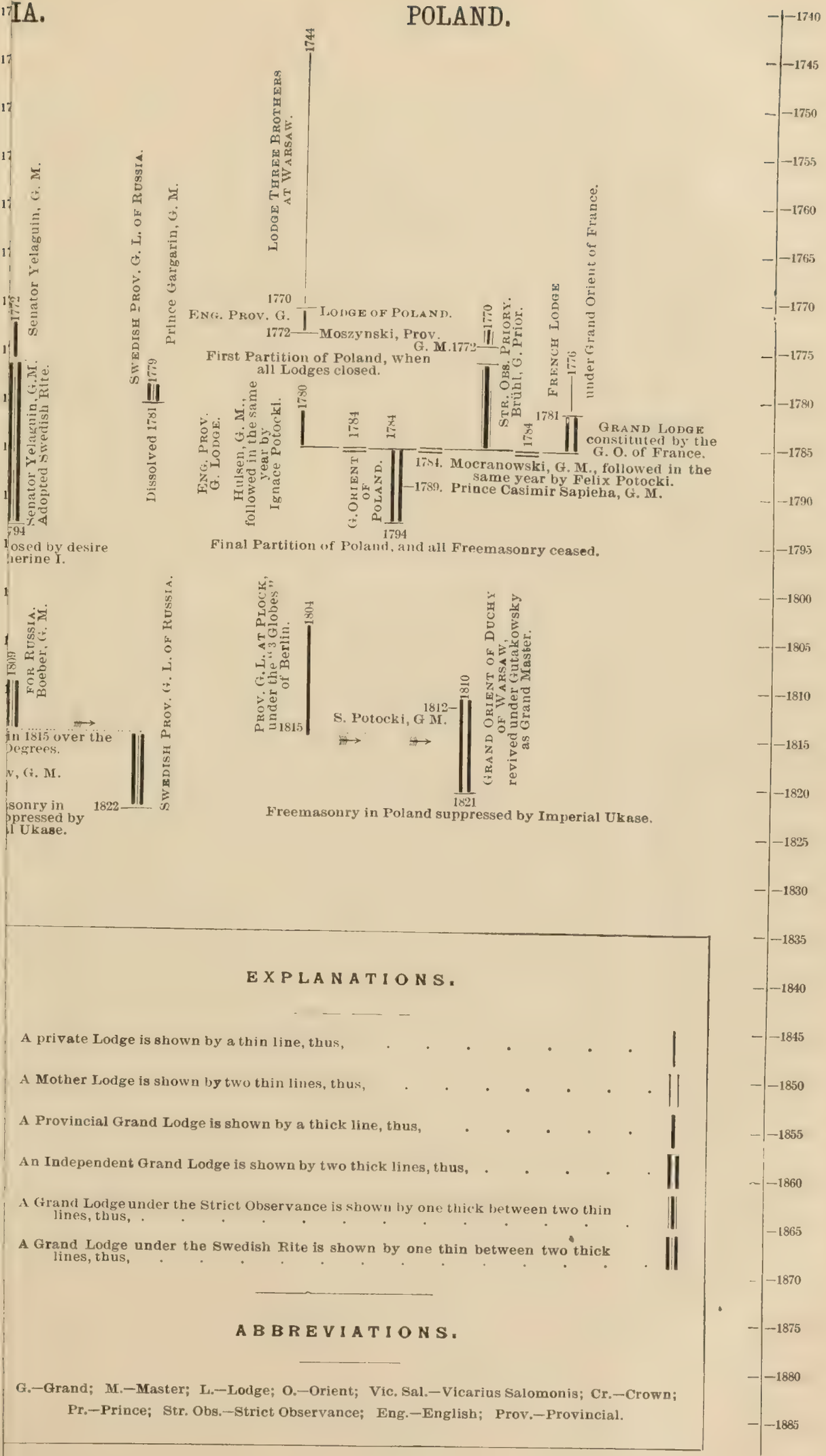
The most striking feature in the history of Dutch Freemasonry is thus its stability and simplicity. Until 1807 it was altogether free from (so-called) high degrees; in that year it accepted the simplest and least pretentious of all supplementary rites, and even this is largely replaced by the still simpler additions to the Master's degree (1819). But these innovations have never been allowed to assert or exercise any superiority over, or in the Craft; English Masonry has ever been considered the essence of the organization. We find no rival Grand Lodges springing up, no conflicts of jurisdiction, very few Lodges dying out, but a gradual and steady increase of numbers, and in 130 years only 10 Grand Masters.

The present (1885) status of the Craft is as follows:[3]—A Grand Master (office vacant), a Dep. G.M. for the Craft in general, and one each for the Chapter, the Master's degree (additions), the East Indies (Batavia), Surinam, Curaçoa, and South Africa. It comprises 80 Lodges, of which 22 are in South Africa (even in British colonies), 8 in East India, and

[1] Speth, Royal Freemasons, p. 69. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 70. [3] Cosmopolitan Calendar, 1885.

CHART No. 3.

GRAND LODGES, ACTIVE AND EXTINCT, IN NORTHERN EUROPE.



EXPLANATIONS.

A private Lodge is shown by a thin line, thus, ... |

A Mother Lodge is shown by two thin lines, thus, ... ||

A Provincial Grand Lodge is shown by a thick line, thus, ... |

An Independent Grand Lodge is shown by two thick lines, thus, ... ||

A Grand Lodge under the Strict Observance is shown by one thick between two thin lines, thus, ... |||

A Grand Lodge under the Swedish Rite is shown by one thin between two thick lines, thus, ... |||

ABBREVIATIONS.

G.—Grand; M.—Master; L.—Lodge; O.—Orient; Vic. Sal.—Vicarius Salomonis; Cr.—Crown; Pr.—Prince; Str. Obs.—Strict Observance; Eng.—English; Prov.—Provincial.

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SWEDEN.

1739. Founded by several existing Lodges
1760. Clermont degrees introduced.
1766. Swedish Rite perfected.
1773. Carl, Duke of Sudermania, G M.
1780. Rite re arranged. Carl made G. M. and Vic. Sal.
1811. Order of Ch. XIII. instituted. Bernadotte, G. M. (Carl XIV.).
1818. Carl XIV., Vic. Sal. Cr. Pr. Oscar, G.M.
1844. Oscar I., Vic Sal. and G. M.
1859. Carl XV., Vic. Sal. Prince Oscar, G.M.
1868. H.R.H. the Prince of Wales initiated.
1872. Oscar II., Vic. Sal.
1877. Crown Prince Oscar initiated, and now (1885) G. M.

Grand Lodge of Sweden at Stockholm.

DENMARK.

ENG. PROV. G. LODGE OF DENMARK. 1749
1765. Converted to Str. Observance Rite, and received the title of PREFECTORY-BINNIN.
1785. Modified Rite of the Str. Obs. adopted.
1792. Royal Decree appoints the Landgrave Carl Grand Master, with exclusive national jurisdiction.
1836. Carl died. Cr. Pr. Christian, Protector.
1841. Cr. Pr. Frederick initiated.
1848. Frederick VIII., G. M.
1855. Swedish Rite established by Royal Decree.

Grand Lodge of Denmark at Copenhagen.

HOLLAND.

MOTHER LODGE 1749 UNION.
1756. G. Lodge constituted
1758. Baron Aerssen, G. M.
1759. Count Bentinck, G. M.
Von Boetzelaar, G. M.
1798. Baron Teylingen, G. M.
1805. Bijleveld, G. M.
1810. Bousquet, G. M.
1812. Barnaart, G. M.
1815. Reepmacher, G. M.
1816. Pr. Frederick, G. M.
1817
1830. Holland and Belgium disjoined.
1837
1881. G.M. Pr. Fred'k died
1882. Alexander, Prince of Orange, G. M.
1884. Prince of Orange died

GRAND LODGE OF THE NETHERLANDS.
GRAND ADMINISTRATIVE LODGE OF HOLLAND.
Grand Orient of the Netherlands.
G. ORIENT, HOLLAND AND BELGIUM.
Supreme Council for Luxemburg.

LUXEMBURG.

1849

BELGIUM.

ENG. PROV. G. LODGE OF THE AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS. 1769
1787. Closed by Imperial Edict, and Freemasonry suppressed.
Belgian Lodges under jurisdiction of Grand Orient of France, from 1795 to 1814.
1815. Count Mussin-Puschkin-Bruce, G. M.
1817
1833.
1835. Baron von Stassart, G. M.
1842. Defacqz d'Ath, G. M.
1854. Verhaegen, G. M.
1862. Von Schoor, G.M.
1869. Humbeeck, G. M.
1872. Couvreur, G. M.
1875. Berger, G. M.
1878. Couvreur, G. M.
1884. Count Goblet d'Alviella, G. M.

G. ADMINISTRATIVE LODGE OF BELGIUM.
Grand Orient of Belgium.

RUSSIA.

NAT. G. L. OF RUSSIA. ENG. PROV. G. L. OF RUSSIA. 1772
Senator Yelaguin, G. M.
Adopted Swedish Rite.
1794
All Lodges closed by desire of Catherine I.
G. DIRECTORY FOR RUSSIA. 1809
Bœber, G. M.
Split into two in 1815 over the High Degrees.
1820. Kuschelew, G. M.
1822. Freemasonry in Russia suppressed by Imperial Ukase.

G. LODGE "ASTREA."
SWEDISH PROV. G. L. OF RUSSIA.
SWEDISH PROV. G. L. OF RUSSIA. 1779
Dissolved 1791
Prince Gargarin, G. M.

POLAND.

LODGE THREE BROTHERS AT WARSAW. 1744
1770
ENG. PROV. G. LODGE OF POLAND. 1772
Moszynski, Prov. G. M. 1772
First Partition of Poland, when all Lodges closed.
1780
ENG. PROV. G. LODGE. Hulsen, G. M., followed in the same year by Ignace Potocki.
1784
G. ORIENT OF POLAND.
1784
1789. Prince Casimir Sapieha, G. M.
1794
Final Partition of Poland, and all Freemasonry ceased.
1770
STR. OBS. PRIORY. Brühl, G. Prior.
1774
1781
FRENCH LODGE under Grand Orient of France.
GRAND LODGE constituted by the G. O. of France.
1784. Mocranowski, G. M., followed in the same year by Felix Potocki.
PROV. G. L. AT PLOCK, under the "3 Globes" of Berlin. 1784
1815
S. Potocki, G M.
1812
1810
GRAND ORIENT OF DUCHY OF WARSAW, revived under Gutakowsky as Grand Master.
1821
Freemasonry in Poland suppressed by Imperial Ukase.

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3 in America, the remaining 47 being in Holland. The greatest number in any one city is 5 (Amsterdam). The membership is estimated at 4000, or an average of 50 per Lodge.

Luxemburg.

The early Masonic history of this Grand Duchy is identical with that of Belgium till 1814, and with that of Holland till 1830. It may therefore be passed over with the exception of a single phenomenon, for which Thory is the sole authority, all other writers having copied from him. I give the passage *in extenso*:

"1774. Foundation of many lodges in France by the Grand Orient of Bouillon. This body, which no longer exists [1812], was resident in Bouillon.[1] The Duke of that name was its Grand Master under the title of Protector. It comprised amongst its members many distinguished men. The legend round its seal was *Godfredus, dei grati, dux Bullonensis, Protector.*"[2] This is absolutely all that is known of this Grand Lodge.

In 1830, however, Luxemburg reacquired its independence. At that date there existed one lodge, *Enfans de la Concorde* (May 9, 1803), and one Chapter of the French rite (1815), both constituted by the Grand Orient of France. On May 3, 1844, the Lodge declared itself a *Loge centrale*, and in 1847 warranted a daughter Lodge at Echternach. At the same time the Chapter assumed the title of Metropolitan Chapter. But as the French Constitutions forbade one Lodge to exercise authority over another, it became necessary to erect a central authority. A Supreme Council (*not* A. and A.S.R. 33°) was established December 7, 1849, consisting of the Masters and Wardens of all these bodies, and of the deputies of each of the Lodges, together with the representatives of absent members and of other Grand Lodges—in all, twenty members. The Master of the Chapter is *ex officio* G.M. This miniature G.L. is in communication with all the other Continental Grand bodies, and duly recognized, but is scarcely known in England.[3] In 1865 its Chapter numbered 33 members; and of its two Lodges, the elder 68 and the younger 32. Exactly 100 Masons, ruled over by a Grand Lodge of their own! No new Lodges had been formed in 1879, and I have no later information.[4]

Belgium.

The history of Freemasonry in that part of Europe now known as the kingdom of Belgium may be divided into four well-defined periods, every political change of status producing a transfer of Masonic jurisdiction. From the Peace of Utrecht (1714) to the French Revolution we have to deal with the Austrian Netherlands; from thence to 1814, with a French Province under the Masonic control of the Grand Orient; from 1814 to 1830 Belgium was merged in the kingdom of Holland, the effects of which union have already been depicted; and from 1830 Belgium must be treated as a separate and independent kingdom, under its own Grand Orient. The annals of the Belgian Craft are consequently far from exhibiting the stability so noticeable in those of the United Provinces of Holland, and its earliest history is very obscure. It is true, that the accounts presented by Findel and

[1] This town is now in Belgium, in that part of the former Duchy forming the present Belgian province of Luxemburg.

[2] Thory, Acta Latomorum, vol. i., p. 113.

[3] The *Freemason's* and the *Cosmopolitan* Calendars do not even mention it.

[4] I believe no previous history of Freemasonry has deigned to notice this Grand Lodge at all. The above facts are extracted from the invaluable *Handbuch*.

the "*Handbuch*" are delightfully simple and concise, and at a first glance appear to present no difficulty of any kind. But this effect is produced by treating all statements as well-known facts, by dwelling on no questions, and by avoiding any hint at a *crux*. A critical study of the subject, however, brings us face to face with many and grave difficulties. Yet how dexterously Findel's opening sentence evades them—"Although oppressed and much harassed, Freemasonry in the Austrian Netherlands had, with varied fortune, preserved its existence, so that in 1785 sixteen daughter lodges—one at Antwerp, four at Brussels, and three at Ghent [and apparently eight others elsewhere]—were working under the United Provincial Lodge, which refused to join the Grand Lodge at Vienna." Our author never even suggests that it might be difficult to show where, when, how, and by whose authority this Provincial Lodge took its existence. He prefers to assume that we know all about it—which I for one do not. Neither does he inform us who constituted these 16 Lodges, nor what became of them. I intend to be more candid with my readers, and plainly point out all difficulties; neither shall I attempt to hide my own ignorance. It is possible that a prolonged search in Belgium itself might clear up many matters, though it is hardly creditable to our own Masonic rulers that the means of doing so are not nearer at hand. England undoubtedly had much to do with Freemasonry in the Low Countries; and had our Grand Lodge paid less absorbing attention to its festivals and processions, and a little more to its records and archives—had it been less lavish in creating Provincial Grand Masters, and more diligent in insisting upon their responsibility to the home authorities, we should probably find all the information we require in the official documents at Freemasons' Hall. But, alas, the archives of the oldest (and richest) Grand Lodge in the world, the virtual parent of every Freemason in existence, the most stable Grand Body of the Craft, which has never been disturbed by internal convulsions, political revolutions, or military invasions, afford us scarcely a *scintilla* of evidence with regard to the proceedings of its offshoots beyond the seas.

All historians inform us, on the authority of a document printed in the *Annales Maçonniques des Pays-Bas*, that a Lodge was warranted at Mons on June 21, 1721, by G.M. Lord Montague. Being unable to obtain that work, I accept the statement under reserve, and merely remark that our English Constitutions and early writers ignore the occurrence. Rebold goes even further, and assures us that the Lodge in question developed into an English Provincial Lodge for the Austrian Netherlands.[1] It may be so; I can only point out that our early writers know nothing of a Prov. G.M before 1769.

Another Lodge is stated to have existed at Ghent in 1730, and it is asserted that the Craft increased and multiplied so exceedingly in Belgium, that in 1736 the clergy induced the Emperor, Charles VI., to issue an edict of suppression throughout the Netherlands. As a consequence, the Fraternity were unable to meet openly. Even when Francis of Lorraine—the Imperial consort of Maria Theresa—began to rule in 1740, his influence was only sufficient to secure a bare toleration of Freemasonry; and indeed, in 1764, a year before his death, an edict was issued suppressing the Craft throughout his entire dominions. But, although the only other Lodge to which I find any reference at this epoch, is one at Brussels, the Unity, 1757-94, I am inclined to attribute this want of evidence to the enforced reserve of the Fraternity, and to believe that there was a considerable increase of Lodges; not only because everybody says so—of itself a very poor reason—but because the war of the Spanish Succession, 1742-48, and the Seven Years' War, 1755-62, filled the

[1] Rebold, Hist. des trois Grandes Loges, p. 627.

lowlands with British troops; and it is at least a reasonable conjecture that the Masons among them[1] may have held meetings, initiated the inhabitants, and left permanent Lodges behind them. The Duke of Cumberland, who commanded at Fontenoy in 1745, is stated by "Multa Paucis" to have been initiated in 1743. But at last, in 1765, we gain solid ground. From the Engraved Lists, we find that an English Lodge, No. 341, was constituted at Alost in Flanders, June 5, 1765; another, No. 427, at Ghent, July, 1768; and a third, No. 394, at Mons, January 20, 1770. In 1769, the Duke of Beaufort, G.M. of England, appointed the most noble Francis Bonaventure Jos. Dumont, Marquis de Gages, Provincial Grand Master for the Austrian Netherlands.[2] In 1780 Joseph II. commenced to reign as Emperor of Austria and Germany. He was the son of Francis of Lorraine, and though not himself a Freemason, granted the Fraternity at first, full, and afterwards, restricted liberty. Subsequent to the appointment of the Prov. G.M., and previous to Joseph's accession, we find many Lodges erected; for instance, at Tournay, 1770, still existing; two at Liège, 1775 and 1776; two at Spa, 1778; and at Namur—De la Parfaite Union—by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, February 9, 1770.[3] The charter of the last named was confirmed by the Provincial Grand Lodge of the Austrian Netherlands, August 28, 1777. I think we shall not go far astray, if we assume that the Provincial Grand Lodge cited by Findel was none other than the *English* body—bearing the same name—constituted by the Duke of Beaufort in 1769, and that consequently Belgian Freemasonry from its birth to the French Revolution was purely and solely British. We may further assume, that favored by the new Emperor's appreciation of the Craft, the Lodges increased after the year 1780 in a yet greater ratio; and had the Prov. G.M. of that era been mindful of his duty, we should now find traces of them in our Lodge lists.

In 1784 there existed in each province of Austria a Provincial Grand Lodge, viz., Bohemia, Galicia, Lombardy, Austria proper, Siebenburgen, Hungary, and the Netherlands. The first six of these formed a Grand National Lodge of Austria; the seventh did not join the association. But if it is borne in mind, that the Lodges under the former were almost entirely devoted to the Zinnendorff or Swedish Rite (Grand National Lodge of Berlin), of which we meet with no trace in Belgium, it will be understood why the Low Countries did not join in the movement, and our conviction will be strengthened that the Provincial Grand Lodge of the Netherlands was an English offshoot. According to Findel its jurisdiction at this time extended over 16 Lodges.[4] But their membership had greatly altered. All the leaders of the national party were of the Fraternity, and so far from the clergy being averse to the Craft, at Liège the Bishop himself was a member in 1770, and the officers all belonged to the upper priesthood. The Lodge *L'heureuse Rencontre* of Brussels in 1786 consisted of 42 members, among whom were the Marquis de Chasteler, Van der Noot, the Dukes of Ursel and Arenberg, and the Princes de Ligne and Gavre. The feeling in Masonry at this time was distinctly national and anti-Austrian.

On January 9, 1786,[5] the Emperor issued an edict restricting the Craft to three Lodges

[1] Chap. XXIV., p. 359.

[2] G.L. Minutes, April 25, 1770.

[3] Constitutions, G.L. of Scotland, 1836; see also Allgemeines Handbuch, *s. v.* It is not stated by whom the first four were constituted.

[4] Edit. 1878, p. 587.

[5] Findel and the "Handbuch" agree in this date, but under the heading "Austria" the former gives the date as December 1, 1785, and the latter as December 11. I can only suppose that the edict took some few weeks to travel to Brussels, hence the later date.

in each provincial capital of his empire, and wholly forbidding it in cities where no provincial government existed. In consequence of this, 11 Lodges in Belgium had to close, although it is asserted that one Lodge each in Maestricht, Lièges, Tournay, and Spa continued to meet secretly. The edict was in no way intended to be oppressive;[1] but in May, 1786, the Emperor became alarmed at the national sentiments of the Craft in Belgium, and closed all the Lodges—except three in Brussels. In 1787,[2] anticipating the outbreak of the Revolution in France, he resolved to close even these last Lodges, which brings us to the end of the first period of Belgian Masonry.

Of the 16 former Lodges, only 5, one each at Namur, Tournay, Lièges, Brussels, and Ostende, lived through 1793. With 1795 and French supremacy, the Belgian Fraternity came under the jurisdiction of the Grand Orient of France. These five Lodges were still existing in 1814. But between 1799 and 1813 the Grand Orient warranted no less than 28, of which 22 were active in 1814. It is noteworthy that in 1811, the Provincial Grand Lodge of Heredom in France (Royal Order of Scotland) constituted a Chapter at Brussels, and that many of the French high degrees were introduced. The French or modern rite became so firmly established as to be still extensively worked. In all respects the Masonry of this period may be considered identical with that of France, and need not therefore occupy any further share of our attention.

At the opening of the third period—January 1, 1814—we thus find 27 regular Lodges at work. Relieved of the supremacy of the G.O. of France, these Lodges felt the expediency of constituting a Grand Lodge of some kind, but apart from the inherent difficulty of reconciling so many rites, there was also to be considered the future status of the country, which had not then been determined by the Congress of Vienna. Of course the Scots Lodges essayed to obtain the upper hand. A Council of the 25°—Sublime Princes of the Royal Secret—in the Lodge *Amis Philanthropiques* of Brussels announced itself—December 10, 1814—as the Supreme Authority, but its pretensions were put on one side. Then, in November, 1815, three Brussels Lodges of the "Rectified" Strict Observance, and two Scots Lodges of the same city, met—appointed a committee of 15 to prepare a scheme, and in 1816 four projects in all were reported upon. That of the *Amis Philanthropiques* was selected, and all Belgian Lodges were summoned to consider it. These met on February 1, and March 15, 1817, in Brussels, but failed to agree. The Scots Masons alone knew their own minds, and consequently in 1817 the Lodges of the Strict Observance—*rectified* Rite—erected a central body; and on March 1 of the same year a Supreme Council of the A. and A.S.R. 33° was formed. On May 5, 1817, the circular (already mentioned) of Prince Frederick of the Netherlands was issued, and this was followed by the institution of a temporary Grand Lodge, June 24, the appointment of a joint Belgian and Dutch committee, August 30, the report of this committee, September 20, and its adoption on December 11. In 1818, April 11, the Grand Lodge of Administration for the Southern Provinces (Belgium) was duly inaugurated. From this date again I may content myself with the observation that what has been already written regarding Dutch Masonry applies to Belgium, and need only further add that from 27 the Lodges had increased after April 11, 1818, to 30, and on June 19, 1820, to 33. Many, however, of the high degree rites obtained a footing which was denied to them in Holland.

In 1830 Belgium acquired its independence, and on December 16, 1832, the former Grand Lodge of Administration called upon the Belgian Lodges to rally round it as a

Cf. Chap. XXVIII. (Austria). [2] Rebold, Hist. des trois Grandes Loges, p. 627.

Grand Lodge. The meeting took place February 25, 1833, but many Lodges must have meanwhile died out during the political disturbances, because of the 33 Lodges of 1820, only 15 are accounted for. Of these only 4 appeared in answer to the call, and constituted the Grand Orient of Belgium on May 23. It not being considered expedient to elect a G.M. at the moment, J. de Freune was appointed to rule as Grand Warden. A carefully worded circular—April 1, 1833—secured the adhesion to the G.O. of all the Lodges except nine, which were accordingly declared irregular, January 4, 1836. Some died out, four joined the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands, but returned to their previous allegiance, with the exception of one (at Ghent), which still remains apart, and under Dutch jurisdiction. The Grand Orient was then placed under the protection of King Leopold I., who had been initiated in the Lodge of Hope, Berne, in September, 1813, and though never present in Grand Lodge, took a warm interest in the Belgian Craft. On December 13, 1833, the Belgian Lodges were permitted to cumulate any or all rites—that is to say, whilst remaining true to the Grand Orient, as far as related to the Craft, they were at liberty to apply to any or all of the other Grand bodies for charters of Chapters, Councils, etc., which were then grafted on these Lodges. The result has been curious. There are, for instance, Lodges in which are wrought not only the ceremonies of the Craft, but also the A. and A.S.R. 33°, the French Rite of seven degrees, the Scots Philosophic Rite, long since extinct in France, its birthplace, and the Rite of Heredom or Royal Order of Scotland. Some, as in Brussels and Antwerp, bring into play more than one of these. The Rites of Memphis and Misraim also obtained a footing for a time, but have died out. The Supreme Council 33°, however (established 1817), has gradually acquired control over the supplementary degrees, and is acknowledged as the head of all those outside the Craft, so that, with many rites, there are only two Grand bodies which exist side by side and work together in perfect harmony, even occupying the same premises.

Baron von Stassart was elected Grand Master March 1, 1835, and installed on May 3, ensuing. In 1838—January 19—the Statutes of the Grand Orient (in 15 articles) were agreed to. They refer solely to the Craft, and ignore all other (so-called) degrees. The organization is very similar to that of the United Grand Lodge of England. On June 10, 1841, the G.M. resigned, and—July 11, 1842—Defacqz d'Ath was appointed in his stead, with Verhaegen as deputy. In 1854 d'Ath in turn resigned, and was succeeded by Verhaegen.

Unfortunately, ever since Belgium became a kingdom, the Craft has been traduced and persecuted by the Ultramontane clergy of the country—which has resulted in a not unnatural but, nevertheless, wholly indefensible retaliation.

In 1854—June 24—Verhaegen made a speech, in which he attempted to show, that the prohibition of political and religious discussion in Lodge was not a landmark of the Craft, but merely a Grand Lodge ordinance, and, as such, could be repealed; and that as far as Belgium was concerned, should thenceforth cease to be enforced. The motion was carried by acclamation, and the Belgian Craft has since then been marked by a strong anti-clerical, even anti-religious tendency. This led to the rupture of friendly relations with the Grand Lodges of Hamburg, December 16, 1854; Dresden, November 13; Three Globes of Berlin, December 7; the Sun at Baireuth, January 24, 1855; the two other Berlin Grand Lodges, January 7; and the Grand Lodge of Sweden, 1855. Even in Belgium it produced a breach, as many Lodges placed themselves under the sole authority of the

Supreme Council, which had protested against the act. In 1860 no less than thirteen Lodges owned allegiance to the A. and A.S.R. 33°.

On December 8, 1862, Verhaegen died, Van Schoor being provisionally appointed, and fully installed, as his successor in 1866. He was followed in 1869 by Van Humbeeck, in 1872 by August Couvreur, in 1875 by Henri Berger, and in 1878 by Couvreur once more. In 1874 the Grand Orient managed to explain its proceedings regarding religion and politics to the satisfaction of Germany, and representatives were again exchanged. The Lodges must also have returned to their allegiance, because in 1879 the G.O. ruled over 14 Lodges, and the Supreme Council over none. But the latter had grafted Chapters, etc., on six of the Grand Orient Lodges, and constituted one Chapter in Ghent without a Lodge basis. At the present moment Count Goblet d'Alviella is the G.M., with 17 Lodges under him. The Grand Commander of the Supreme Council is Van Humbeeck, with Chapters in three Lodges, and two Chapters unattached.[1] As already stated, other rites are also worked, but under the authority, singularly enough, of the Supreme Council 33°.

Russia.

According to Russian tradition, Freemasonry in that country even precedes the era of the Grand Lodge of England (1717), for it is gravely asserted that Peter the Great was initiated by Sir Christopher Wren, and that before the close of the seventeenth century there existed a Lodge at St. Petersburg, with Lefort as Master, and Gordon and Peter himself, as Senior and Junior Wardens respectively. This claim I shall not seriously discuss, though I record it, as being of possible interest to the school of Masonic writers whose canon of belief is expressed by the maxim of Tertullian, upon which I have dilated in an earlier Chapter.[2] To proceed, therefore, with our historical inquiry. In 1731—January 24—Captain John Phillips was appointed Prov. G.M. of Russia and Germany, etc.;[3] but we need not therefore assume that Lodges already existed in those countries. On the other hand, there appears some reason to believe that in 1732 or 1734 General Lord James Keith, who had entered the Russian service in 1728, was W.M. of a Lodge at St. Petersburg.[4] In 1740 Keith was appointed Prov. G.M. of Russia by his brother, John Keith, Earl of Kintore, G.M. of England,[5] so that under Phillips' rule we have very little evidence of progress. Keith appears to have been more successful, for the writer in "Latomia" confirms on fresh documents Nettelbladt's previous assertions, that in 1750 a Lodge, "Silence," was at work in St. Petersburg, and a second, "North Star," in Riga.[6] These were followed by others, of which the traces are lost. A subsequent Grand Master, Böber, informs us, however, that all operations were still conducted in the greatest secresy, which may account for the curious fact that the existence of these Lodges was never transmitted to the Grand Lodge of England. We must also bear in mind that, with very rare exceptions, our English Provincial Grand Masters on the Continent, never kept their superiors fully informed with regard to the state of Freemasonry in the districts under their charge.

[1] Cosmopolitan Calendar, 1885.

[2] Chap. XVI., p. 8.

[3] G. L. Min.

[4] Latomia, vol. xxi., 1862, p. 114.

[5] Constitutions, 1756, p. 333. Keith had been present in Grand Lodge at the election of his brother to the Grand Mastership, March 28, 1740: Cf. *ante*, Chap. XVII., pp. 141, 145.

[6] Latomia, vol. xxi., p. 115.

In 1762 Catherine II. commenced her long reign, and the necessity for secresy no longer existing, the position of the Craft improved. It may be presumed that the Society hitherto had been more or less under English influence, but about this time great innovations forced themselves into favor. The earliest of all appears to have been of purely Russian origin. Count Melesino, a Greek by birth, was W.M. of the Lodge "Silence" in St. Petersburg. In that Lodge the Melesino Rite—which spread throughout the empire, and even beyond its borders—was perfected, probably by the talented Master himself. It superimposed four degrees on the Craft, and it is not improbable that in the 7°, "*Magnus Sacerdos Templariorum*," Starck found the inspiration for his Clerical Rite.[1] In April, 1782, Melesino retired from Masonry and to Moscow, alleging political motives as his reason; whilst, on the other hand, Nettelbladt thinks he acted from prudence, fearing that the Grand Lodge would ultimately overshadow and destroy his rite, and preferring to suppress it himself. In either case, it ceased with his absence from the sce

In 1765 the Strict Observance made its entry into Russia. The first Lodge under this system was founded by the Lodge at Wismar (Starck's), and soon after a Chapter was erected at St. Petersburg, with Lüder as G.M. Members, whose names will occur hereafter, were Professor Böber, Count Bruce, Prince Dolgorucky, Prince Gargarin, Prince Kurakin, etc. In Courland and Riga there were other Chapters.

In 1768 Starck, accompanied by Von Prangen, came to St. Petersburg for the second time; and on June 23 formed a secular Chapter there, "Phœnix," of the Strict Observance, adding thereto—September 20, 1768—a Clerical Chapter, possibly based on the Melesino Rite, with which Starck may have become acquainted during his former residence in 1763-65. Disputes, however, arose—October 22—and on November 17 Starck was excluded. In the following year—November 16, 1769—the Lax Observance Lodge, "Constancy," went over to the S.O. Rite, uniting with the "Phœnix," and we hear no more of the Clerical Chapter after December 12, 1769. Starck shortly after left Russia, and the Clerics were retransferred to Wismar.[2] But the Strict Observance still remained strongly represented among the Russian Rites.

In 1771 the Zinnendorff system obtained a footing in Russia. Zinnendorff, as we shall see in the next Chapter, had procured—by somewhat irregular means—a part of the Swedish Ritual, and, seceding from the Strict Observance, had established a new rite in Germany. *George* Reichel and *George* Rosenberg were the introducers of the rite into St. Petersburg. Reichel came first, and established the Lodges Apollo at St. Petersburg, 1771; Isis at Revel and Harpocrates at St. Petersburg, 1772; and a military Lodge in 1773. Rosenberg, a former Prussian captain of horse, joined him in 1774, bringing, without Zinnendorff's knowledge, the complete rituals, etc.; revived the "Apollo," which had become dormant; founded another, "Horus," and in 1776 "Latona." In these proceedings they were assisted by their brothers, *Charles* Reichel and *William* Rosenberg.[3]

Meanwhile the Craft had also been at work under the tutelage of the Grand Lodge of England. Of this period we have fortunately an almost contemporary account.[4] In June, 1771, some English merchants at St. Petersburg erected the Lodge of Perfect Union,[5] which

[1] Chap. XXIV., p. 359.

[2] Latomia, vol. xxi., pp. 117-119; Chap. XXIV., p. 359.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 306, 307.

[4] Freemasons' Calendar, 1777, 1778.

[5] An official copy of its minute-book from June 13, 1771, to May 30, 1772, made for the perusal of the G.M. of England, is preserved in the archives of our Grand Lodge, and plainly shows that the

was numbered 414, and dated June 1, 1771, in the Engraved Lists.' The "Freemasons' Calendar" terms this the first *regular* Lodge, and speaks of the number of Russian nobles who were at that time Masons. One of them, Senator Yelaguin, had made fruitless efforts to procure a patent of Grand Master in Berlin and Hamburg, and in 1772 sent Louquin to England on a similar mission.[2] The Duke of Beaufort, G.M., granted him a patent as Prov. G.M. for all the Russias,[3] and this resulted in the formation of the following Lodges:—No. 466, Nine Muses; No. 467, Urania; No. 468, Bellona—all at St. Petersburg; Mars, No. 469, Clio, No. 470, at Jassy and Moscow respectively, all in the year 1774. Putting on one side the Strict Observance and Melesino's Lodges, we thus find two distinct Rites in use at the same time—Zinnendorff's and the English. Yelaguin, however, wanted a ritual, and as England has never furnished copies of its ceremonies, he applied to Reichel and Rosenberg. Now, although these Masons hailed from the Grand National Lodge at Berlin, they must have been desirous of closer relations with Sweden, the original fount, for they advised Yelaguin to apply to Stockholm.[4] It is probable that Yelaguin's high position impressed the Grand Lodge of Sweden with the idea, that the only chance for its system to survive was under *his* protection; at any rate, in 1775, it counselled Reichel and Rosenberg to effect a fusion, and to acknowledge the Senator as Provincial Grand Master. The result was that Yelaguin accepted the Swedish Ritual, and Reichel called upon his Lodges to join with those of the Senator. Harpocrates, Horus, Latona, and Nemesis (1776) agreed, and on September 3, 1776,[5] a National Grand Lodge of Russia, under G.M. Yelaguin, was erected. Melesino took office in this Grand Lodge, which, as well as Yelaguin's original Lodge "Nine Muses," met in the Senator's own house on the island Yelaguin. But differences soon arose. George Rosenberg and his Lodge "Apollo" never joined the Grand Lodge; Reichel, who had quarrelled with Rosenberg, withdrew from Freemasonry altogether; Prince Trubitzkoi, who had previously applied in vain to the Grand National (or Zinnendorff) Lodge for a Grand Master's patent, jealous of Yelaguin's preferment, retired to Moscow with the Lodges Osiris, Isis, and Latona. Among the notabilities who here gathered round him, may be mentioned as of future interest, the Princes

Lodge was at work before receiving its warrant; that although composed largely of English Masons it recognized and granted the following additional degrees: Scots Master, *Elu*, and Philosopher; and that although a warranted Lodge, it admitted visitors of unchartered Lodges under certain restrictions. It contains also the copy of a letter from G. Sec. Heseltine, February 29, 1772, presented by Louquin, announcing the appointment of Yelaguin as Prov. G.M., and resolutions to honor him as G.M. of all future Lodges, but to refuse him any authority over themselves. In the midst of the quarrel which ensued this interesting book breaks off. But the minutes of the Committee of Charity, October 28, 1772, inform us that the Lodge was directed to submit.

[1] For these and the following Lodges, see "Four Old Lodges," p. 66 *et seq.*

[2] Latomia, vol. xxi., p. 307.

[3] Grand Lodge Minutes, February 28, 1772. The records of the *other* Grand Lodge of England contain the following:—"June 30, 1773.—Heard a letter from G. Sec. M'Dougall, setting forth that an application had been made to the G. Lodge of Scotland for them to confer a masonical mark of distinction on his Excellency the Senator Yellegan (*sic*), Grand Master of Russia, and requesting the opinion of this Grand Lodge to be transmitted, with any Forms they may have made use of on the like occasions." Resolved, that the Grand Lodge of Scotland had power to confer such distinction (Grand Lodge Minutes, Schismatics or *Ancients*).

[4] Latomia, vol. xxi., p. 308.

[5] Pollick, in his history of Russian Freemasonry, erroneously gives the year as 1783, and Findel follows him.

Dolgoruky and Gargarin.[1] We thus see that Yelaguin's governing body had little chance of permanent success; nevertheless, in the following years, two more Russian Lodges were added to the English roll—those of Liebau, Courland, No. 524, 1780; and Astrea at Riga, No. 504, 1787.[1]

This want of consistency gave rise to fresh complications. Sweden at that time was still ambitious of retrieving its place as a great power, which it had lost on the death of Charles XII. In 1777 Gustavus III. of Sweden, himself a Mason, visited St. Petersburg, and a Grand festival was held in Rosenberg's independent Lodge (Apollo) on June 26 and 27, on which occasions the Masonic supremacy of Sweden was announced as desirable.[3] The Russian ambassador at Stockholm, Prince Kurakin, in alliance with *George* Rosenberg, strove for the same object. *William* Rosenberg was Secretary to the Russian Embassy, and in communication with his brother and Prince Gargarin. Kurakin was admitted to the highest degrees of the Swedish Rite, and promised by Karl of Sudermania a patent for a national Grand Lodge, Swedish Rite, provided he could induce a sufficiency of Lodges to concur in the project.

In 1777 Kurakin returned, raised Gargarin, Melesino, and others to the highest Swedish degrees, and seduced many of Yelaguin's Lodges towards the end of 1778. Böber also, as a deputy of Rosenberg, founded a new Lodge in Revel. The consent of Karl of Sudermania having been obtained, these steps were followed—May 25, 1779—by the erection of a Swedish Provincial Grand Lodge of Russia, with Prince Gargarin as G.M., and of a Grand Chapter—December 24, 1779. The new Lodge also assumed the same title as Yelaguin's, *i.e.*, National Grand Lodge.[4]

At the head of the Russian Strict Observance at this time was Count Alexander Mussin-Puschkin-Bruce.[5]

The erection of Gargarin's Grand Lodge was followed by a circular from G. Sec. Böber —June 26, 1779—directed to all Lodges except Melesino's, threatening to place them under a ban unless they joined within six weeks. The real object of the circular was the extinction of the former Zinnendorff Lodges. It will be remembered that at this time Sweden had disclaimed all knowledge of Zinnendorff.[6] The result was not as complete as was desired. With the exception of Böber's own Lodge, all the German speaking Lodges of the eastern seaboard remained true to Yelaguin, whilst those of the Strict Observance refrained from joining the new power. It consisted of 11 Lodges—6 in St. Petersburg, 3 in Moscow, 1 in Revel, and 1 (military) in Kinburn. The Grand National Lodge of Gargarin might, however, have ultimately obtained complete success, but for two reasons. Rosenberg and Gargarin quarrelled, and on March 15, 1780, Karl of Sudermania was created Vicarius Salomonis of the IXth. Templar Province,[7] which, according to Swedish pretensions, included Denmark and Russia. This attempt at political supremacy, through the instrumentality of the Craft, which had already alarmed the Lodges of Denmark and Germany, produced the same effect in Russia. The bodies acting under Yelaguin and Gargarin respectively, were alike unanimous in protesting; and the latter, thoroughly discouraged, betook himself to Moscow November 10, 1781. This caused the downfall of the Gargarin Grand Lodge, which then dissolved, and disappears from the scene.[8]

[1] Latomia, vol. xxi., p. 310.

[2] Constituted by Yelaguin January 4, 1785—confirmed by the Grand Lodge of England August 21, 1787. [3] Latomia, vol. xxi., p. 311. [4] *Ibid.* [5] Handbuch, *s. v.* Mussin.

[6] Chap. XXIV., p. 365. [7] *Ante*, p. 4. [8] Latomia, vol. xxii., pp. 225-230.

In April, 1782, secret societies were forbidden throughout Russia; the Freemasons were not included, but Melesino, foreseeing the probable victory of Yelaguin's G. L., now left almost supreme, took advantage of the edict to gracefully withdraw from the contest, and retired to Moscow, directing his Lodges to close their doors, in obedience to the law.[1]

From this time to the beginning of the French Revolution Yelaguin reigned practically unchallenged. The last Lodge warranted by him was at Sckloff in 1791.[2] In 1794 Catherine allowed her immediate attendants to perceive that she would be glad to see Freemasonry restrained for a time, in view of the political movement throughout Europe. She did not actually forbid it, but the sovereign's desire was at once complied with, and all Lodges were closed throughout the empire by command of the Grand Master. He himself died shortly afterwards, which brings us to the close of the first distinct period in Russian Freemasonry.

As a curiosity I shall give two versions of an occurrence of 1784, extracted, without comment, from Lawrie and Thory.

[3] A petition was received from several Scottish Masons who had been commissioned by the Empress of all the Russias to settle in her capital, requesting a charter of erection for a Lodge at St. Petersburg, under the name of the Imperial Scottish Lodge of St. Petersburgh, which was unanimously granted.

[4] The Empress of all the Russias invites the Grand Lodge of Scotland to send deputies to St. Petersburg in order to establish there a Scotch Lodge under the name of Imperial Lodge. Grand Lodge hastens to defer to the wishes of this sovereign. Constitutions are accorded.

Catherine died in 1796, and was followed by Paul I., said by some writers to have been a Mason; indeed, it is even asserted that Catherine herself witnessed his initiation. The hopes which the Craft had placed in his presumed goodwill to Freemasonry were destined to be overthrown. Reinbeck, who travelled in Russia in 1805, published his "Bemerkungen" in 1806; and gives the following account.[5] Paul called a meeting of well-known brothers to decide whether the Lodges should be reopened or not. The project was opposed by some few influential members and statesmen, and it was decided to wait awhile. Then appeared on the scene the Maltese Knight Count Litter, and persuaded the Emperor to favor the Maltese Order at the expense of the Craft.[6] The result was, that an edict appeared in 1797 forbidding secret meetings, and although Freemasonry was not specifically mentioned, Paul caused all the Masters of Lodges known to him to give their hand and word that they would open no Lodges. These were in return made Knights of Malta, and on December 16, 1798, Paul declared himself Grand Master of that Order.

In 1801 the liberal-minded Alexander ascended the throne, but here again the expectations of the Craft were disappointed, for he renewed the decree against secret societies. I am not disposed to believe Thory's romantic account of his conversion and initiation by Böber in 1803,[7] having made up my mind never to depend upon the former in the absence of corroboration; but it is evident that some time before 1804 Alexander had let it be understood that he would not interfere with the meetings of the Craft; for in that year,

[1] Handbuch, *s. v.* Melesino.

[2] *Ibid.*, *s. v.* Yelaguin.

[3] Edit. 1804, p. 235.

[4] Acta Lat., vol. i., p. 159.

[5] I follow the extracts given by Findel and the "Handbuch."

[6] It must be remembered that as the Zinnendorff, Swedish, and Strict Observance Systems each professed to be a continuation of the Order of the Temple, the Maltese Knights were in some degree justified in looking upon the Craft as being in organized rivalry with their own Order.

[7] Acta Lat., vol. i., p. 218.

according to the "*Freiburger Taschenbuch*"[1] of 1816-1817, the members of the former "Pelican" reconstituted their Lodge under the title of "Alexander of the Crowned Pelican;" and many other Lodges followed their example. The "Pelican" increased to such an extent that in 1809 it was divided into three Lodges, working respectively in Russian, German, and French, according to the Swedish Rite. These three then formed a Grand Directoral Lodge, "Wladimir," and were joined in 1811 and 1812 by two French Lodges in St. Petersburg, and in 1813 by the Lodges in Revel and Cronstadt. This Grand Directory was composed in part of the holders of the superior degrees, and partly of the Lodge representatives. Böber was its G.M. from 1811 to 1814, and was followed in 1815 by Count Basil Mussin-Puschkin-Bruce—not to be confounded with Count Alexander of the same name, the former head of the Russian Strict Observance. From the composition of this Grand Lodge, it might have been foreseen that the simple Masters would soon fall out with the *high degree* Masons. About this time Fessler, who had already so powerfully contributed to lead back German Freemasonry to its English origin and simplicity, arrived at St. Petersburg, and many Lodges reverted to the ceremonies of the Craft.

In March, 1815, the Directory unanimously resolved to acknowledge all rites which were recognized anywhere by a regular Grand Lodge—a tremendous blow for the partisans of the Swedish rite; but when in June it proceeded with a revision of its statutes, the impossibility of reconciling opposite views of Craft government became apparent. The result was the dissolution of the Directory, and that on August 30, 1815, four Lodges erected the Grand Lodge "Astrea." Its organization was so like our own Grand Lodge as to need no description: it will only be necessary to remark that—confining its attention exclusively to the Craft—it agreed to leave every Lodge free to adopt such degrees beyond the Master's as it might prefer.[2] Count Mussin-Puschkin-Bruce was elected Grand Master. It almost immediately afterwards warranted a new Lodge, and in October was joined by the most important Lodge of all, the Pelican.

From the remains of the Directory, two dissenting Lodges erected in 1815 a Swedish Provincial Grand Lodge of Russia; but in 1819 this body could only count 6 subordinate Lodges, whereas at the same date the Grand Lodge "Astrea" ruled over 24. Of these 24, however, 7 worked according to Schroeder's Ritual (the Hamburg modification of the English ceremonial), 2 according to Yelaguin's (Zinnendorff), 6 by the rectified S.O., 8 by the Swedish Ritual, and 1 according to Fessler's modified English rite. In 1818 a Grand Chapter was established, to control the working of the entire set of degrees of all these rites, beyond that of Master Mason.

In 1820 Kuschelery was elected G.M., to whose subsequent course of action the ingratitude of the viper in the fable--towards the countryman who had nurtured it in his bosom—presents the fittest and only parallel. He was a bigot of the most pronounced type, and suddenly addressed a paper to the Emperor, showing the danger to the State of the Craft as then constituted, and maintaining the necessity either of its suppression or of such modifications as would have entirely deprived it of its chief characteristics.[3] The Czar chose the former alternative, and issued a Ukase—August 1, 1822—closing all Lodges, and forbidding them at any future time to reopen. The Fraternity obeyed without a murmur. The decree is still in force, and thus perished Freemasonry in the dominions of the Czar of all the Russias.

[1] I quote from the extracts in the "Handbuch."

[2] In this respect it also followed the example of our own Grand Lodge in 1813.

[3] Findel, Gesch. der Freim., p. 621.

Poland.

The clearest, fullest, and best history of Freemasonry in Poland, was contributed as long ago as 1818, by an anonymous Polish brother to the first edition of Lenning's "Cyclopædia." The *Handbuch* (1868) has not been able to add anything thereto, Findel avowedly has only condensed it, and an extended course of reading has not enabled me to do more than find an occasional corroboration in other works. It may be safely affirmed that such a thoroughly exhaustive encyclopædic article is seldom to be met with.

It would appear that previous to 1739 some nobles at the Court of King Frederick Augustus II. had assembled as Masons, in Lodges at Warsaw, probably without regular constitutions, and that these Lodges were all closed in that year in consequence of the Bull of Clement XII.[1]

A few years afterwards the Craft began to move once more. Lodges were established (still without known charters):—1742, at Volhynien; 1744, the "Three Brothers," at Warsaw; 1747, at Lemberg; 1749, the "Good Shepherd," at Warsaw—of which the Master, Thoux de Salverte, was commissioned by it to travel and open Lodges elsewhere. In 1755 General Le Fort held a Lodge at Dulko.[2] Many of these Lodges erected others. In 1762 the "Three Brothers" was very powerful, but fell into decay. In 1764 Stanislaus Augustus ascended the throne after a stormy interregnum, and efforts were made to revive the Craft, which has suffered more from political disturbances in Poland than in any other country. The "Three Brothers," Warsaw, was resuscitated in August, 1766, by Count Augustus Moszynski, and closed in October, by his successor, Count Frederick Aloys Brühl —in order to introduce new laws—but reopened on January 12, 1767, with the addition of a Chapter of High Degrees. Brühl returned to Dresden in 1768, and Moszynski resumed the lead. The Lodge was then—June 24, 1769—declared to be a Grand Lodge, with Mozynski as Grand Master. One of its first acts was to warrant a Lodge in Hungary. Its own members constituted themselves into two Lodges for Moscow, the "Three Brothers" and the "Unity," working respectively in German and French. I may observe, however, that so far all was highly irregular, each movement being merely the arbitrary act of an unauthorized individual. Nevertheless the Grand Lodge did its best to improve matters by communicating the results to foreign Lodges, and in 1770 received a letter from De Vignolles at the Hague, the Prov. G.M. for foreign Lodges under the Grand Lodge of England, acknowledging Moszynski as Prov. G.M. of Poland. As a Provincial Grand Lodge of England, the legality of its former proceedings was assured, and as such it was proclaimed June 24, 1770. In the same year this Provincial Grand Lodge constituted four new Lodges.

Meanwhile, in 1770, Brühl[3] had joined the Strict Observance, and been made Prior of Poland and Lithuania, which district was declared to form a diocese of the Order of the Temple. Any strife between the two systems was, however, prevented by the unhappy political events immediately succeeding, for in 1772 took place the first partition of Poland, and not only did all Lodges there become dormant for the time, but the Provincial Grand

[1] *Cf.* Chap. XX., p. 229. note 3; and XXVIII., *s. v.* Italy.

[2] The "*Handbuch*" calls it a Strict Observance Lodge, which must be an error; it was probably a Lodge working the Templar degrees of the Chapter of Clermont.

[3] Handbuch, *s. v.* Brühl. It was at this nobleman's seat in Kohlo that the Strict Observance Convent of 1772 was held; Chap. XXIV., p. 359.

Lodge closed never to reopen. This may be considered the end of the first epoch of Polish Freemasonry.

In 1773 the Craft again revived, but a wonderful multiplicity of rites and systems ensued and continued for some years.

The first on the scene was Count Brühl, who, returning to Warsaw in 1773, introduced the Strict Observance in the former Warsaw Lodges, "Three Brothers" and "Unity," and constituted a third in the same city, January 29, 1774, which last threw out an offshoot —or fourth Lodge—in Krakaw in 1778. All these acknowledged the rule of Ferdinand of Brunswick, with Brühl as their intermediate superior.

On April 30, 1773, several Masons, among whom may be named Baron Heyking, Count Hülsen, and Thoux de Salverte, erected a *quasi*-Masonic body with mystical tendencies, which ultimately survived as the Lodge of the Good Shepherd, and, February 6, 1780,[1] was reconstituted as Catherine of the Pole Star, by the Mother Lodge, Royal York of Berlin, at that time a private Lodge under the English Constitution, but which had by almost imperceptible degrees taken up the position, and occasionally assumed the style, of a Grand Lodge. Hülsen was its W.M., and its members formed themselves into a Scots Lodge, and as such applied to the Grand Lodge of England, through the Royal York Lodge, for a Provincial Grand Lodge Chapter. Baron Heyking had been appointed deputy for Poland by the "Royal York" on November 24, 1779, and ordered to constitute Lodges wherever advisable and possible.[2] The result of his efforts was 3 Lodges in Warsaw, 1 in Posen, 3 in Wilna, 1 in Dubno—all in 1780. The Rite in use at that time was practically the English one.[3]

The third Masonic power on the scene was the Grand Orient of France, which—November 15, 1778—warranted a Warsaw Lodge, erected there by a French merchant in 1776.

An offshoot of "Catherine," under the title of the "Pole Star" and the leadership of Prince Poninski, deserted to the Strict Observance in 1779. There were consequently at this period three systems at work—all struggling for the mastery.

Hülsen was succeeded in the chair of "Catherine of the Pole Star"—December 27, 1779—by Count Potocki, who set himself to work to reduce this chaos into order. He circulated an invitation of the "Royal York," acting in England's name, calling upon the Lodges to form a Grand Provincial Lodge of Poland, and in 1780 obtained the suffrages of the majority of Lodges. Heyking was sent to the Grand Lodges of Germany, and Le Doules to that of Russia to facilitate matters. The other systems represented in the country did their best to frustrate his efforts. Brühl especially raised the Warsaw Strict Observance Lodge "Three Helmets" to a Mother-Lodge, and constituted three new ones; and in 1781 the French Lodge announced itself as a Grand Lodge in virtue of a patent from the Grand Orient of France, dated May 14. This induced the Lodge, Catherine of the Pole Star, to divide its members into three Lodges for Craft purposes, but claiming to act as a Grand Lodge in its entirety under the guise of a Scots Lodge.

At length in August, 1781, Lodge Catherine received a London patent as a Provincial Grand Lodge, which had been signed by the Duke of Manchester, G.M., August 4, 1780.[4]

[1] Hauptmomente der Geschichte der Grossen Loge von Preussen, Royal York, Berlin, 1849, p. 73.

[2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 74.

[4] According to a MS. note in the Engraved List for 1778 (Grand Lodge Library), the commission was dated *April* 4, and not *August* 4, 1780.

As Count Hülsen was therein named as G.M., Potocki gave way for the time; but on December 27, 1781, Ignaz Potocki was unanimously elected Grand Master.

This event was duly announced throughout the country and abroad, and conduced almost immediately to the extinction of the Strict Observance Lodges. New statutes were submitted for approval—January 7, 1783; and conformed in all points with Anderson's Constitutions. Potocki's departure abroad delayed their ratification, but his deputy—Wilkorski—and the representatives of 13 Lodges, worked steadily at the completion of the Masonic edifice. Meanwhile Heyking's efforts had procured directions from the Grand Orient of France—November 17, 1781—to its Lodges in Poland to join the Provincial Grand Lodge, and the result was that—February 26, 1784—the Provincial Grand Lodge was converted into an independent Grand Orient of Poland, and inaugurated as such on March 4 following.

It is rather curious that on February 8, 1784, the Provincial Grand Lodge and its 12 daughter Lodges affiliated with the "Eclectic Union" of Frankfort-on-the-Maine.[1] This is, however, an indirect proof that the system of working was at that time essentially English.

The first Grand Master of the National Grand Orient was Andrew Mocranowski, installed March 18, 1784; and in the same year were constituted, a Lodge in Constantinople, a Russian military Lodge at Kiow, and various others, some of which were raised to the position of Provincial Grand Lodges. Unfortunately the G.M. expired after a very few months' tenure of office, and in his place was appointed—December 27, 1784—Count Felix Potocki, who was installed February 2, 1785, being thus the second of his family who officiated as G.M. of Poland.

It will be unnecessary to follow in detail the progress of the Grand Orient, or to enumerate the Lodges and Provincial Grand Lodges which it warranted in the course of the next few years; it will suffice to state that they were numerous, and that the Fraternity prospered exceedingly. A few salient data may be cited. A Grand Chapter, to rule the high degrees, was erected February 19, 1785; and on December 17, Potocki was re-elected G.M. During the night April 24-25, 1786, Freemasons' Hall in Warsaw was burnt to the ground, entailing great loss on the brotherhood. January 4, 1787—Potocki was again elected, and Stanislaus Potocki commissioned to place himself in correspondence with foreign Grand Lodges, particularly those of England and France. January 24, 1788—Potocki was continued in the chair, although very negligent of his duties; in the same year he resigned; and—January 11, 1789—Prince Casimir Sapieha was chosen in his stead. But once more political events exerted a baneful influence over the Polish Craft, and produced a state of coma. In 1792 Russia and Prussia effected a second partition of the unfortunate kingdom, and finally in 1794 it was wholly dismembered. This occasioned the closing of the Grand Orient and of all Polish Lodges, and we thus arrive at the end of the second distinct epoch in the history of Polish Freemasonry.

From 1791 to 1811, Poland, a part of which Napoleon had in 1806 formed into the Grand Duchy of Warsaw under the house of Saxony, was a veritable "Tom Tiddler's ground" for the three Prussian Grand Lodges, who constituted or reconstituted the following Lodges:—the Grand National Lodge, 6; the Three Globes, 9; and the Royal York, 1. On October 4, 1804, the Three Globes erected at Plock a Provincial Grand Lodge and

[1] George Kloss, Annalen der Loge zur Einigkeit, Frankfort, 1842, p. 197.

a Scots Directory for the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. On October 23, 1807, the Grand Orient of France entered into competition, and—July 18, 1808—warranted a Lodge in Warsaw.

In 1807 the Duchy fell under Saxon rule, and a new state of affairs arose. Former Polish Lodges reopened successively in 1809 and following years, and among others, on March 22, 1810, the former Provincial Grand Lodge, "Catherine of the North Star." Almost immediately afterwards the former Deputy Grand Master, Gutakowski, declared the Grand Orient revived. Foreign Grand Lodges were informed of the fact, and many of the Lodges constituted by them gave in their adhesion to the national authority. January 30, 1811—Gutakowski was elected G.M. of the Grand Orient of Poland, and—November 5—the few Lodges not acknowledging its authority were summoned for the last time to affiliate themselves. Gutakowski died December 1, and was replaced—March 1, 1812—by Count Stanislaus Potocki, the third Polish G.M. of that family. Meanwhile, the one extraneous Grand Chapter (French) had amalgamated with the Polish Grand Chapter, so that on June 24, 1812, the Grand Orient was proclaimed as the sole supreme authority. As a matter of fact, however, there still remained aloof, the Provincial Grand Lodge—under the Three Globes—at Plock, with its daughters.

Once more, in consequence of political events, the Grand Orient and its daughter Lodges were closed—January 30, 1813—after a most prosperous but very brief career. But this time the sleep was not protracted, for in October the Warsaw Lodges were again at work, and the Grand Orient being still dormant, the direction of affairs was undertaken by the Grand Chapter. The interval had witnessed Napoleon's crushing defeat at Leipsic, on which occasion the gallant Prince Poniatowski lost his life in the Elster—October 19. A solemn funeral Lodge was held in his honor, March 12, 1814—the Grand Master resumed the gavel on his return—August 30, 1814—and was re-elected April 22, 1815. May 3, 1815, the former Grand Duchy of Warsaw was finally allotted to Russia. September 20—the Provincial Grand Lodge at Plock (under the Three Globes of Berlin), erected 1804, and its daughter Lodges, joined the Grand Orient; and—November 13, 14, 1815—the exterior of Freemasons' Hall was splendidly illuminated to celebrate the visit of the new ruler of the country, the Czar Alexander of Russia.

Little remains to be narrated. Potocki was re-elected year after year, and the Craft prospered, so that in 1818 the Grand Orient numbered on its roll 1 Sovereign Chapter, with 2 subordinate High, and 8 subordinate Low, Chapters—these constituted the Inner Orient.[1] There were also 17 Lodges directly dependent upon the G.O. and the Provincial Grand Lodges of Lithuania, Plock, and Volhynien, with 7, 3, and again 3 Lodges respectively—which collectively, *i.e.*, the 30 Lodges last enumerated, constituted the Outer Orient.

Unfortunately the Fraternity either lent itself to political intrigues of a revolutionary tendency, or was at least suspected of so doing. In consequence the Czar Alexander issued his rescript of suppression to the Minister of the Interior on August 12, 1821. This was promulgated by the Viceroy, November 6, and the further progress of Polish Freemasonry was thus suddenly arrested. We have already seen that barely a year elasped before their brothers in Russia suffered a similar fate.

[1] Chap. XXIV., p. 347.

CHAPTER XXVII.

FREEMASONRY IN THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

GRAND LODGES—HAMBURG—ECLECTIC UNION—THREE GLOBES OF BERLIN—NATIONAL OF BERLIN—ROYAL YORK OF BERLIN—SUN OF BAIREUTH—SAXONY—CONCORD OF DARMSTADT—INDEPENDENT LODGES—EXTINCT GRAND LODGES—HANOVER—SILESIA—KÖNIGSBERG—RATISBON—BRUNSWICK—BODE'S—BADEN, GRAND ORIENT AND GRAND NATIONAL UNION—WESTPHALIA—HESSE CASSEL—OTHER MASONIC UNIONS.

THE Fraternity of Freemasons in Germany is at present divided in its allegiance amongst eight Grand Lodges. There are also five perfectly regular and recognized Lodges "who are a law unto themselves." Besides these, many Grand Bodies of the Craft have lived their span and died, and without some allusion to their former existence, a history of German Freemasonry would be but an account of its present state. I therefore propose to do my best, in my fast dwindling space, to describe all these communities, and shall conclude this branch of our inquiry, by referring to various combinations of German Masons, past and present, which do not come under the heading of Grand Lodges. With regard to existing Grand Lodges, I believe the reader will grasp the subject more firmly if I consider these, not simultaneously, but separately, although I shall thereby be obliged to go over the same series of years eight consecutive times. The Chart given with this Chapter will serve, however, to present them in their contemporaneous aspect.

GRAND LODGES.

I. The Grand Lodge of Hamburg.

Of all the German Grand Lodges this deserves the first mention, and for two reasons,—its earliest beginnings can be carried farthest back along the stream of time, and in the purity and legitimacy of its English origin, it is only equalled by the Grand Lodge of the Eclectic Union, at Frankfort, which, however, falls slightly behind it in point of antiquity.

The earliest date connecting the Craft with Hamburg, is contained in a speech delivered January 30, 1765, by Dr. Jaenisch, then Prov. G.M., who declared that his appointment as such dated from the time of his departure from London between 1718-20.[1] I can only attempt to explain this assertion by supposing that at this very early period Jaenisch had received some verbal permission to make Masons on the Continent; anything more definite or formal is inconceivable.

[1] Nettelbladt, Gesch. Freim. Systeme, p. 555.

The next reference to Hamburg occurs under the administration of the Duke of Norfolk, when a Monsieur Thuanus[1] was appointed in 1729 Prov. G.M. for the circle of Lower Saxony. This person, however, is no more heard of; therefore his influence, if ever exercised, must have been of a very fugitive character.

In 1733 the Earl of Strathmore is stated to have granted to eleven German Masons a deputation to open a Lodge at Hamburg.[2]

The minutes (in French) of an anonymous Hamburg Lodge have been preserved, dated December 6, 1737. According to these, the meeting was held under the presidency of Karl Sarry, English Provincial Grand Master of Prussia and Brandenburg. This gentleman's name is not mentioned in our English records, but he may have had some reason for assuming the above title nevertheless. The Lodge in question is usually considered to have developed into the Absalom. If so, it performed the unnecessary act of obtaining a fresh charter, because it wa almost certainly already warranted in 1733, for in the Engraved List for 1734 we find No. 124 at Hamburg without a date, and in the later List for 1740, as No. 108, constituted in 1733. There can therefore be little doubt that it was the Lodge of the eleven German Masons, as above. On October 23, 1740, Lodge Absalom at Hamburg was warranted as No. 119,[3] the dates and numbers both showing that the Lodges were considered distinct in England. If one Lodge was a continuation of the other, it is somewhat difficult to account for these two warrants, and the consequent loss of seniority. I am inclined to think that when, in 1740, Lüttmann was appointed Prov. G. M. of Hamburg and Lower Saxony, he applied for a warrant for a new Lodge—Absalom—and that the old Lodge gradually died out. The latter had been ruled in turn by Brothers Carpser, Von Oberg, and Lüttmann himself. The most remarkable incidents of the existence of this old Lodge are, that on March 7, 1738, it drew upon itself the very short-lived prohibition of the magistrates,[4] and in the same year sent a deputation to initiate the future Frederick the Great.[5]

Lodge Absalom was warranted October 23, 1740, and on the 30th Lüttmann received his patent as Prov. G.M.[6] He was also the W.M. of Absalom, but having perfected and opened the Provincial Grand Lodge in 1741—the highest Masonic authority in Germany—he resigned the chair of the Lodge in 1742, and accepted the position of Treasurer.[7] Even Marschall, the Prov. G.M. of Upper Saxony, did not disdain to occupy a Warden's chair in this Lodge whilst residing at Hamburg.

The first act of the Provincial Grand Master, was to legitimate an existing unchartered Lodge in Hamburg, under the name of "St. George," September 24, 1743. This Lodge first appears in our list of 1744 as No. 196. The constitution of a Lodge in Brunswick followed in 1744; at Copenhagen, 1745; Hanover, 1746; Celle, 1748; Oldenberg, 1752; Schwerin, 1754; and at Hildesheim, 1762.[8] The last two received English numbers, but the subsequent history of all was very soon divorced from that of the Grand Lodge of Hamburg. Scarcely was the Provincial Grand Lodge established before Scots Masonry made itself felt. In 1744 Count Schmettau, who had carried the Scots degrees to Berlin, introduced them to Hamburg, and erected the Scots Lodges "Schmettau" and "Judica," of which Von Oberg and Von Rönigk, the Masters of St. George and Absalom,

[1] Constitutions 1756, p. 333. By many writers called Du Thom. [2] Preston, edit. 1821, p. 213.
[3] Engraved List, 1756. [4] Nettelbladt, Gesch. Freim. Systeme, p. 555. [5] *Cf. post*, p. 47.
[6] Constitutions, 1756, p. 334. [7] W. Keller, Gesch. der Freim. in Deutschland, 1859, p. 82.
[8] Handbuch, *s. v.* Hamburg.

became respectively the Scots Masters.[1] At the same time many surreptitious Lodges sprang up, and in 1749 there even existed a clandestine Tyler's or Serving Brother's Lodge, in which other serving brethren were initiated.[2] In 1747 there was at Hamburg an African Lodge,[3] which, although it passed away and left no trace, has been viewed as a forerunner of Von Koppen's Rite of African Architects, 1768-97.[4]

Lüttmann (a dyer), who resigned in 1759, and had ceased to exist in 1764,[5] was followed—November 20, 1759—by Gottfried J. Jaenisch, M.D.—born 1707; initiated in Lodge Absalom, December 18, 1743; and died May 28, 1781.[6] The latter's patent as Prov. G.M. was signed by Lord Aberdour;[7] but he was scarcely installed before, in 1762, he associated himself with the degrees of the Clermont Chapter introduced by Rosa from Berlin. The way was thus prepared for the Strict Observance.

In the first month of 1765, Schubart[8] arrived in Hamburg, where he consorted with Bode, who had been present at Johnstone's Altenberg Convent. The rule of the Strict Observance, which required *noble* birth of its candidates, proved no bar to Schubart's success in this notably plebeian city, for Hund was induced to sanction Schubart's proposition whereby enhanced fees not only ensured knighthood, but also ennoblement. A prominent Hamburg Mason at this time was Joh. Gottfr. von Exter, M.D.—born in Bremen 1734—who was made a knight (together with Jaenisch) by Schubart, January 11, 1765. The Templar missionary promised to raise Hamburg to the position of an independent Prefectory. Accordingly, on January 30, Jaenisch appeared in the Provincial Grand Lodge, dissolved all Lodges formerly warranted by its authority, closed the P.G.L., declared the Strict Observance Rite the only true one, reconstituted the Lodges Absalom and St. George, and proclaimed Hamburg as the Prefectory Ivenach.[9] Bode, who had been made in the Absalom Lodge—February 11, 1761[10]—became for a time a leading light in the S.O. The Chapter, which had been formed of 12 members, grew in the space of a few weeks to 29.[11] The generality of the Fraternity proved, however, by no means enthusiastically disposed towards the new Rite; for in 1768 the two Hamburg Lodges were practically dormant and the Grand Lodge closed,[12] a state of things which permitted other systems to force an entrance.

In 1768 Rosenberg—already mentioned in connection with Russia—erected in Hamburg the Lodge of the Three Roses, and Sudthausen that of Olympia, both according to the Swedish Rite. But Zinnendorff, who had cast off the Strict Observance in 1767, and founded his own rival Swedish Rite in 1768, came to Hamburg in 1770, and reconstituted these two Lodges under his own system; and in 1771 founded two others, the Pelican, and Red Eagle, in Altona, a suburb of Hamburg.[13] At the head of Olympia, afterwards "the Golden Sphere," was J. Leonhardi—not to be confounded with Leonhardi of Frankfort—who was for many years Zinnendorff's representative in the Grand Lodge at London.[14] The first two Lodges took part in the formation—June 24, 1770—of Zinnendorff's[15] Grand National Lodge. Meanwhile, in spite of the efforts of the Prov. G.M. for Foreign Lodges,

[1] Handbuch, *s. v.* Hamburg. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* [4] Chap. XXIV. p. 335 (Chart No. I.)
[5] Handbuch, *s. v.* [6] *Ibid.* [7] Constitutions, 1767. [8] Chap. XXIV., p. 358.
[9] Nettelbladt, Gesch. Freim. Systeme, p. 558. [10] *Ibid.*, p. 559. [11] *Ibid.*
[12] Handbuch, *s. v.* Hamburg. [13] *Ibid.*
[14] For Leonhardi's actions in London see Centennial History of the Pilgrim Lodge, No. 238 (1879, Karl Bergmann). This Lodge was founded in 1779 by Leonhardi in order to strengthen Zinnendorff's position with the Grand Lodge of England. [15] *Post*, p. 57

De Vignolles, who seems to have been the only English Mason who thoroughly understood the character of Zinnendorff's usurpation, the Grand Lodge of England had recognized the sole authority in Germany of the Grand National Lodge at Berlin—November 30, 1773—so that when Jaenisch at length attempted to resume his duties as English Prov. G.M., he found that his patent had been annulled by Lord Petre, May 31, 1773.[1]

In 1774 fourteen brothers deserted Zinnendorff's Lodges, and were constituted by Jaenisch as a Strict Observance Lodge under the name "Emanuel,"[2] thus forming the third Lodge of the system which had once been the Provincial Grand Lodge, and was destined to become so again. This Lodge was of course not immediately registered in England, and first appears in the list for 1792, as No. 508, with the note "have met since 1774." In the same list (1792), Lodges Absalom and St. George, who were "dropped out" at the closing up of numbers in 1770, reappear.

The year 1774—September 8—witnessed the initiation in this Lodge Emanuel of Fried. Ludwig Schroeder, one of the most prominent reformers of German Freemasonry, who was born at Schwerin, March 3, 1744. Space will not allow me to attempt a biography, and I must content myself with a very few facts. Schroeder's public career as an actor and dramatic poet is well known, and in his later function of *impresario* he was at least equally successful. At a comparatively early age he was enabled to devote his well-earned leisure to the reform of the Craft, and here also success attended him. He was Master of the Emanuel Lodge 1787-99; Deputy Prov. G.M. of Lower Saxony, 1799-1814; and G.M. of the Grand Lodge of Hamburg from 1814 until his death, September 3, 1816.[3] His first acts as a Freemason showed no promise of his future career, for in 1774, being then only an apprentice, he opened a clandestine Lodge in Hamburg, "Eliza of the Warm Heart," which lasted until 1777.[4]

In 1776 the Princes Karl of Hesse and Ferdinand of Brunswick[5] founded the Lodge Ferdinand Caroline in Hamburg, the fourth Lodge of the Hamburg system.[6] In 1792 this Lodge received the English No. 509, with the date of 1776.

In 1778 Bode was W.M. of Absalom, and Dresser of St. George. This latter not being acceptable to the brethren, who under the S.O. rules were powerless to remove him, the Hamburg Fraternity seized the occasion of Karl's presence in Altona—then a town of Denmark, although apparently a suburb of Hamburg—to offer him the presidency of all four Lodges. This he accepted—March 28, 1778—but disappointed the brethren in his choice of a deputy; so the ruse having failed, the Chapter was induced to influence him to resign the office in 1780, accepting the title of Protector, and allowing the Lodges, *pro hac vice*, to choose their own Masters. Dresser, as will be easily understood, was not re-elected.[7]

Meanwhile, the Hamburg Fraternity had grown tired of the Strict Observance, which was itself moribund. On May 28, 1781, Jaenisch died, and was succeeded by Dr. von Exter, under whom—by amalgamation—the *four* Lodges became *two*, and renounced the Templar Rite. Exter, however, was won over by the New or Gold Rosicrucians, and

[1] In G. Sec. Heseltine's letter to Jaenisch of this date, demanding the immediate return of his patient, the latter is deservedly reproached, not only with regard to former acts of negligence, but for having made an illegal use of the document, for the furtherance of the "Sect of the Strict Observance" (Nettelbladt, p. 778). The proceedings of Zinnendorff, however, *in whose favor the letter was issued*, were no less illegal and far more reprehensible.

[2] Handbuch, *s. v.* Hamburg.

[3] *Ibid.*, *s. v.*

[4] *Ibid.*, *s. v.* Hamburg.

[5] Chap. XXIV., p. 359, *et seq.*

[6] Handbuch, *s. v.* Hamburg.

[7] Keller, Gesch. der Freim. in Deut., etc., pp. 169, 170.

announced himself as a G.M. under this system, with Dresser as Deputy. Through the latter, Hamburg was nearly induced by the Wetzlar brotherhood to join the newly-formed Eclectic Union as a third Directoral Lodge; but the negotiations were interrupted by his death. At this period Aug. Graefe, a former Prov. G.M. of Canada, arrived in Hamburg as the representative in Germany of the Grand Lodge of England. He was a strong opponent of Zinnendorff, although accredited to his Grand Lodge by a patent dated March 24, 1785,[1] and strongly encouraged a return to first principles, holding out hopes of the Provincial Grand Lodge being revived.[2]

In 1783 Hamburg was invaded by Eckhoffen with a Lodge of Asiatic brothers,[3] and in 1785 Schroeder returned from Vienna,[4] his influence soon making itself felt throughout the Hamburg Craft.

In 1786, the negotiations with England being now complete, and Zinnendorff disowned, the two Hamburg Lodges redivided into the original four, and on August 24 Graefe installed Von Exter as Prov. G.M. of Hamburg and Lower Saxony.[5] Exter's patent was dated July 5, 1786.[6]

In 1787 Schroeder was elected W.M. of Lodge Emanuel, and soon after was intrusted with the revision of the Statutes. He completed his work in 1788, and laid the first stone of his reform by establishing the Old Charges of 1723 as the foundation of all Masonry. But whilst bent on cutting down extravagance on the one hand, he was equally energetic in preventing extreme measures on the other; and it must be ascribed to his influence that a proposal made in 1789 to forego rites and ceremonies of *all kinds* was rejected.[7]

But this return to English Freemasonry was naturally distasteful to Karl of Hesse, Ferdinand's coadjutor, in the direction of the *rectified* Strict Observance. He therefore in 1787, erected a Lodge, "Ferdinand of the Rock," at Hamburg, which was of course looked upon as clandestine, as were also at this time the Zinnendorff Lodges. The latter, however, have always held their own in Hamburg, which is at the present time the seat of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Mecklenburg, under the Grand National Lodge of Berlin. In September, 1790, Bode, who had migrated to Gotha, issued a circular proposing a General Union of German Lodges—an attempt which will be again referred to. The circular failed to shake the allegiance of a single Hamburg Lodge, but it possibly had the effect of stimulating Schroeder to further measures, for we next find that—at his instigation—the Scots Lodges and degrees were abolished in 1790-91, thus leaving nothing but pure English Freemasonry. This step was followed in 1795 by the adhesion of Lodge Ferdinand of the Rock, which, in the "Freemasons' Calendar" for 1798, appears as No. 562, with the words "have met since 1788" in a parenthesis.

At Exter's death—April 12, 1799—Beckmann became Prov. G.M., and Schroeder Deputy.[8] The latter, who had previously revised the Constitutions, now turned his attention to the Ceremonial, and, having discovered what he imagined to be the earliest diction, recast it in a form more applicable to the times. The result was a simple yet impressive Ritual, differing little from our own, which was approved and accepted by the Grand Lodge of Hamburg, April 29, 1801.[9] Its daughter Lodges had meanwhile increased from 5 to 9.[10]

[1] Grand Lodge Records.
[2] Keller, pp. 199, 200.
[3] Chap. XXIV., p. 335 (Chart No. I.)
[4] Findel, p. 497.
[5] Keller, pp. 200, 201.
[6] Grand Lodge Records.
[7] Findel, pp. 497, 498.
[8] Nettelbladt, etc., p. 598.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 600.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 601.

In 1802 Schroeder procured the acceptance of what, until quite lately, was the distinguishing feature of the Hamburg system, viz., the *Engbund—i.e.*, Select Bond. It was intended to forestall any hankering after High Degrees by rendering it possible for Master Masons to become historically acquainted with all the High Degrees of the various Rites.

At the same time, to raise its value as a distinction, it was not open to *all* Master Masons, and possessed its own means of recognition, etc. Certain Grand Officers and all Masters of Lodges were *ex officio* members, and in each Lodge a certain number of the Master Masons were admitted. The Hamburg *Engbund* was a sort of Grand *Engbund* for all the private ones, and a further selection from each *Engbund* conducted the correspondence with the others. This second division was called the Correspondence Circle. The members as such exercise no influence over their Lodges, and their intention was, by research into all the usages and fallacies of the High Degrees, to demonstrate their uselessness and absence of historical basis.

Under its new guise the Provincial Grand Lodge of Hamburg prospered for some years, until in 1811 the success of the French arms, and Napoleon's Interdict, rendered it impossible to continue the connection with this country. On February 11, 1811, therefore, the Provincial Grand Lodge declared itself independent, under the name of the Grand Lodge of Hamburg.[1] At that time its sway was exerted over 12 Lodges.[2] The remainder of its history is uneventful enough, and may be briefly recorded.

Beckmann died—June 28, 1814—and was succeeded as G.M. by Schroeder; at whose death—September 3, 1816—Beseler was elected, and, at his resignation, Schleiden, July 28, 1825. In 1828 W.H. Göschen[3] was appointed the first representative at the Grand Lodge of England. In 1834 Schleiden resigned, and was succeeded by Moraht. On December 6, 1837, Lodge Absalom held its centenary festival, and in 1838 the Grand Lodge of England appointed H. J. Wenck as its first representative at Hamburg. Hamburg has ever since been most closely allied with England, and its representative has often enjoyed the special honor of being appointed Grand Secretary for German Correspondence. Moraht died February 13, 1838, and was succeeded by Dav. Andr. Cords, under whom the constitutions were revised in 1845. The latter was followed by his former Deputy, Dr. H.W. Buek, in 1847, and under this G.M. the Constitutions were again revised in 1862. The 150 years' jubilee of Freemasonry was held in 1867.

In 1869 it was considered expedient that the historical acquirements of the *Engbund* should no longer be reserved as the special privilege of a select few. The Grand *Engbund* was therefore dissolved, and reconstituted as a private *Engbund*, open to all Master Masons; and the daughter associations followed suit. They have since existed as purely literary Masonic societies; but the want of the previous cohesion and superior direction had so seriously hampered their efforts, that in 1878 the Lodge at Rostock made proposals for re-establishing the former organization.[4] The result is unknown to me. The completion of Dr. Buek's twenty-fifth year as G.M. was celebrated by the Grand Lodge, June 24, 1872. He then resigned, and was followed by Glitza. In 1874 and 1875 the Grand Lodge of Hamburg recognized the colored Lodges of Pruice Hall in Boston and of Ohio, and in 1877-78 the Constitutions underwent a last revision.

In 1878 the Grand Lodge of Hamburg ruled over 32 Lodges, of which 5 were in that

[1] Nettelbladt, etc., p. 613. [2] Findel, p. 499.

[3] A member of the Pilgrim Lodge, No. 238, London; founder of the firm Frühling & Göschen, and father of the ex-Minister Göschen. [4] Findel, p. 501.

city and 19 in other parts of Germany, 8 being abroad. In Hamburg itself there existed 9 other Lodges owing allegiance to other German Grand Lodges. The total number of Masons under the Grand Lodge was 3726, an average of 116 per Lodge.[1] Since then two foreign Lodges have been added, one at Bucharest and another at Vera Cruz.[2] With a solitary exception,[3] Hamburg is the only German Grand Lodge which warrants Lodges outside the Empire; it ignores the American theory of Grand Lodge sovereignty, possessing no less than three Lodges in New York itself. The Pilgrim Lodge in London works in German according to the Hamburg or Schroeder Ritual, but under the rule of the Grand Lodge of England.

The history of the Grand Lodge of Hamburg may be thus briefly summarized:—1730, Du Thom, Prov. G.M.; 1733-40, anonymous Lodge; 1740-65, Provincial Grand Lodge of Hamburg and Lower Saxony under Lüttmann and Jaenisch; 1765-82, a part of the Strict Observance system; 1782-88 under Exter, indoctrinated with the fancies of the New Rosicrucians, though always—it must in fairness be recorded—inclining more and more towards a return to the practice under the Grand Lodge of England; 1786-1811, Provincial Grand Lodge once more; from 1811 to 1885, Grand Lodge of Hamburg.

II. The Mother Grand Lodge of the Eclectic Union, Frankfort-on-the-Maine.

Reference to the high antiquity of the origin of this system has already been made, but it claims emphatically the first place in an English Mason's regard for two other reasons—the filial persistency with which it adhered under most difficult circumstances to its connection with England, and the strong common sense which, under every allurement, kept it practically free *at all times* from the blighting influence of High Degrees, Strict Observance, and other "Masonic Aberrations." The Lodge "Union" of Frankfort and its allies have never ceased for one moment to work in the purely English, and *only* Freemasonry of three degrees. Individual members have taken "accessory" degrees, and have even been commissioned by the Lodge to join other Rites in order to report upon their value, and—have always reported adversely! The history of this body affords no mysteries to be cleared up; its minutes are full and complete from the earliest one to the latest; its records are admirably preserved; every statement—on their authority—rests on documentary evidence, and from 1742, literally no question is open to doubt. The annals of the Eclectic Union have been written by three of its own members, Kloss,[4] Keller,[5] and Karl Paul,[6] and as to facts do not differ in the slightest degree. As our present guide I select—on the score of convenience—the last in date, Paul. His account is compiled in chronological order, and therefore no difficulties of verification can be experienced.

Frankfort, from its position as a free town of the Empire, the seat of Germany's largest banking houses, the coronation city of its Emperors, and the place of meeting of the Imperial Diet, enjoyed obvious advantages for the early propagation of Freemasonry. Evidence, indeed, is not wanting of informal meetings of the Craft at a very early date.[7] But the first indications of a permanent Lodge are the records of fines inflicted, as *per* cash-book of the Union Lodge under date of March 1, 1742. In the same year—March 29

[1] Handbuch, *s. v.* Hamburg. [2] Cosmopolitan Calendar, 1885. [3] *Post*, p. 56.

[4] Annalen der Loge zur Einigkeit, 1842. [5] Gesch. des Eklektischen Freimaurerbundes, 1857.

[6] Annalen des Eklektischen Freimaurerbundes, 1883. The "Handbuch" also gives a parallel account, *s. v.* Frankfort and Eklektisches-Bund.

[7] *E. g.*, the alleged initiation of Von Hund, *circa* 1742 (Chap. XXIV., p. 355).

—by-laws were drawn up and signed by the members, June 27. On the last date the Lodge was formally constituted by General de Beaujeu, Marquis de Gentils, and Baron von Schell, styling themselves G.M. and Grand Wardens *pro tempore*. I have been unable to ascertain by what right they assumed to represent the Grand Lodge of England in this matter; but even if the offices were self-conferred, we may perceive in this very irregularity itself a striving after the regularity which has since so honorably distinguished this Lodge. That the act (if a usurpation) was soon afterwards condoned, may be gathered from the charter granted by Lord Ward, G.M.—February 8, 1743[1]—which recites that Brother Beaumont, oculist to the Prince of Wales, having assured "us" that the Lodge had been constituted *in due form* under the name of union, and as a daughter of the Union Lodge in London, we do hereby recognize it, etc., and order that the members of either Lodge be considered equally members of the other. Its first Master was Steinheil, and its first Warden De la Tierce, who in 1742 produced one of the earliest translations of Anderson's Constitutions (1723) for the use of the Lodge.[2] In the Engraved List, 1744-45, it is depicted as a Union of Angels,[3] and its date of constitution is acknowledged, June 17, 1742, with the number 192. Its proceedings were conducted in French until 1744, when it was resolved to work alternately in German and French.

In 1743 Count Schmettau, whose name has several times been mentioned, established a military Lodge in Frankfort, which amalgamated with the "Union"—January 17, 1744—and in 1745 the "Union" assumed the power of a Mother Lodge by constituting the Lodge of the Three Lions at Marburg, which was not, however, registered in England at the time, and appears first in the Engraved List for 1767 as No. 393.

In 1746—October 24—the Lodge resolved to close its doors, owing to the paucity of attendance, and other reasons, and was reopened August 16, 1752, by Steinheil. In 1758 a constitution was granted to a very short-lived Lodge at Mayence, and the occupation of Frankfort by the French army gave rise to several irregular Lodges in the city. The Lodge strove its best to preserve order, but ineffectually for some time, until it at length singled out for mutual support and assistance a Lodge which had grown up in the Swedish regiment, "Royal Deux Ponts," quartered at Frankfort. On May 12, 1761, it constituted the Lodge "Joseph of Union" in Nuremberg, and—May 29, 1762—legitimated the Royal Deux Ponts Lodge. The invitation of the Berlin "Three Globes"—March 8, 1765—to join the Strict Observance, was declined, and also a proposal to pay Schubart's expenses in order that he might instruct them in the new Rite. The Daughter-Lodge at Nuremberg was, however, at this time won over to the Templars, although it did not formally sever its connection with Frankfort till two years later, 1767. The greatest blot on the history of the Lodge Union, is its refusal from a very early date to recognize the eligibility of Jewish candidates, an error, nevertheless, which it amended much earlier than many other German Lodges. In 1766 it refused a warrant to Cassel, because Jews were among the petitioners. At this period J. P. Gogel, a former W.M. of the Lodge, whose commercial pursuits often called him to England, was commissioned to petition for a Provincial Grand Lodge patent for Frankfort, which was granted by Lord Blaney, G.M. August 20, 1766, to J. P. Gogel,

[1] A copy of the warrant will be found in the Appendix. *Cf. ante*, Chap. XX., pp. 219, 247.

[2] Chap. XXIV., p. 337.

[3] Hence possibly the *English* title, which occurs in no German document, and does not appear in the Engraved Lists, when these cease to be *pictorial* (1770). The "Signs of the Houses" were frequently misinterpreted. Chap. XX., p. 219.

Prov. G.M. of the Upper and Lower Rhine and of Franconia. Gogel produced his patent in Frankfort—October 28—and the P.G.L. was accordingly constituted on the 31st, with the Lodges Union at Frankfort, Marburg, Deux Ponts, and Nuremberg as daughters. On this occasion Gogel declared that he invested the Lodge "Union" with his personal rights, and that no Prov. G.M. should in future exercise the office for more than two or three years. In this he exceeded his powers, because a Provincial patent is always a personal distinction, a Prov. G.M. not being elected by the Province, but appointed by the Grand Master; and as events proved, the well-meant intentions of Gogel were incapable of realization. The *officers* of the P.G.L.—D.G.M., S. and J. Wardens—were the Masters of the Union, Marburg, and Nuremberg Lodges respectively; but the *members*, at first all Master Masons, and afterwards Wardens—present and past—were drawn from the Union only. Out of the latter, each of the other Lodges might select a representative. It will be seen, as we proceed, that the Union, and subsequently the other Lodges *in* Frankfort, were always exceptionally favored—a feature which, in a modified form, even yet exists. Among the first members of the P.G.L. were Karl Brönner, Peter F. Passavant, and F. W. Möhler.

In 1767 the Nuremberg Lodge threw off its allegiance, and joined the Strict Observance, whose emissary, Schubart, had arrived in Frankfort in December, 1766. His propaganda failed to influence the Provincial Grand Lodge or its daughter, "Union," but he succeeded in erecting, in February, 1767, a Lodge of the "Three Thistles" at Frankfort, which for many years proved a thorn in the side of the brethren.

According to his promise Gogel resigned—October 23, 1768—but was re-elected November 10, 1770—Möhler serving as G.M. in the interim. The former, on his return from England in 1772, constituted a Lodge at Strassburg, which almost immediately afterwards seceded to the Strict Observance. In the same year the Deux Ponts Lodge also joined the enemy.

In December, 1772, Prince Ludwig George Karl of Hesse, an enthusiastic convert to Von Hund's system, addressed a letter to the Provincial Grand Lodge, expatiating on the advantages of the new Rite, invited the Grand Lodge to join him, and quietly proposed that Gogel should abdicate in his favor! The offer was naturally declined.

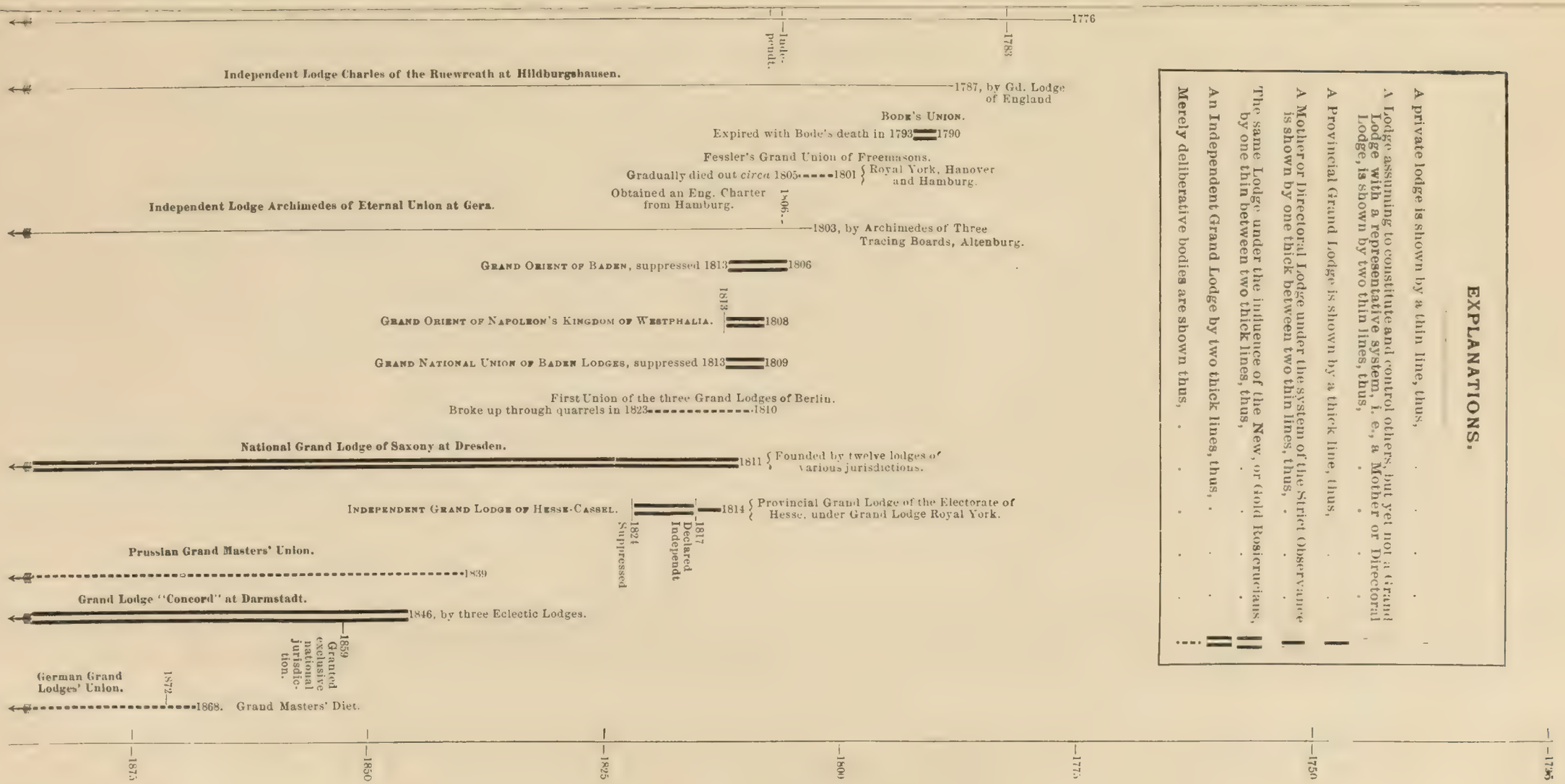
On November 30, 1773, Zinnendorff concluded his compact with England, by which all the existing German Lodges were handed over to him;[1] this treaty was not communicated at once to Frankfort, and whatever excuses England might have urged in extenuation, so far as regarded Hamburg, which had strayed from the right road, its action was not only uncalled for, but highly discreditable in the case of Frankfort, the truest daughter our Grand Lodge ever had cause to rejoice over. No excuse whatever can be pleaded, except the profound ignorance of the Grand Lodge of England—or, it may be, of its Secretary, James Heseltine—with regard to the true state of the Craft abroad, an ignorance which, in the opinion of all dispassionate inquirers, will heighten rather than extenuate the grave error I have related.

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CHART No. 4.

EXTINCT AND ACTIVE RULING MASONIC BODIES IN GERMANY.



EXPLANATIONS.

A private lodge is shown by a thin line, thus, ...

A Lodge assuming to constitute and control others, but yet not a Grand Lodge with a representative system, i. e., a Mother or Directorial Lodge, is shown by two thin lines, thus, ...

A Provincial Grand Lodge is shown by a thick line, thus, ...

A Mother or Directorial Lodge under the system of the Strict Observance is shown by one thick between two thin lines, thus, ...

The same Lodge under the influence of the New, or Gold Rosicrucians, by one thin between two thick lines, thus, ...

An Independent Grand Lodge by two thick lines, thus, ...

Merely deliberative bodies are shown thus, ...

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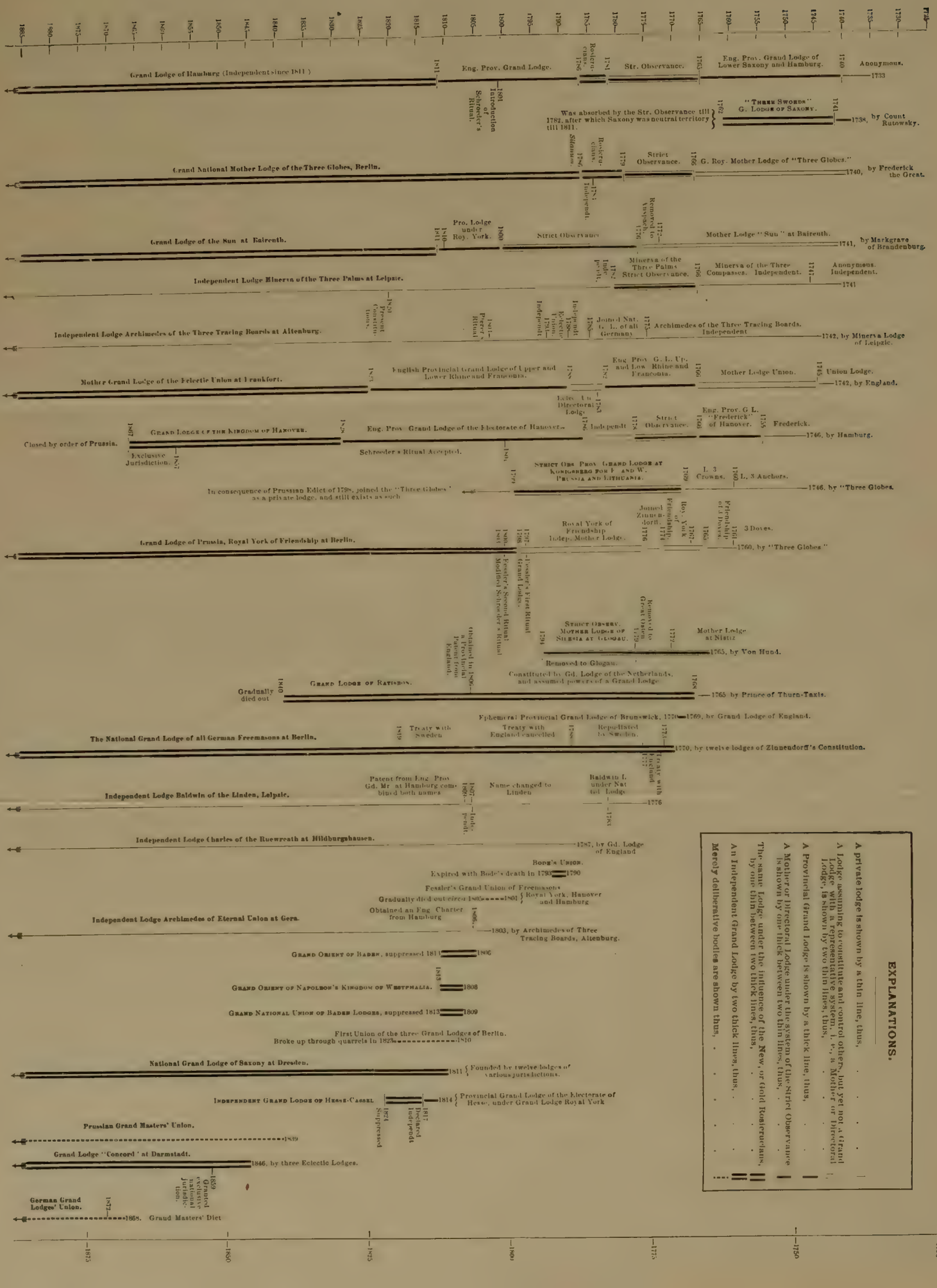
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sole support of the Provincial Grand Lodge. In spite of this isolated position, Gogel accompanied a letter of inquiry respecting the arrangement with Zinnendorff by a contribution of £30 for Freemasons' Hall and £4 for the Charity. At the same time he pointed out that the only truly English Lodge in Germany was the Frankfort Lodge, and that both the Zinnendorff and Strict Observance systems were something totally different. This and further protests on Gogel's part only produced an answer from England in 1775, in which, after praising Frankfort as the best and only support of true Freemasonry, he was nevertheless advised to come to some arrangement with Zinnendorff. It being quite evident that under these circumstances England would not acknowledge a successor to Gogel—in whose name the Provincial patent was made out, on which Frankfort based its claims—it was determined that he should not resign his office as at first intended. Freemasonry in Frankfort, however, languished, and between 1775 and 1777 no sittings of Grand Lodge were held. From 1777-80 negotiations, initiated by the Landgrave Karl of Hesse, were carried on with this Prince, who held out special inducements to Frankfort to join the Strict Observance. Gogel, Brönner, Passavant, and Küsstner were advanced to the highest degree of this Rite as a test, and—advised against it! The negotiations then fell through at the last moment. Knigge, with the teachings of the Illuminati, failed even to obtain a hearing from the Lodge in 1780, although here again several brethren—for example, Küsstner, Brönner, J.P. von Leonhardi, Pascha, Noël, Du Fay, etc.—gave the Society a trial. The Prov. G.L. refused to yield to, or capitulate with, Zinnendorff, and with its daughter "Union" plodded on its lonely road.

In 1782—March 12—Gogel died; on the 17th, Peter F. Passavant was elected G.M.; on the 18th, Pascha, who was about to leave for London, was commissioned to apply for a new Provincial patent, made out this time in the name of the Lodge, and not in that of the G.M., and to procure a solution to several other questions. In London he failed to obtain the ear of Grand Lodge, except through J. Leonhardi, W.M. of the Pilgrim Lodge, who, as Zinnendorff's representative, was scarcely likely to assist him. The utmost concession offered to Pascha was, that like the Berlin "Royal York," the Frankfort "Union" should content itself with the position of an English constituted Lodge, independent of any German superior. The result is not surprising. The Frankfort Fraternity decided—November 24, 1782—to assert, maintain, and exercise its acquired rights as the Provincial Grand Lodge for the Upper and Lower Rhine and Franconia, omitting the title "English." They contended—and with much force—that the right of assembling as a P.G.L had been granted to them, *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and therefore could not be revoked, except by mutual consent, or on cause shown, that the Frankfort body had been guilty of misconduct or neglect.

It will be remembered that it was precisely at this period that Von Hund's Templar system received its *coup-de-grace* at Wilhelmsbad, and German Freemasonry entered upon a transition state. From the consequent confusion emerged the Eclectic Union. In order to thoroughly understand this movement, we must for the moment turn to the free city of Wetzlar-on-the-Lahn, in Rhenish Prussia. In that city the Frankfort "Three Thistles" warranted in 1767 a Strict Observance Lodge, "Joseph of the Three Helmets." To this was added the Scots Lodge, "Joseph of the Imperial Eagle"—a mother Lodge, which warranted a whole string of S.O. Lodges. The Templar Chapter was in 1777 transferred from the unfruitful soil of Frankfort to Wetzlar, at its head being Von Ditfurth.

On the decay of the Templar system, the Scots Lodge assumed the position of an inde-

pendent Provincial Grand Lodge. Von Ditfurth then conceived the idea of the Eclectic Union, and communicated with Brönner of Frankfort, who revised his suggestions—considerably improving them—and at a meeting of the Frankfort Provincial Grand Lodge—February 9, 1783—sketched out the future lines of the proposed body. The result was a joint circular to all German Lodges from the two Provincial Grand Lodges in question, dated March 18 and 21, 1783. The daughter Lodges—one at Wetzlar excepted—to the number of 14, immediately gave in their adhesion to the new organization, viz., at Wetzlar, Munich, Augsburg, Neuwied, Münster, Lautern, Cassel, Rothenburg, Aix-la-Chapelle, Salzburg, Wiesbaden, Brünn, Giessen, and Bentheim-Steinfurth.

On August 24, 1783, after due consideration, the Union Lodge also joined, and in December of the same year, the Strict Observance Lodge of the Three Thistles (at Frankfort) rejected the rectified Templar Rite, and amalgamated with the Union Lodge.

The success of the new organization was such, that by 1789 no less than 53 Lodges had expressed a desire to be enrolled under its banner, including Lodges in Copenhagen, Warsaw, Kieu, Naples, etc.; but a great number of these could not be accepted for political and other reasons, and many others had soon after to be closed on similar grounds.

The chief features of the Eclectic Union were as follows :—Perfect equality of all Lodges among themselves, and entire independence of any superior authority—Masonry, by common consent, held to be composed of three degrees only—uniformity of ritual in those three degrees—every Lodge free to superimpose any fancy degrees it chose (hence the term Eclectic), but the degrees so conferred, and the members thereof, were to enjoy no recognition as such in the Lodge—the W.M. to be elected, and himself to appoint the other officers—the bond of union to consist in the regular communication to each Lodge of every other Lodge's proceedings—the Provincial Lodges of Frankfort and Wetzlar to be the two centres, undertaking this work of distribution under the name of Directorial Lodges—the Master Masons of other systems to be admitted as visitors to the Lodges, without any recognition of professedly superior degrees of which they might be in possession—warrants of Constitution to be granted in the name of the Eclectic Union by either of the Directorial Lodges, etc. The permission to add High Degrees soon lapsed by non-user, and was subsequently withdrawn, even before the Statutes were definitely altered; with the result that an attempt, a very few years afterwards, to introduce the Royal Arch into Frankfort was summarily suppressed. The Wetzlar Lodge also from the first took a less leading position than Frankfort, and gradually died out. In 1783 the Ritual was revised, conformably in all essentials with the English Rite, save that it insisted upon the candidate being a Christian—an enactment which was the cause of much trouble.

In 1784, the Harmony and Concord, and, in 1785, the Compasses, Lodges, at Trieste and Gotha respectively, joined the Eclectic Union.

In 1785 Graefe, of whom mention has already been made in connection with Hamburg, offered his services to Frankfort, and negotiations with England were commenced.

On May 21, 1786, Passavant died, and was succeeded as Provincial Grand Master by J. P. von Leonhardi. At this date the roll of the Union showed 25 Lodges, 7 of which, however—probably for political reasons—were unnamed in the published list.

Through Graefe's exertions, a compact was entered into with England—March 1, 1788—reinstating the Provincial Grand Lodge.[1] The clauses of most interest to this sketch

[1] *Cf.* Chap. XX., p. 233. The terms of this compact are recorded in the Minutes of the Grand Lodge of England, November 26, 1788, and will be found in the Appendix (*post*).

are §1, granting the Lodge permission to elect its own G.M. every two or three years; §2, promising on the part of London not to issue warrants in the jurisdiction of Frankfort, except in cases where the Provincial Grand Lodge could not grant them; §6, Frankfort Lodges might obtain English registry on payment of the usual fees.

The last minute of the Wetzlar Lodge which reached Frankfort is dated July 11, 1788, and expresses a wish to conclude a similar treaty with England. But the Lodge was already moribund, and the desire was never realized.

On January 13, 1788, new statutes were passed by 30 Lodges, of which 8 by desire were unnamed. It is noteworthy that the Provincial Grand Lodge was still formed exclusively of members of the Union Lodge, every other Lodge being allowed—as before—to appoint one of these as its representative.

Leonhardi's patent as Prov. G.M. of the upper and Lower Rhine and Franconia, signed by Lord Effingham, Acting Grand Master, is dated February 20, 1789;[1] on its receipt the installation festival was held, October 25, 1789; and Kloss remarks that no less than 29 Lodges sought and obtained English registry.[2] A careful comparison of our Lodge lists, however, shows at most 10 Lodges. These are, according to the numeration from 1792 to 1813, Nos. 456, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, and 588. On December 5, 1789, Leonhardi was elected Prov. G.M. for a second term.

The peculiar position of the Grand Lodge as a Directorial Lodge of the Union, and at the same time a Provincial Grand Lodge under England, gave rise to some apprehensions respecting the future independence of the private Lodges. Bode cleverly seized this incident to lend color to his circular issued November 24, 1790, by the Eclectic Lodge at Gotha, calling on all Eclectic Lodges to rearrange themselves under a new organization with the title of "German Masonic Union." As a result the Gotha Lodge was very naturally erased from the roll of Eclectic Lodges. In the same year the Lodge at Carlsruhe closed for political reasons, and that at Giessen on account of quarrels among its members. The Lodge at Nuremberg, "Three Arrows," protested against Gotha's exclusion, because it had been effected without the assent of the other Lodges or hearing Gotha's defence; ultimately in 1792 it severed its connection with the Eclectic Union, and joined the Gotha or Bode's Union.

In 1790 a few members of Lodge Union attempted to introduce the Royal Arch. Although they kept the Chapter entirely separate from the Lodge they met with decided opposition from the other brethren, and the degree was soon suffered to lapse. After many years we hear of it again. In 1842 the three surviving members of this still-born Chapter deposited a sealed case in the archives containing the statutes, rituals, and documents, to be opened after their deaths. On August 30, 1791, Von Ditfurth, of Wetzlar, resigned his office of Prov. G.M. and also that of W.M. of his Lodge, from which time Frankfort has reigned supreme without even the shadow of a rival.

Leonhardi resigned his office—October 19, 1792—and was succeeded—February 6, 1793—as Prov. G.M. by Johann Karl Brönner.[3] During this year the Lodge at Kaufbeuren closed for political reasons. These made themselves also felt in Frankfort, so that—June 8, 1793—Brönner closed the Grand Lodge. On the 9th the French troops entered the city, and although the private Lodges still showed some slight activity throughout the occupation, the G.M. did not reopen Grand Lodge until October 29, 1801. Of all the for-

[1] G.L. Records. [2] Kloss, Annalen der Loge zur Einigkeit, p. 238.

[3] Confirmed by patent, Dec. 6, 1793.

mer Eclectic Lodges only seven survived these eight troublous years—those of Aix-la-Chapelle, Altenburg, Frankfort, Hildesheim, Münster, Rudolstadt, and Krefeld; and of these only the Frankfort "Union" had remained faithful to the Provincial Grand Lodge of the Eclectic Union.

Unfortunately this long slumber had induced the English Lodge "Royal York," at Berlin, which in 1798 had constituted itself a Grand Lodge, to consider the Provincial Grand Lodge of Frankfort as extinct, and in consequence—December 4, 1801—it warranted a Frankfort Lodge, "Socrates of Constancy." Brönner protested against this infraction of jurisdiction, and in his appeal to England in 1805 complained of being left for three years without any replies to his letters. This letter also was left unanswered, for which perhaps the wars may be responsible; but the consequent strained relations between Frankfort and Berlin prevented the former joining a union which the Royal York, the Grand Lodge of Hanover, and the Provincial Grand Lodge of Hamburg had formed among themselves.[1] This Lodge Socrates remained as a stumbling block for many subsequent years.

Between 1803 and 1805 the Grand Lodge was once more closed, to which act many reasons, political and otherwise, contributed. Meanwhile the Nuremberg Lodge (formerly of the Eclectic Union) had endeavored to induce Frankfort to accept Schroeder's Ritual.[2] The P.G.L. of Frankfort once more, in spite of England's neglect, showed her filial allegiance by declining—February 27, 1805—to accede, being unable to take upon herself the responsibility of eliminating the obligation without superior permission. This subject also formed part of Brönner's letter already alluded to.

In 1806 Frankfort became a Grand Duchy, with Karl von Dalberg over it as Prince Primate (*Fürst Primas*). Brönner petitioned for permission to prosecute Masonic work, and closed the Provincial Grand Lodge until a reply was received. This arrived—verbally transmitted—July 2, 1808, to the effect that as Prince Primate he must ignore their labors, but as Karl von Dalberg he would permit them.

On July 12, 1808, the Grand Orient of France warranted a Lodge in Frankfort, composed chiefly of Jews, under the name of the "Nascent Dawn." This Lodge also was a source of trouble and vexation in later days.

But the Provincial Grand Lodge was strengthened in 1808 by the re-awakening of the Ulm Lodge, in 1809, by the revival of the Lodges at Carlsruhe and Freiburg, and by a new Lodge at Heidelberg. In this same year the above Lodges at Carlsruhe and Freiburg, together with an old Lodge at Heidelberg, joined in erecting a National Grand Lodge, Union of Baden, without, however, seceding from the Eclectic Union; merely ceasing to own allegiance to the Provincial Grand Lodge as such. On May 3, 1811, a compact was made with the Lodge Socrates, in view of its adhesion to the Provincial Grand Lodge, that the latter should in future be composed of members of the Socrates and Union Lodges equally, but that the G.M. should always be elected from the Union. The Lodge Socrates accordingly entered the Eclectic Union—May 12, 1811. June 24, the Lodge Joseph of Nuremberg, which had been constituted by the "Union" in 1761, and had seceded to the Strict Observance in 1767, took advantage of its jubilee to join the Eclectic Union.[3] *Per contra* the Ulm Lodge was compelled to close by a royal decree.

Brönner died March 22, 1812, and was succeeded as Grand Master by Jean Noë Du Fay.

[1] *Post*, "Other Masonic Unions" (I.). [2] *Ante*, p. 34.

[3] This Lodge is distinct from the Nuremberg "Three Arrows," which joined Bode's schism in 1792.

April 4, 1813, a new Lodge was warranted at Offenbach; but a Grand Ducal decree of February 16 of the same year, closing all Lodges in Baden, robbed the Eclectic Union of its daughter Lodges in Freiburg, Heidelberg and Carlsruhe.

A decree of the Prince Primate of April 30, 1813, detrimental to the progress of Freemasonry, had little time allowed it in which to take effect; the events of 1814 being still more detrimental to the Prince himself.

1814 witnessed a revisal of the Ritual, in which the oath was ordered to be recited but not taken. With the exception of a few exclusively Christian allusions, this Ritual remained in force until 1871.

1816 brought an accession of strength in the Lodges Ernest at Coburg and St. John the Evangelist of Concord at Darmstadt. A new Lodge was constituted at Giessen May 29, 1817, and on the 25th of the same month a Lodge at Worms, warranted by the Grand Orient of France in 1811, was affiliated. In 1817 also, a quarrel arose between the Frankfort Provincial G.L. and the Grand Lodge of England. The Lodge Nascent Dawn, chiefly Jewish, warranted by the G.O. of France in 1808, sought a new constitution. The Jewish element rendering a resort to the Provincial Grand Lodge futile, the brethren applied to the Landgrave Karl of Hesse, who at once enrolled them among the rectified Templar Lodges, and even forced upon them a Scots Lodge with the peculiarly Christian degrees of that Rite. As a natural consequence, the Lodge split up. The Christians retained Karl's warrant for the Lodge "Karl of the Dawning Light," whilst the Jews applied to the Duke of Sussex, and were constituted as the "Nascent Dawn." Both Lodges were treated by the Provincial Grand Lodge as clandestine, and much bitterness arose. The Grand Lodge of England, however, in this case had clearly acted within the meaning of §2 of the 1788 compact,[1] although perhaps more time for reflection ought to have been granted to the Prov. G.L. The latter body, however, by its notorious prohibition of Jewish members, had put itself quite out of court.

In 1818 a new Lodge at Mayence was warranted, but seceded to the Royal York Grand Lodge in 1821. Du Fay died February 24, 1820, and on August 5 Leonhardi, under whom the compact of 1788 was made with England, was elected G.M. for the second time, and it was fated that under him also the broken bonds which he had himself reknit should be finally severed. It was resolved—August 5, 1821—to make one more effort to obtain redress from England for its alleged encroachment, and this having failed, it was agreed—January 13, 1822—to renounce the English supremacy. Accordingly—March 27, 1823—the Provincial Lodge assumed the title of "The Mother Grand Lodge of the Eclectic Union," and notified this act to the Masonic world by a circular of November 14, 1823. All allusions to a mere directorial Lodge, *primus inter pares,* were apparently dropped for ever.

The Grand Lodge commenced its new career with a following of 9 Lodges.—In Frankfort, 2—Union, Socrates; in Nuremberg, 2—Three Arrows, Joseph; and 1 each in Darmstadt, Giessen, Coburg, Offenbach, and Worms.

Leonhardi, who resigned March 3, 1826, and refused a re-election on account of his advanced age, died November 23, 1830. Constantine Fellner succeeded him as G.M.

On May 2 following Dr. George Kloss was first elected a member of the Grand Lodge. This celebrated Mason, skillful physician, diligent Masonic student and historian, was born at Frankfort July 31, 1787, admitted to the Fraternity at the age of 18 as a Lewis—Septem-

[1] *Cf. ante,* p. 40, note 1.

ber 28, 1805—by the Lodge Union, of which he was elected W.M. in 1828. His Masonic works have been so repeatedly quoted in these pages, as to render any further allusion to them unnecessary. As a Masonic critic, he was emphatically *facile princeps*, and owing to the strength of his convictions acquired by the study of Masonic documents, it is easy to conceive that from the moment of his entering Grand Lodge, that body would have no peace until it renounced its errors, at the head of which Kloss naturally placed the exclusion of Jews—as he doubtless would have done in the case of any members of a particular race or religion—from the benefits of the Craft.

With the altered position of the Grand Lodge there remained no valid reason why the G.M. should be elected from the members of the Union Lodge only. The Socrates Lodge now commenced to agitate for a *status* in all respects equal to that of the Union, and in 1828 a revision of the constitutions was commenced, but the work lasted many years.

Owing to the religious intolerance of the Grand Lodge, its territory was once more invaded by the Grand Orient of France, which—December 2, 1832—warranted a Lodge, "Frankfort Eagle," largely composed of Jews. In the following years a strong feeling favorable to the Jewish Lodges and to the Landgrave Karl's Lodge, "Karl of the Dawning Light," sprang up in the Fraternity, and was reflected by the younger members of the Grand Lodge. The Grand Officers, who were all old members, finding themselves powerless to stem the current, resigned in a body—November 14, 1834—and on December 23, Johann Freidrich Fiedler was elected G.M., with Kloss as his Deputy. The Landgrave Karl died August 17, 1836, and his Lodge almost immediately afterwards began to negotiate for admission to the Union. On September 24 following, Fiedler died, and—March 3, 1837—Kloss was elected G.M. In 1839 one of Karl's Lodges—in Alzey—joined the Eclectic Union.

1840 witnessed two important steps. On March 9 it was resolved to admit Jewish brothers as visitors. This being the date of Kloss's retirement from office, he could at least congratulate himself that the battle was half won. He was succeeded as G.M. by Gerhard Friedrich, D.D. The second step was the conclusion of the negotiations with the Lodge "Karl of the Dawning Light," and its admission to the Eclectic Union, September 27, 1840.

The centenary festival of the Union Lodge was held June 27, 1842, when, as already stated, the documents of the long-forgotten R.A. Chapter were deposited in the archives, and the proceedings were graced by the presentation of Kloss's "Annals of the Union Lodge"—an invaluable mine of Masonic lore—compiled for the occasion.

Dr. Kloss was re-elected G.M. May 12, 1843, and under his inspiration the Grand Officers made a vigorous effort to render the G.L. ordinances less sectarian in their tenor, but unsuccessfully, as the motion was adjourned *sine die*—December 4, 1843.

But although most of the Eclectic Lodges were tending towards a more enlightened view on this subject, the newly-joined Lodge, "Karl of the Dawning Light," showed itself strongly conservative. It still insisted on working the Scots Degrees, and allowed itself great license with the Eclectic Ritual. This led to expostulations, recriminations, and strife, and finally to its exclusion, July 2, 1844. The Lodges at Darmstadt and Mayence took the part of Lodge Karl, and seceded in September, 1845; and these three then united in order to found the Grand Lodge of Concord at Darmstadt on a purely and rigidly Christian basis. The gap caused by the absence of these Lodges was only partially filled in

the same year by a new warrant for a Lodge "Of Brotherly Truth" at Hamburg, granted to nine dissenting brothers of the "Golden Sphere" (Zinnendorff rite).[1]

A most necessary statute, the "Reorganization Act," was at length passed, December 27, 1845. The arrangements which chiefly interest us were, that the high degrees were absolutely forbidden; the Grand Lodge was composed of two representatives from each Lodge, to be chosen by them from subscribing members of the Frankfort Lodges (at this time only two, Union and Socrates,)—they were, however, permitted in lieu of this to depute two of their own members; the G.M. and the Grand Officers were to be elected for a term of three years from among the representatives.

June 17, 1846, Gerhard Friedrich was again elected G.M.[2] In the following year—October 1—the Grand Lodge was reorganized, as provided by the above Act, and the voting for G.M. resulted in the election of Franz Fresenius, of the Socrates Lodge—the first holder of that office who was not a member of the Union Lodge.

December 15, 1847, twelve more brethren of the "Golden Sphere" Lodge in Hamburg were granted an Eclectic constitution as the "Lodge of the Brother-Chain."

At length, early in 1848, the last relic of intolerance was cast aside, and the ritual purged of its specifically Christian requirements. This resulted in immediate negotiations with the Jewish Lodge "Nascent Dawn," which, however, did not bear fruit for some months. The other Jewish Lodge, "Frankfort Eagle," joined the Grand Lodge of Hamburg in the same year. On July 15, 1848, Past G.M. Fellner died.

The revision of the Statutes—November 13, 1849—is of interest, as by a clause which insisted that country Lodges should choose their representatives, one from each Frankfort Lodge, the whole power was once more thrown into the hands of the metropolitan Fraternity. It was also decided to elect the G.M. alternately from the two Frankfort Lodges.

Meanwhile, the members of the Lodge "Karl" had altered their views since assisting at the birth of the Darmstadt Grand Lodge. A few of them formed a new Darmstadt Lodge in Frankfort, "Karl of Lindenberg;" but the Lodge "Karl" itself, with the majority of the brethren, rejoined the Eclectic Union, June 30, 1850.

In the same year—December 2—Dr. J. W. J. Pfarr was elected G.M., after whom—November 28, 1853—came Fresenius once more, and then Pfarr again, December 1, 1856.[3] The most important event of these six years was the death of Dr. Kloss, February 10, 1854.

In 1858 a constitution was granted to Wiesbaden—May 2—and the Statutes of Grand Lodge were revised in December, so as to place "Karl" on an equality with the other two Frankfort Lodges; the G.M. to be elected from each Lodge alternately every two years.

In 1859—January 13—the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt ordered all Lodges in his dominions to rally round the Darmstadt Grand Lodge. This entailed the loss of four Lodges to the Eclectic Union.

In the following year—March 23—the Grand Lodge was reconstituted under the new Act, and Dr. George Dancker elected G.M. The roll comprised ten Lodges—Union, Socrates, and Karl, of Frankfort; Joseph and Three Arrows, of Nuremberg; Brotherly Love and Brother-Chain, of Hamburg; Ernest, of Coburg; Libanon, of Erlangen; and Plato, of Wiesbaden. These still exist, and four more have been added.

[1] *Ante*, p. 32.

[2] Died October 29, 1862.

[3] Pfarr went out of office in 1860, and died January 16, 1864. Fresenius also died in the same year, July 17.

December 6, 1861, Johann Kaspar Bauer[1] was elected G.M.; December 4, 1863, Julius Fester;"[2] and January 12, 1865, Dr. Dancker[3] once more.

In 1866 Frankfort became an integral part of the Kingdom of Prussia, in which, according to an unrepealed law, no Lodges are allowed to exist except those dependent upon one of the three Grand Lodges at Berlin. There was therefore much danger of the Eclectic Union being dissolved by the authorities. This, however, was obviated by the prudent and patriotic course of action pursued by its members. Under closely analogous circumstances—and presumably for reasons which did not apply in both cases—the Grand Lodge of Hanover was extinguished; but the law, although in force, has not been applied as regards Frankfort.

In 1867—December 6—Hermann Hörster (of Lodge Karl) was elected G.M., and December 3, 1869, Heinrich Weismann, under whom—December 8, 1871—the Statutes were once more revised; the Grand Lodge still consisting of Frankfort brethren as members, but country Lodges were to depute two of their own members as representatives, with votes in certain cases, and a consultative voice in all. The G.M. was to be elected for three years from the Frankfort Lodges only, dropping the rule of alternation. On January 26, 1872, Grand Lodge was reconstituted under the new Act, and Weismann re-elected.

A new Lodge was warranted at Hanau, April 20, 1872; and January 10, 1873, the English Lodge at Frankfort, "Nascent Dawn," which had been the chief cause of the local declaration of independence, joined the Eclectic Union, entering at once into all the privileges of the other three metropolitan Lodges.

Karl Oppel was elected G.M. December 4, 1874. In 1877 a regular correspondence was resumed with England; and, May 26, 1878, the Darmstadt Lodge, "Karl of Lindenburg," at Frankfort, was affiliated. Revised constitutions were passed on September 21, 1879; G. E. Van der Heyden was elected G.M. January 21, 1881; and in 1882—February 17—the most recent of the Eclectic Lodges was warranted at Strassburg.

The latest event of interest was the Centenary Festival of the Eclectic Union, held March 18, 1883, and which was graced by the distribution of the lucid and detailed annals of that body, from the pen of the Grand Secretary, Karl Paul.

H. Weismann was elected G.M. December 7, 1883; and Alexander Knoblauch, who at present holds that office, December 12, 1884. These subordinate Lodges number 14, of which 5 are in Frankfort, 2 in Hamburg, 2 in Nuremberg, and 1 each in Erlangen, Hanau, Coburg, Strassburg, and Wiesbaden. In 1878 the membership of the then existing 13 Lodges amounted to 1396, or rather exceeding 100 per Lodge.

The "epoch-marking" dates of the Grand Lodge of the Eclectic Union are:—1742 constitution of Lodge "Union;" 1746-52, state of dormancy; 1766, erection of English Prov. G.L.; 1775-77, temporary closing of P.G.L.; 1782, first period of independence; 1783, formation of the Eclectic Union; 1789, reinstatement of the P.G.L. at Frankfort; 1793, Provincial Grand Lodge closed in anticipation of the entry of French troops; 1801, reopened with one daughter only, and territory invaded by the G.L. "Royal York; 1803-5, P.G.L. suspended; and again, 1806-8, whilst awaiting Karl von Dalberg's approbation; 1808, invasion of jurisdiction by G.O. of France; 1809, loss of Lodges by the formation of the G.O. of Baden; 1814, abolition of the oath; 1817, invasion of jurisdiction by the G.L. of England and Prince Karl of Hesse; 1823, declaration of independence and proclamation

[1] Died July 12, 1882. [2] Died August 29, 1873. [3] Died April 26, 1877.

of the G.L. of the Eclectic Union, with 9 daughter Lodges; 1834, first success of the enlightened party in G.L.; 1840, Karl's Lodge absorbed, and Jewish question partly settled; 1845, loss of Lodges by formation of the G.L. of Darmstadt; 1848, Jewish question solved and Jewish Lodges absorbed; 1859, loss of Lodges by forced union with Darmstadt; 1866, incorporation of Frankfort with Prussia; 1883, Centenary Festival.

III. The Grand National Mother-Lodge of the Prussian States, called "of the Three Globes."[1]

In pursuing the history of this Grand Body, none can fail to be struck by a feature to which attention has already been directed in the case of the Eclectic Union, viz., the absence of a representative form of government. This, however, is only a natural consequence when a Grand Lodge is established before the birth of *any* of the private Lodges, which it is destined to control—the daughter Lodges, in all such cases, accepting the inferior and dependent position usually accorded to them, as a necessary adjunct of their constitution. When, on the other hand, several Lodges, with equal rights, join in establishing a ruling body or Grand Lodge, the representative form of government seems to follow as a matter of course. The relations between a Mother-Lodge and her daughters may be likened to those between England and her Crown colonies; whilst those between Grand and private Lodges—which follow the English precedent—are in closer approximation to the system of government of the United States. But in like manner as the power of our own House of Commons, at first restricted, has gradually increased, so do we find that under Grand Lodges—even where the sway is most despotic—something approaching a representative system is in gradual course of introduction.[2]

Individual Masons doubtless existed in Prussia at an early date, but the introduction of Freemasonry into that State, may without exaggeration be attributed directly to Frederick the Great, as during the lifetime of his father, who had conceived an aversion to the Craft, no open assemblage of Masons could possibly take place. In July, 1738, the King of Prussia and the Crown Prince Frederick, being on a visit to the Prince of Orange at Loo, the conversation at table took a Masonic turn. The King attacked the Order violently, but Count Albert Wolfgang of Lippe-Bückeburg took its part so successfully as to awake in the Crown Prince a desire to join the Craft. Great secresy was naturally essential in the carrying out of such a project. Count Albert undertook the arrangements, and as the King had announced his intention of visiting Brunswick during the annual fair, it was resolved that the ceremony of initiation should be performed in that city. The duty was confided to Von Oberg, Master, of the then anonymous Lodge in Hamburg,[3] who, with the secretary, Bielfeld, and a Baron von Löwen, travelled to Brunswick, and on August 11 met by arrangement the Count of Kielmansegge and F. C. Albedyll from Hanover, and

[1] The archives and minutes of this Grand Lodge are complete from September 13, 1740, to date, with the exception of a short period in 1765. In 1840 O'Etzel, the G.M., compiled a history of the Grand Lodge based upon these minutes, so that, as far as actual facts extend, its accuracy is unimpeachable. This was revised and continued in 1867, 1869, and 1875; and the Constitutions ordained in 1873 that every initiate should in future be presented with a copy. I have carefully collated "the history" with many accounts by other writers whose works will be quoted whenever used, but otherwise the following sketch is given on O'Etzel's authority, and may easily be verified by the dates affixed. The edition employed is "Geschichte der Grossen National-Mutter-Loge zu den drei Weltkugeln," etc., Berlin, 1875.

[2] See *ante*, Chap. XXIII. and *post*, Freemasonry in the U. S. A.

[3] *Ante*, p. 31.

also Count Albert. Count Wartensleben joined the Prince as a second candidate. During the night August 14-15, 1738, the Prince and his friend came to the hotel where the Hamburg brethren were staying, and after midnight the two candidates were received in due form, no difference being made as regarded the Prince, in compliance with his own special request. The brethren then separated and returned home as quickly as possible, because, as Bielfeld wrote, "there is here one crowned head too many, who, if he discovered that we had initiated the Prince, his son, might in his ill-humor fail in the respect due to the Most Worshipful Masters."[1]

Von Oberg afterwards erected and presided over a Lodge in the Prince's castle of Rheinsberg, and when he left for Hamburg in 1739, Frederick himself assumed the chair. At his father's death—May 31, 1740—Frederick openly acknowledged himself as a Mason; and—June 20, 1740—presided over a Lodge in the Royal Palace of Charlottenburg, with Bielfeld and Jordan as his Wardens. On that occasion the following candidates were initiated by the King in person:—his two brothers, August Wilhelm and Heinrich Wilhelm; his brother-in-law, Karl, Margrave of Brandenburg-Onolzbach; and the Duke of Holstein-Beck. At a subsequent date he initiated the Margrave of Brandenburg-Baireuth. This Lodge was called the "Royal Lodge," but ceased to work about 1744, when the outbreak of war diverted Frederick's attention to other matters.

Immediately after his accession Frederick empowered Jordan, the secretary of his Lodge, to erect a Lodge in Berlin for the convenience of the numerous Masons there resident. Its first meeting was held September 13, 1740, and it took the name of "The Three Globes." This Lodge, which is now the Grand Lodge of the same name, was therefore founded simply on the King's authority, who, from the very first, assumed all the privileges of a Grand Master in his own dominions. Until the day of his death he was always considered as such, although his active participation in the affairs of the Craft terminated in 1744. The names of some of the affiliates and initiates of the Lodge during its first year of existence are of interest in the history of Freemasonry in Germany. For instance, Baron Schmettau, already mentioned in connection with Scots Masonry; Bielfeld, secretary to the Prussian Embassy at London, an honored visitor of our Grand Lodge, March 19, 1741,[2] and who, July 21, 1741, was able to assure the "Three Globes" that England readily looked upon the King as the natural Grand Master in his dominions, which was, of course, equivalent to acknowledging the regularity of the Three Globes' constitution; the Marquis de Gentils, who, June 27, 1742, styled himself English S.G.W. *pro tempore*, and helped to found the Union Lodge at Frankfort;[3] and Ch. Sarry, who, on December 6, 1737, had presided over the first Hamburg Lodge as Provincial Grand Master for Prussia and Brandenburg,[4] where at that time no Lodge existed. Other notable members were Prince William, the Duke of Holstein-Beck, the Margrave Karl of Brandenburg, Count Waldburg (also a visitor at the Grand Lodge of England, March 19, 1741), and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick-Bevern,[5] initiated December 21, 1740.

The first code of by-laws was drawn up and accepted November 9, 1740. In October a deputation from the Lodge initiated Karl Frederick, Duke of Saxe-Meiningen, and the "Three Globes" issued its first warrant of constitution to a Lodge, "The Three Compasses," in that prince's chief city.

[1] Handbuch, *s. v.* Fredrich II. [2] Constitutions, 1784, pp. 243, 244. [3] *Ante*, p. 31.

[4] *Ante*, p. 37.

[5] Subsequently known as Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg-Wolfenbuttel. Chap. XXIV., p. 359.

In 1742, Schmettau having made several Scots Masters, these formed themselves into a Scots Lodge, "Union," November 30, 1742. Although the membership of this Lodge was restricted to Masons of the "Three Globes," it never attempted, like the French Scots Master Lodges, to exercise any control over the Craft.

From 1742 to 1744 six warrants of constitution were granted, some of which were for localities beyond the confines of Prussia. It was therefore only natural that—June 24, 1744—the Lodge should assume the title of "Grand Royal Mother-Lodge of the Three Globes." It did not cease, however, on that account to continue working as a private Lodge. Frederick the Great was nominally Grand Master, and in September, 1747, the Duke of Holstein-Beck, Governor of Berlin, was elected Vice or Deputy G.M.—a step designed to strengthen the Lodge, which had meanwhile somewhat deteriorated. These offices, however, were rather ornamental than useful, as the real power in the Lodge was still vested in the Master. The changes in that office I cannot pause to tabulate, but may mention that Von Printzen—initiated March 18, 1748—who was elected Master of the Lodge, May 5, 1749, held the post until June 5, 1752, and became the foremost figure in its early annals.

December 9, 1754, a second Lodge was constituted at Berlin, under the name of *La Petite Concorde*, but with very limited powers. It soon felt the inconvenience of this arrangement, and took advantage of some irregularities in the election of the officers of the Mother-Lodge—May 28, 1755—to protest and declare itself independent. Lord James Keith, who was then Governor of Berlin, and professed to be Deputy G.M. of all English Lodges in North Germany,[1] interfered to prevent the "Concord" being closed by force, and promised it an English constitution. Although the Mother-Lodge had meanwhile warranted, in 1746, five, and, in 1751, two Lodges, matters were far from satisfactory, and in May, 1757, Von Printzen was once more called to the direction of affairs. His first efforts to restore peace between the Three Globes and the Concord were, however, only partially successful. In 1758 the latter also erected for itself a Scots Lodge, under the name of "Harmony."

In the same year Gabriel de Lernais, a French prisoner of war, appears upon the scene. The Three Globes granted him a warrant for a French Lodge, without the right of initiating. This Lodge "Fidelity" died out after the exchange of prisoners. De Lernais also induced Von Printzen to give his powerful support to the Clermont Degrees, and, (*circa*) 1758, these two erected a Chapter—"Knights of Jerusalem"—which—June[2] 19, 1760—assumed the title of "Premier Grand Chapter of Clermont in Germany," with Von Printzen as Chief. This Chapter exercised no supremacy over the Lodges: it was, and remained until the advent of the Strict Observance, outside the real work of the Craft. Rosa, as already related, somewhat modified the ritual, and established subordinate Chapters in many cities.[3]

Besides four other Lodges, the Three Globes warranted—August 10, 1760—the Berlin Lodge of the "Three Doves," now the Grand Lodge Royal York.

In 1761 the Lodge Concord constituted a daughter Lodge at Magdeburg, which was at once denounced as clandestine by the Mother-Lodge of the Three Globes. Von Printzen, however, took measures to obviate any such untoward occurrences in future, and by his efforts the "Masonic Tribunal" was established, of which he became G.M., April 22, 1761. Each of the three Berlin Lodges furnished one officer to this Tribunal, which was designed

[1] *Ante*, p. 20. [2] Or July; Chap. XXIV. p. 349. [3] Chap. XXIV. pp. 348, 349.

to decide all matters that might arise between them. The "Concord" returned to its allegiance as first daughter of the Grand Mother-Lodge, with a more liberal warrant conferring extended powers: its daughter was recognized as legitimate, and its Scots Lodge amalgamated with that of the Three Globes. In 1763, however, a member of the Lodge "Friendship" (the new name of the Three Doves) was excluded by the Tribunal for six months for a Masonic offence. This proceeding caused so much friction that the G.M. and officers of the Tribunal resigned; and as no fresh ones were elected, the Tribunal ceased to exist. Von Printzen, however, continued for years to be referred to as G.M., probably out of respect for his character. In 1762 and 1763 eight new Lodges were constituted—the last sign of activity for some years, for the time was now fast approaching when the Three Globes and its daughters were to merge into the system of the Strict Observance.

It will be remembered that in 1763 Schubart was named Deputy G.M., and superseding Rosa in his missionary efforts, was appointed by Von Hund his Delegate-General in November of that year.[1] In 1764 he returned to Berlin to convert the Fraternity there, and finally so far succeeded that the new Statutes accepted by the Three Globes—November 20, 1764—are decidedly fashioned on the lines of the Strict Observance. His success was all the easier because Rosa's Clermont Chapters had to a certain extent prepared the way. On January 13, 1765, Von Hund granted a warrant to Krüger to open a Strict Observance Lodge in Berlin. In 1765, also, the Lodge Friendship acquired an English patent, and separated from the Three Globes,[2] ultimately developing into the Grand Lodge—Royal York of Friendship.

At this period Zinnendorff appears upon the scene. He was already a member of Von Printzen's Jerusalem Chapter, and in June, 1765, was elected Master of the Three Globes. On August 24, 1764, he signed the Act of Strict Observance at Halle, was knighted by Von Hund on October 3, and made Prefect of Templin (*i.e.*, Berlin) on the 6th, with Krüger as second in command. The two together carried the Berlin Lodges with them, and—January 13, 1766—Von Hund constituted the Three Globes a Scots or Directoral Lodge, with power to warrant Strict Observance Lodges. The daughter Lodges all naturally went over to the new system, with the exception of the Royal York, which had placed itself under the Grand Lodge of England. Zinnendorff, however, made himself enemies, acted in a very arbitrary manner, used the Lodge funds—so it is averred—for his own purposes (see next Section), and was therefore not re-elected at the expiration of his year of office. He was succeeded in June, 1766, by Krüger, who in July procured the acceptance of the Strict Observance Ritual, and the formal renunciation by the Lodge—August 9—of the Clermont Degrees.

On November 16, 1766, Zinnendorff formally notified to Von Hund his renunciation of the Strict Observance, and six months later—May 6, 1767—all things being in readiness for the foundation of his own rite, he resigned membership of the Three Globes. The members of that Lodge were evidently by no means agreed as to their future proceedings, for in the same year (1767) another notable member, Köppen, also seceded, and founded a rite—that of African Architects—which only came to an end at his death in 1797.[3]

In 1769, Köhler became Master of the Three Globes, and Krüger, Head Scots Master (the Scots Lodges of the Strict Observance controlled those of the Craft), and in accordance with the rules of the Templar system both offices were declared permanent.

[1] Chap. XXIV., p. 349, 358.

[2] *Cf.* Chap. XXVII.—Grand Lodges (V.).

[3] Chap XXIV. p. 335 (Chart No. I.).

In the following year—February 24—the Mother-Lodge constituted the Berlin Lodge of the "Flaming Star," of which C. A. Marschall von Bieberstein was Worshipful Master.[1] This Lodge, with the Three Globes and the Concord, now formed one body, as it were, under the Scots Lodge—so much so, that in 1787 the Berlin Masons did not know to which Lodge they belonged, and steps had to be taken to remedy the confusion.

November 16, 1770, the Crown Prince—afterwards Frederick William II.—wrote to the Lodge of the Strict Observance—*i.e.*, the Three Globes—assuring it of his protection.

In 1772 Krüger and Wöllner attended the Kohlo Convent, at which the S.O. system was reorganized. Each national division of the Order acquired a Grand Lodge to rule the Craft; the National Grand Master and the Head Master of the Scots Lodge acting together formed the Scots Directory, ruling all degrees, including the 4th; the Supreme Grand Master, *i.e.*, Duke Ferdinand, presided over all the separate Directories; the higher or knightly degrees were subject to the Prov. G.M., Von Hund. Prince Frederick Augustus of Brunswick (nephew of Ferdinand) was made National Grand Master of Prussia; and the "Three Globes," in accordance with the new arrangements, took the title of "Grand National Mother-Lodge of the Prussian States," which it has ever since retained.

In 1773 the former G.M., Von Printzen, died; and in the following year the Lodge Frederick of the Three Seraphim was constituted in Berlin. May 2, 1775, Krüger resigned, and the National Grand Master, Prince Frederick Augustus, appointed as Head Scots Master, Wöllner, who was imbued with the alchemical and mystical mania of the day, the effects of which tendency will soon be apparent. In 1775 two new Lodges (one "Silence," in Berlin), and in 1776 two others, were constituted. This brings us to the date of Von Hund's death (November 18, 1776), and to a new period in the history of this Grand Lodge.

Many causes combined to produce dissatisfaction with the rite of the Strict Observance about this time. Wöllner himself had become allied with the New or Gold Rosicrucians,[2] and naturally influenced his *entourage*; the idea of a Templar restoration had ceased to attract or to retain favor; the object of the Duke of Sudermania in desiring to succeed Von Hund was looked upon with suspicion; and the position of the Mother-Lodge was after all only a secondary one. The consequence was, that no deputies were sent from Berlin to the Convent at Wolfenbüttel in 1777, and—July 5, 1779—it was resolved in Grand Lodge to cease working the high degrees, but not formally to disassociate the Lodges of the jurisdiction from the Strict Observance. The G.M., Prince Frederick Augustus, informed the subordinate Lodges of this resolution by a circular—April 7, 1780—which contains very palpable allusions to a hermetic society, and announces the formation of a 5th degree, immediately succeeding the Scots Masters, the very existence of which was to be kept secret from all those not admitted to it. The four "at present" imperfect lower degrees were to be retained till the *Unknown Superiors* should send them corrected rituals. Theden was to be the only one entitled to confer this 5th degree, but Wöllner, as Head Scots Master, was to direct the whole system, etc. From that moment, although it would be incorrect to describe the Three Globes system as a Rosicrucian one, inasmuch as the hermetic leaders at no time controlled whole Lodges, yet it may safely be averred that the Rosicrucian de-

[1] One relative, *C. G.* Marschall—Von Hund's predecessor—founded the Naumburg Lodge; and another, *H. W.* von Marschall, was appointed by Lord Darnley, in 1737, Prov. G.M. of Upper Saxony. Other members of this family have also been prominent Masons. Chap. XXIV., pp. 354, 355.

[2] Chap. XXIV., p. 369.

grees were extensively practised by a very large number of individual Masons selected from these Lodges, and that the Grand Lodge of the Three Globes became the centre of the Rosicrucian Fraternity. From 1777 to 1781 five new Lodges were warranted, one each year. In 1780—June 26—a first step towards a representative system was made by a resolution conferring honorary membership of Grand Lodge on all acting Masters of subordinate Lodges.

The meeting of the Wilhelmsbad Convent—and with it the practical subversion of the Strict Observance—took place in 1782. This furnished an opportunity for the Three Globes to avow its principles. In a circular of November 11, 1783, it declares its independence of all superior authority, but is willing to honor Duke Ferdinand, as before, in the capacity of Grand Master; it refuses, however, to conform to the rectified Templar system, but offers to recognize as legitimate all Masons of every system as far as concerns the first three degrees (always excepting the Illuminati), and counsels all Grand Lodges to follow its example. Not a word, however, does the circular contain of their own special "vanity," the hermetic degrees.

The next few years present little of importance. In 1783 three Lodges were warranted, in 1784 Theden became W.M. of the Three Globes, and in 1785 Bieberstein was elected Scots Head Master. In 1786, however, two important events occurred—Frederick the Great died, and the *unknown* Rosicrucian Fathers ordered a general *Silanum*, so that the two prominent disciples of this folly, Wöllner and his pupil, Frederick William II., had to content themselves with prosecuting their researches unaided; and for the next few years the Lodges worked only the original three degrees, with a Scots degree superadded. In 1787 one new Lodge was warranted, and in 1788 the first list was published, showing 16 active subordinate Lodges, with 763 members. 1790 saw the end of the mutual interdiction between the Lodges under the "Three Globes" and the National (or Zinnendorff) G. L., which was succeeded by a pact of tolerance and amity. In 1791, in order to remedy the evil caused by the continual absence from Berlin of the G.M., Prince Frederick Augustus of Brunswick, Wöllner was elected his Deputy. Wöllner, however, was now a Minister of State, and his scanty leisure was devoted to alchemical studies, so that not much advantage accrued from this step. More to the purpose was the appointment of a commission—January 4, 1794—to formulate a Grand Lodge constitution and ordinances, and a resolution to re-elect all officers yearly, thus effacing the last reminiscence of the S.O. system. In 1796 Theden resigned on account of his advanced age, and Zöllner was elected W.M. of the Three Globes.

In the same year—February 9—Frederick William II. granted the Grand Lodge his special protection, together with all the privileges of a corporate body. The greater part of the ensuing year was taken up in devising a scheme for a governing body, and in formulating constitutions for the entire system; but the work was at length concluded, November 22, 1797. It will be necessary to consider these constitutions at some length, as they form the ground-work of all subsequent legislation. The G.M. and Dep. G.M. were deprived of all authority, and became mere figureheads to whom a certain amount of outward honor and deference was shown, but who were not even required to sign warrants, which were to be issued by the Grand National Mother-Lodge. The Grand Lodge became the legislative body, and was composed of 36 active members chosen from the Berlin Lodges. Seven of these formed a species of acting committee, with the style of a Scots Directory, the president taking the name of Head Scots Master. This Directory represented the Lodge be-

fore the law, and was entrusted with the administration of affairs; all resolutions of the Grand Lodge required its ratification, and all its acts required the assent of the Grand Lodge. To a certain extent its president even took precedence of the corresponding dignitary of the Grand Lodge. Its members were to be Scots Masons. In matters of dogma it took the name of Inner Orient, and was entrusted with the preservation of the purity of ritual, etc. As regards ritual, only three degrees were acknowledged. Four higher steps were, indeed, instituted—the first being derived from the old Scots Lodge—and in these the history of the Craft, the dogmas of Freemasonry, and the *arcana* of the "High Degrees" were unfolded. They were not, however, *degrees*, although membership of each was preceded by a ceremony, and they exercised no influence over the Lodges; they more nearly approached close literary societies, and were attached to individual Lodges provided the consent of the W.M. could be obtained, and each particular Lodge of this class was considered as a branch of the Berlin Lodge. The arrangement in fact was not unlike the Hamburg *Engbund*. It will be observed that the Provincial Lodges had no share in the government of the Craft.

In 1798—October 20—there appeared a royal edict suppressing all secret societies. The three Grand Lodges in Berlin, however, and Lodges holding under them, were expressly exempted from its provisions; but Lodges erected in Prussia by other Grand Lodges were declared illegitimate. The names of all members were to be handed to the police authorities yearly. The G.M. and the Dep. G.M. were asked whether their names should be also cited, and whether they would accept the accompanying responsibility. They declined and resigned their posts in February, 1799.

During the ten years 1788-98 six Lodges were warranted, and the number of active Lodges had increased to 20, with a total membership of 941.

In 1799—March 7—it was determined not to elect any special National Grand Master, but to consider the W.M. of the Three Globes as such *pro tem.* Zöllner therefore thenceforth took the title of Grand Master. June 24.—New statutes were agreed to; these must not be confounded with the constitutions. All German Grand Lodges make a distinction between the two, although it is at times somewhat difficult to explain the difference. In 1801—February 10—the special constitutions of the Inner Orient[1] received final approbation; and, November 1, 1804, the constitutions were revised; the Grand Lodge to consist of 11 Grand Officers and 36 active members.

In 1804—September 12—Grand Master Zöllner died, and was succeeded by Guionneau. A *past* G.M., Prince Frederick Augustus, Duke of Brunswick, died November 8, 1805.

In October, 1806, the French troops entered Berlin, and the Lodges there under the Three Globes system were ordered to suspend work. The committees of the Grand Lodge continued, however, to meet and transact all necessary business. It was even during this interregnum, that the first steps towards a closer union of the three Berlin Grand Lodges were taken, for on December 12, 1807, a committee was instituted consisting of four deputies of each Grand Lodge, to consider and arrange matters of common interest and profit. This led to the "Masonic Union of the Three Grand Lodges of Berlin"—January 6, 1810—which was dissolved in 1823.[2] Unfortunately one of the first acts of this committee—April 2, 1808—was to confirm the already existing ordinance that a Jew could not be initiated, nor could a Jew already made a Mason elsewhere be affiliated. His right

[1] Chap. XXIV. p. 347; *ante* p. 29. [2] See *post*, "Other [German] Masonic Unions" (III.).

to visit was left undecided. This Jewish question was now beginning to make its importance felt, and I shall have to revert to it on several occasions, as we proceed.

The Berlin Lodges resumed work December 16, 1808. During the preceding ten years 40 Lodges had been added to the roll, but owing to a few dropping out, the total of active Lodges had only risen from 20 to 55, with a membership of 3694, or an average of 67 per Lodge as compared with 47 in 1798. The formation of the Grand Lodge of Saxony, at Dresden, in 1811, withdrew the Lodge at Bautzen from the jurisdiction of Berlin. That Grand Lodge was, however, liberal enough to permit former Lodges to retain their peculiar rituals, and thus it came about that in 1812 a pact was entered into between the "Three Globes" and Dresden, by virtue of which this Lodge remained under Berlin in all matters regarding ritual and work, but otherwise passed under the jurisdiction of Dresden. This peculiar position of a Lodge owing obedience to two Grand Lodges at one and the same time, subsists to this day, but it is, as far as I know, a unique case.

In 1812—November 26—the Constitutions underwent their septennial revision, the chief alterations being that the Provincial Lodges were granted a sham representation, and allowed to appoint a Berlin member of the Grand Lodge as their proxy, which was an unsatisfactory concession to a demand for a seat in that body for every Master of a Lodge; that the number of members of Grand Lodge might be raised in consequence of this demand for representation as high as 7 by 7, *i.e.*, 49; that the membership was never to be less than 5 by 5, or 25; and that 3 by 3, or 9, formed a quorum of the Grand Lodge.[1]

1817 is the year given by O'Etzel for the initiation by a deputation from the "Three Globes" of Prince Frederick, second son of the King of Holland, and subsequent G.M. of the Netherlands. I have already pointed out that there must be a mistake somewhere in the dates connected with this prince.[2]

In the last ten years 39 Lodges had been added to the roll, but a great many must have become extinct, since from 55 active Lodges in 1808, the total had only risen to 74 in 1818, with 6545 members, an average of 88-89 per Lodge.

In 1821 the Czar's edict closing the Polish Lodges, caused a loss of several Lodges to Berlin; and the revision of the Statutes, in 1825, once more enforced the regulation that a Jew could neither be initiated, affiliated, nor received as a visitor. It may also be observed that, in 1821, O'Etzel, the subsequent Grand Master, joined Lodge Concord, and was elected a member of the Grand Lodge in 1822.

From 1818 to 1828 fifteen Lodges had been constituted, and the total number of active Lodges amounted to 87, with a membership of 6842, or an average of 78 per Lodge—somewhat less than before.

In 1829 the National Grand Master, Guionneau, died, and was succeeded by Rosenstiel, who, also dying—March 18, 1832—was followed by Poselger.

In 1836 an Amsterdam Lodge protested in a most dignified manner, on account of a refusal to admit some of its members as visitors, by reason of their Jewish faith. The Lodge disclaimed any intention of dictating to the Grand Lodge respecting its choice of members, but insisted that a person, once made a Mason, should be treated as a brother, and that the Grand Lodge was incompetent to go behind his certificate and inquire into his religious belief. The protest, however, produced no immediate effect.

In 1838, G.M. Proselger resigned on account of ill-health, and O'Etzel, who had en-

[1] This curious "squaring" of the odd numbers is still in vogue in this Grand Lodge.

[2] Chap. XXIV., p. 369.

tered the Directory in 1836, was elected in his stead. Proselger died shortly afterwards, February 9, 1838. The periodical revision of the Constitutions produced no change of more than passing interest. In this year the Grand Lodge acquired, for ten Frederichs-d'or, the apron and gavel of Frederick the Great. Since 1828 six new Lodges had been added to the roll. The total number, as against the 87 of 1828, was only 88, with 7225 members, an average of 82 per Lodge. In 1839—December 28—there was formed a Grand Masters' Union of the three Berlin Grand Lodges, and one of its first acts—May 22, 1840—was to initiate Prince William of Prussia, the present Emperor of Germany.[1]

In 1840—September 13—the Grand Lodge held its centenary festival, on which occasion it was presented by the Master of the Lodge "Horus"—on the roll of the Royal York—with the sword used at the initiation of Frederick the Great at Brunswick in 1738; whereupon it was resolved, that the W.M. of Lodge Horus, although under another jurisdiction, be *ex officio* an honorary member of the Grand Lodge of the Three Globes.

The revision of the Constitution in 1843, raised the possible number of members of the Grand Lodge to 7 by 9, or 63; and the revised Statutes of 1841 once more excluded the Jews even from visiting—the Grand Master's Union making this ordinance incumbent on all three of the Prussian Grand Lodges in 1842. As a last resort H.R.H. the Protector was appealed to, and—April 26, 1843—delivered himself to the same effect. In 1848 a Cologne Lodge affiliated a Jewish brother, and appointed him to office: the Lodge was erased.

O'Etzel[2] resigned office in 1848, and was succeeded as G.M. by Messerschmidt. In the preceding ten years, 12 new Lodges had been warranted or revived. The total of active Lodges was 96, with 8589 members—an average of 89-90, showing a steady increase both of Lodges and members.

A revision of the Constitutions being due in 1849, the Lodges were requested to vote with regard to the admission of Jews as visitors. Out of 71 Lodges which replied, 56 voted for and 15 against their admission. After this expression of opinion the Grand Lodge, nevertheless, only approved the resolution by 19 to 16 votes. It called upon the Directory to say whether this was one of those resolutions which required to be passed by two-thirds majority. The Directory answered that it was a dogmatic question, requiring to be submitted to them as the Inner Orient, and sided with the majority. The result was that—July 11, 1849—all Masons subject to a Grand Lodge recognized by the Three Globes were declared admissible as visitors, and thus the first step towards placing Jewish, on a level with Christian, Masons was at last conceded. The quorum of the Grand Lodge was raised from nine to one-third of its active members.

On Christmas Day, 1850, O'Etzel—or rather *Von* Etzel, died, the latter prefix having been granted to him by Royal decree in 1846.

Since 1848 only four new Lodges had been warranted, and some of the Lodges in Hanover had been forced to join the Grand Lodge of that country at King George's desire. The total number of active Lodges in 1858 was 94, with 9744 members—an average of 104 members per Lodge.

In 1861, E. E. Wendt, English G. Sec. for German Correspondence, succeeded in establishing a correspondence between the Three Globes and our own Grand Lodge, and at length, in 1867, some approach to a representative system was inaugurated. At the An-

[1] *Post*, p. 36.

[2] The historian of the "Three Globes," and one of its most enlightened and influential Grand Masters.

nual Conference in May, at which proposed alterations of the Statutes were usually discussed, the Masters of Provincial Lodges were for the first time invited to attend, and did so to the number of 20.

In 1868—February 20—it was resolved to present every initiate with a copy of O'Etzel's "History of the 'Three Globes,'" a most liberal and praiseworthy arrangement.

In May—7th and 8th—the question, whether Jewish Masons were to be admitted, was again raised. Their affiliation or initiation was rejected by 54 votes to 20; but it was resolved to receive them, if actual subscribing members of a regular Lodge, as *permanent* visitors (a position much resembling honorary membership in England) by 54 votes to 24.

In this year the total number of active Lodges was 106, with a membership of 11,271, or an average of 106 per Lodge, the warrants granted in the previous ten years being 14.

In 1869 representatives were for the first time exchanged with England, and in the May Conference the Jewish question was adjourned as inopportune. In 1873 a Lodge was warranted at Shanghai. This is the only German Lodge in foreign parts which is not under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Hamburg.

At the periodical revision of the Constitutions in 1873, the provinces made a great effort to secure a better representation in Grand Lodge. They obtained—not all they wanted—but a great concession. It was resolved—April 19—that no law or statute should be made or amended except at the May Conferences, in which every Worshipful Master was entitled to a vote. As, however, Grand Lodge was allowed to attend in full force, the Masters still found themselves, as a rule, much out-numbered, whilst a majority of two-thirds was requisite to carry a new law or an amendment to an old one. The Jewish question was again fought out, but left *in statu quo.*

In 1873, on the occasion of completing twenty-five years as Grand Master, Messerschmidt resigned, on account of old age, and was succeeded by Von Etzel, the son of O'Etzel, Messerschmidt's immediate predecessor.

In 1874 the Lodges had voted on the Jewish question as a guide to the Grand Lodge—66 Lodges for their admission, 44 against; but of the individual members actually voting there was a majority of 7 against. At the May Conference there were present 47 Grand Lodge members and 28 Masters, and the voting was 45 to 30—adversely to the Jews. In 1876 the majority was at last in their favor, but the necessary two-thirds majority was not attained. The more enlightened Masons then tried to secure their ends by a reorganization of the legislative body, and—May 25, 1878—it was resolved that thenceforth not all the members of Grand Lodge should take part in the May Conferences, but only 25—that is, 5 from each Berlin Lodge—the provincial Masons thus standing a better chance of procuring a two-thirds majority. But up to the present time the Jewish question still remains unsettled.

Meanwhile, Zschiesche followed Von Etzel (resigned) as G.M. in 1876: the present Grand Master is C. Schaper. My last statistics refer to 1878, when the Grand National Mother-Lodge of the Three Globes exercised authority over 113 Lodges (5 in Berlin), with a membership of 13,095 Masons, or an average of 116 members per Lodge. One Lodge only—Shanghai—is beyond the confines of the empire, but many are outside of Prussia proper.

IV. The National Grand Lodge of all German Freemasons at Berlin.[1]

The above title of this Grand Lodge is not now and never was justified. It is a barefaced usurpation. The Lodge never has been national in the way claimed, as embracing all Germany, and even at its birth was not so in the more restricted sense as applying to Prussia, where the National Grand Mother Lodge of the Three Globes already existed. That it assumed until quite recently to be the only legal Grand Lodge in Germany, that it to this day poses as infallible, the only true exponent of Freemasonry with the sole exception of Sweden, is, however, only in perfect keeping with the imperious temper of its founder. From its inception the Lodge has been dictatorial and oppressive towards its own daughters; scornful and even impertinent towards its equals; boastful of its own superior light, yet persistently shrouding itself in darkness; founded by a violation of all masonic legality, yet a stickler for legal forms when they suit its own convenience; revolutionary at its birth, and ever since most rigidly conservative. Nevertheless this Grand Lodge is the second largest in Germany, and has produced Masons of the highest culture, whose very names must always remain an honor to the Fraternity. Zinnendorff and his immediate friends and successors knew their own minds at a time when their German brethren were vacillating between Clermont degrees, Strict Observance Rites, Rosicrucianism, *et hoc genus omne*, and so knowing, carried out their views astutely, ruthlessly, and persistently—with the success that usually attends all well-directed efforts. No official history of this Grand Lodge has ever been published; its partisans speak with awe of its ancient documents, and hide them from the gaze of the student. Like holy relics they are only accessible to devout believers; nay, even a complete book of Constitutions has never been placed within reach of the public; and Worshipful Masters, in order to govern their Lodges, have been constrained to gather together the decisions pronounced at various times by the Grand Lodge, each thus forming for himself a species of digest of the common law as settled by decided cases. Such a collection has been made in Vol. xxvi. of the "Latomia," and will be used by me; my other facts I have had to collect from divers sources, but many gaps still remain to be filled up.

The early annals of this Grand Lodge are indissolubly connected with Zinnendorff, one of the most remarkable and perhaps unscrupulous Masons of whom we have any record. Ellenberger was his patronymic, and he was born August 11, 1731, at Halle; but, being adopted by his mother's brother, took his uncle's name of Zinnendorff. He followed the medical profession, and rose to be the chief of that department in the Prussian army, retiring in 1779. His initiation took place at Halle, March 13, 1757. When he joined a Berlin *Lodge*, or even which Lodge it was, are alike unknown; but he was one of the early members of the Berlin *Chapter* of Jerusalem. We have already seen how Schubart, the Deputy G.M. of the "Three Globes," was in November, 1763, won over by Von Hund. Schubart's first step was to despatch a letter in Von Hund's interest to the "Three Globes," which was to be opened in the presence of 24 brethren, who were specified. On its arrival, Zinnendorff and three others being with Von Printzen, the

[1] The literal translation of the German title is "Grand Lodge of the Country." I therefore reject as a barbarism the accepted designation "Grand Countries Lodge"—a phrase which proclaims either a contempt for, or an ignorance of, the structure of both the German and English tongues; it is not English, and it is not German, because *Landes* is not the plural of *Land*, which would be *Länder*, but its genitive singular.

G. M., Zinnendorff persuaded them to open the letter then and there, and to extenuate their fault as an excess of zeal. Schubart being asked "for more light," insisted upon the letter being shown to the others, and as a result Zinnendorff and Krüger were selected to visit Von Hund. Probably from selfish motives, the former of these emissaries appeared alone, saying that the latter was ill, but this was afterwards denied by Krüger, who ultimately arrived on the scene. Zinnendorff signed the act of Strict Observance (*or* Unquestioning Obedience), August 24, 1764, was knighted by Von Hund, October 30, and made Prefect of Templin, *i.e.*, Berlin, on the 6th.

In June, 1765, Zinnendorff was elected G.M. of the Three Globes, possibly because the Lodge was already tending towards the Strict Observance system, of which he was the resident chief in Berlin. Scarcely was he installed before complaints arose of his arbitrary proceedings and haughty independence, not only from his Masonic, but also from his Templar subjects. Almost his first act was to despatch his friend Baumann to Stockholm in order to obtain information there respecting the Swedish rite. The requisite funds were taken from the treasury of the Three Globes, though the Lodge was not consulted either with regard to the mission or the appropriation of its money—and, worst of all, Zinnendorff kept for his own use the information so acquired, at a cost to the Lodge for travelling expenses of 1100 thalers. Baumann obtained from Dr. Eckleff not only the rituals of the Swedish High Degrees, but a warrant of constitution; and Findel states that the latter was 220 ducats in pocket by the transaction.[1] It is a somewhat important point to decide whether Eckleff[2] was at this time G.M. of the Grand Lodge of Sweden, or merely, as the Swedish Grand Lodge subsequently affirmed, the Head-Master of the Scots Chapter at Stockholm. We have already seen that the Grand Lodge of Sweden was formed in 1759, and that on December 7, 1762, the King assumed the Protectorate, so that the probability is that *he* was virtually its G.M. But even if Eckleff were at the time G.M., it is obvious that if he acted in the matter without the knowledge of Grand Lodge, the step was equally *ultra vires*. Both these grounds were alleged when, in 1777, Sweden repudiated Zinnendorff; but on the other hand, it should be mentioned that as late as 1776, the Swedish authorities were in close and fraternal correspondence with him, and these intimate relations must be held to have condoned any irregularities in the initial stages.

In 1766 the Berlin Templars complained strongly of the impossibility of obtaining any financial statements from Zinnendorff, but Krüger, who was sent by them on a mission to Von Hund, advised the Prov. G.M. to treat him delicately, because he might become dangerous and create scandal—another testimony to the character of the man.

In June, 1766, Zinnendorff was not re-elected G.M. of the Three Globes, but of course retained his office as Prefect of Templin (which was not elective), and on August 9 the Three Globes formally joined Von Hund's system. The financial dispute between Zinnendorff and the three Globes now assumed a threatening aspect, so Schubart and Bode were deputed to arrange matters in July, 1766. Zinnendorff being called to account, made up a statement on the spur of the moment, showing that, even admitting for argument's sake the debt of 1100 thalers, there still remained 800 thalers owing to him. In the interests of peace and quietness it was at length decided to let the matter drop on both sides. On November 16, 1766, Zinnendorff wrote a formal letter to Von Hund

[1] Findel, Gesch. der Freim., 4th edit., p. 419. For the preceding facts concerning Zinnendorff, as well as for much that follows, see *Allgemeines Handbuch, s. v.*

[2] *Ante*, p. 2.

renouncing the Strict Observance; and on May 6, 1767, he resigned the Three Globes. By the "Three Globes," however, as well as by the Provincial Chapter of Von Hund, a sentence of expulsion was passed upon him, and from that moment he became the bitter and confirmed enemy of the Strict Observance system.[1]

In 1768, "by virtue of his inherent power," *i.e.*, as a Scots Master, Zinnendorff erected his first Lodge on the Swedish system in Potsdam;[2] on August 10, 1769, his second, the Three Golden Keys, in Berlin—of which he became W.M.,[3] and—November 3, 1769—he instituted the Scots or St. Andrew's Lodge "Indissoluble" in Berlin. His conversion of two clandestine Swedish Lodges at Hamburg in 1770 to his own rite has already been noticed;[4] in fact such was his energy and activity, that before mid-summer, 1770, he had already 12 Lodges at work.

Then began a series of attempts to obtain a patent enabling him to erect a Grand Lodge. He first of all applied to the High Chapter at Stockholm, but his request was refused on the ground that Sweden never constituted Lodges abroad, a statement tending to invalidate Eckleff's proceedings. Undaunted, Zinnendorff called his 12 Lodges together and proclaimed the "National Grand Lodge for all German Freemasons."[5] According to *his* view none but those of his own rite were entitled to be called Freemasons, and least of all, the brethren under the Strict Observance. I have been unable to glean any particulars of the primary organization of this Grand Lodge, but from subsequent facts I believe it to have been (in theory) representative, and that all Masters (in office) were members. As the election of these Masters, however, was invalid unless approved by the Grand Lodge, the system of representation was defective and a sham, because the Grand Lodge practically became self-elective. Now, although Zinnendorff always professed the greatest contempt for the Grand Lodge of England as being deficient in true knowledge—and possessing the shell only, of which he and the Swedish Masons held the kernel—yet his advances meeting with no encouragement from Sweden, he made application to London—March 29, 1771—requesting recognition as a Grand Lodge, partly on the ground of possessing superior degrees, and partly from the circumstance of his holding a Swedish patent. The petition, however, failed to elicit any response.[6]

Upon this followed the constitution of a second Berlin Lodge, "The Golden Ship," and the election of Martin Kronke as G.M. with Zinnendorff as Dep. G.M.

On October 29, 1771, he renewed his request, and on this occasion to De Vignolles[7] as Prov. G.M. for foreign Lodges. But De Vignolles at least understood the course affairs had taken, and answered that he could not even acknowledge him as a brother until he had proof that he was received in a legitimate Lodge. The only legitimate Lodge in Berlin was the "Royal York;" the three Globes had never been warranted by England, and was now a Strict Observance Lodge, and all such were clandestine. That beyond this it would be most unseemly of England to subordinate such personages as the Duke of Brunswick[8] and other Provincial Grand Masters to unknown men like Zinnendorff and Kronke.[9] Zinnendorff's efforts were therefore turned to procuring a show of regularity—and a prince as G.M.

[1] Chap. XXIV., p. 358; and O'Etzel, Geschichte, etc., p. 55. [2] O'Etzel, etc., p. 55.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 17. [4] *Ante*, p. 32. [5] Acta Latomorum, p. 96; and O'Etzel, p. 61.
[6] Findel, p. 422. [7] Chap. XX., pp. 226, 247.
[8] Appointed Prov. G.M. of Brunswick in 1770, but who had already at this time joined the Strict Observance. [9] Findel, p. 422; and Allgemeines Handbuch, *s. v.* Zinnendorff.

Accordingly, on January 8, 1772, he applied to the Royal York Lodge for permission to use their rooms for an initiation, and invited that Lodge to be present on the 10th. This was done, a sheet of paper was clandestinely inserted in the minute-book of Royal York, the proceedings taken down, signed by the Royal York members, and the sheet secretly abstracted and forwarded to England, in order to prove that Zinnendorff and his friends were acknowledged as regular Masons by a properly constituted English Lodge.[1]

On August 11 following he further induced the Landgrave Louis of Hesse Darmstadt to accept the office of G.M., and negotiations were resumed with England; this time with Grand Secretary Heseltine, and in spite of De Vignolles, who, writing to Du Bois[2] in Holland, states that matters were arranged behind his back, and accuses Heseltine of receiving a £50 bribe.[3] In the same year a third Berlin Lodge—"Pegasus"—was warranted, and the total of subordinate Lodges had risen to 18.

Zinnendorff's great argument of course was, that the Strict Observance had strangled pure Freemasonry in Germany, and that it was necessary to erect a powerful Grand Lodge as a counterpoise. That his own system was as great an innovation as any of the others he naturally concealed, as he did the fact that all he wanted was England's name to conjure with. In its lamentable ignorance the Grand Lodge of England fell into the trap—De Vignolles appears to have been the only one of its officers *au courant* of passing events—and in consequence acted most unjustly towards its faithful daughter the P.G.L. of Frankfort.

On November 19, 1773, "the Grand Secretary (Heseltine) informed the G.L. of England of a proposal for establishing a friendly union and correspondence with the G.L. of Germany, held at Berlin, under the patronage of His Serene Highness the Prince of Hesse and Darmstadt, which met with general approbation."[4]

The compact with Zinnendorff[5] was signed (on behalf of the G.L. of England) November 30, 1773. As it was executed in Berlin on October 20, it is evident that the terms had already been settled by Zinnendorff and Heseltine prior to the latter's motion in Grand Lodge. §§ 1 and 2 confirm in their offices Prince Ferdinand at Brunswick and Gogel at Frankfort for their respective life-times, protect their districts, and leave them free—in the future—to make terms with the Grand Lodge of Germany. § 3 deposes various other Prov. G.M.'s (who had gone over to the Strict Observance), among whom I need only mention Jaenisch of Hamburg. § 4 reserves Hanover as common ground for England and Berlin. By § 5 Berlin is to contribute to the charity according to its increase of power, but never less than £25 per annum. § 6 recognises the German Grand Lodge as the only constituent power in Germany, always excepting Brunswick and Frankfort, and these only for the term of the then existing personal patents. § 7 forbids the G.L. at

[1] Hauptmomente der Geschichte der Grossen Loge von Preussen Royal York zur Freundschaft, p. 19.

[2] G. Sec. of G. L. of the Netherlands.

[3] Allgemeines Handbuch, *loc. cit.* The following excerpt from the minutes of the G.L. of England—April 23, 1773—may possibly serve to explain De Vignolles' mistake, and clear the G. Secretary from an odious charge :—"Bro. Charles Hanbury, of Hamburg, Esq., attended the G. Lodge, and on behalf of the G. Lodge of Germany, situated at Berlin, paid in the sum of £50 towards the fund for building a Hall, and received the thanks of the Grand Lodge thereupon."—But although Heseltine personally could not have benefited by this, yet the transaction does bear the appearance of at least a propitiatory gift to the G.L. The donation was made in April, and the contract with Zinnendorff in the following October and November at Berlin and London respectively.

[4] Constitutions, 1784, p. 305.

[5] For the text see Findel, pp. 822–824.

Berlin to exercise its powers outside Germany. In clause 9 both parties bind themselves to combat *all innovations in Masonry*, especially the Strict Observance.

Zinnendorff had thus, although under false pretences, obtained his point, and was constituted the sole Masonic authority in Germany, by the Mother Grand Lodge of the Craft, and July 16, 1774, his own G.L. obtained the protection of Frederick the Great.[1] Prince Louis having served the end for which he was elected, was evidently treated with scant courtesy, for on September 20, 1774, the Landgrave resigned, alleging as his reason for so doing, that he was ignored in his own Grand Lodge.[2] Zinnendorff was elected G.M., but in the following year—June 30, 1775—made way for Duke Ernest II. of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg.[3] This high-minded prince exerted all his efforts to heal the strife which raged between Zinnendorff's Lodges and the Strict Observance, and though he failed to accomplish a union, at least succeeded—July, 1776—in effecting a pact of mutual recognition and tolerance. This, however, being at once broken by Zinnendorff, the Duke—unable to endure the petty quarrels any longer—resigned, and was succeeded by G. M. Golz[4]—December 21, 1776—and by Dr. T. Mumssen in 1777.[5] Meanwhile the system had increased considerably; in Berlin alone Lodge "Constancy" was erected in 1775, and Lodges "Pilgrim," "Golden Plough," and "Ram" in 1776, making a total of no less than 7 Lodges in that city.

At this period began the negotiations between the S.O. and the Duke of Sudermania, threatening to end in the withdrawal of Sweden's tacit support of the National Grand Lodge. The Strict Observance Masons may at this time be said to have had only one formidable rival, viz., Zinnendorff, whose party enjoyed the great advantage of knowing their own minds, whereas we have seen that Ferdinand and his friends did not. Such an opportunity of humiliating Zinnendorff could not be allowed to pass, but that able tactician, who probably saw the storm brewing, took measures to draw still closer the bonds between England and himself. In April, 1777, he despatched his attached ally, Leonhardi,[6] to London, who in August, 1779, obtained a warrant to establish there the Pilgrim Lodge, No. 516 (now No. 238), under a special dispensation to work in German and use their own ritual. Leonhardi was admitted to Grand Lodge—February 7, 1781—as the representative of the National Grand Lodge, and took rank immediately after the Grand Officers.[7] We have already seen how, in 1782, Leonhardi frustrated the efforts made by the Frankfort brethren through Pascha, subsequently to Gogel's death.[8]

Meanwhile—April 27, 1777—the Swedish G.L., to please the S.O. members, drew up a document signed by Karl of Sudermania and others, declaring that Eckleff's patent to Zinnendorff had been granted without the knowledge or consent of the Chapter, and therefore—being illegal—was thereby cancelled and annulled.[9] In August the Swedish envoys, Oxenstierna and Plommenfeldt, arrived in Berlin, published this document, and formally repudiated Zinnendorff and all his doings. Zinnendorff's circular to his Lodges announcing the foregoing proceedings is a masterpiece,[10] and however we may disapprove of his conduct, it is quite impossible to withhold our respect for his singular ability. He

[1] O'Etzel, p. 61. [2] Allgemeines Handbuch, *loc. cit.* [3] *Ibid.*; and Acta Lat., p. 117.
[4] Findel, p. 425. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 429. [6] See *ante* (Hamburg), p. 32.
[7] Chap. XX., p. 230; see further, Festgabe, London, 1879, being the Centennial History of the Pilgrim Lodge, 238, by Karl Bergmann, P.M.
[8] *Ante*, p. 40. [9] For the text see Paul, Annales des Eclectischen Freimaurerbundes, p. 225.
[10] To be found in Findel, p. 426 *et seq.*

clearly places the G.L. of Sweden in the wrong, and demonstrates its inconsistency; he also frankly avows, "moreover, we no longer require the help of the Swedish fraternity, and can well spare their recognition." Nor was this an idle boast, for at that time (1778), eight years only after its birth, the National Grand Lodge ruled over 34 Lodges, with Provincial Grand Lodges in Austria, Silesia, Pomerania, and Lower Saxony.[1]

In 1780 June 24 Zinnendorff replaced Mumssen as G.M., and two years later—June 6, 1782—this unscrupulous but eminently strong and masterful man was struck down by apoplexy, gavel in hand, at the very moment he was opening his Lodge "of the Three Keys." His death produced no ill effect on his life's work. Able and resolute brethren—trained up in his school—were ready to carry on the system where he left it. His immediate successor as G.M. was Castillon; and that the death of the founder had not destroyed the spirit implanted by him, may be gathered from the fact that, in 1783, the "Three Globes" having made advances by permitting the visits of brethren of the Zinnendorff Rite, the National Grand Lodge replied by enacting—October 30, 1783—that only Lodges on the official list were to be considered legitimate, and no communication was to be held with others.[2]

One more heavy blow awaited the National Grand Lodge. That which De Vignolles had been unable to avert in 1773, Graefe was destined to undo in 1786. Count Graefe, a Brunswicker (to whom reference has already been made), was a captain in the English service in America. He had also been a Deputy P.G.M. of Canada, and returned to Brunswick in 1785, with an appointment as representative of the Grand Lodge of England at the National Grand Lodge, which, under the contract of Nov. 30, 1773, was of course tantamount to representative for all Germany. On August 15, 1785, he wrote from Brunswick to the National Grand Lodge that instead of harmony among the Fraternity in Germany he found only discord and antipathy, and called upon it to assist him in finding a remedy.[3] The National Grand Lodge—October 20—expressed a willingness to receive and aid him, but objected to the term "Supreme Grand Lodge" as applied to that at London, and expected that he would only visit such German Lodges as were recognized by their own body.[4] Graefe's eyes were soon opened to the state of affairs, and in the spring of 1786 he left for England. We find the results of his report in the minutes of the Grand Lodge of England, April 12, 1786, when the Grand Treasurer announced that the intolerant spirit of the Berlin Grand Lodge had evoked quarrels and scandals in Germany, and that many Lodges looked to London for redress. It was resolved that the proceedings of the Berlin Grand Lodge tended to divide the Fraternity, to limit its progress, and were in contravention of the treaty of 1773, and that steps should be taken to abrogate or alter that compact.[5] As we have already seen, this was followed by the re-inauguration of the Hamburg Provincial Grand Lodge under Graefe, by whom—August 17, 1786—a letter was despatched to Berlin inviting the presence of the National Grand Lodge at the ceremony. He added "that Berlin appeared to doubt the power of the Supreme Grand Lodge to make new arrangements, but he prayed them not to force him to take steps which old friendship had hitherto restrained."[6] Castillon replied by excluding all Hamburg Lodges and even Graefe himself, upon which the latter issued a circular in-

[1] Findel, p. 425

[2] Latomia, vol. xxvi., 1868, p. 89.

[3] Nettelbladt, Gesch. Frei. Systeme, p. 575.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Cf. ante*, p. 34; and Appendix, giving Grand Lodge Minutes, April 12, 1786.

[6] Nettelbladt, p. 575.

veighing against the intolerance and injustice of the National Grand Lodge, and declaring it to be his duty to pronounce that body and all its daughter Lodges illegitimate.[1] This action was approved in London, and Leonhardi, finding his presence no longer of any use, left that city—April 9, 1787—and betook himself to St. Petersburg.[2] In 1788—April 23—the Grand Lodge of England apprised the Berlin Lodge by letter of the abrogation of the treaty, and—November 26—the G.M. communicated to the Grand Lodge that he had acted on the resolution of April 12, 1786, and gave his reasons for so doing.[3] They are very cogent, and show more knowledge than usual of Continental affairs, but are too long for even partial reproduction; suffice it to say, that the Berlin Lodges, although deprived of all supremacy, continued to be recognized by the Grand Lodge of England as legitimate. But in spite of all difficulties the National Grand Lodge continued to prosper as before.

In 1789—June 24—the National Grand Lodge became wearied of its isolated position in Germany, and passed a decree whereby the legality of all Lodges constituted by any recognized authority was acknowledged, and mutual intercourse permitted, excepting, of course, in the case of brethren of the Hebrew faith.[4] This Grand Lodge has from the first been so intensely Christian that the Jewish question has never been even mooted, and it is only of late years that, yielding to outside pressure, Jews are allowed to be present in Lodges as occasional visitors.

Castillon resigned June 24, 1790, and was succeeded as G.M. by C.A. von Beulewitz. By the Royal Edict of October 20, 1798, the National Grand Lodge was included as one of the three Grand Lodges of the Prussian States, and in 1799—January 14—Beulewitz died, whereupon Castillon was re-elected G.M. From 1807-9 the Grand Lodge was closed on account of the presence of the French Army of Occupation. In 1814—January 27—the G.M., Castillon, died; and on December 27 ensuing the previous Dep. G.M., Joachim F. Neander von Petersheiden, was elected in his stead, who was followed in turn (1818) by J. H. O. von Schmidt.

Under G.M. Schmidt the quarrel with Sweden was made up, and a contract of mutual amity and support signed, April 6, 1819.[5] On this occasion the Grand Lodge of Sweden furnished complete copies of its constitutions, ritual, etc.; and Nettelbladt, one of the foremost Masons of Zinnendorff's rite, and an ardent defender of his master's probity, was at once set to work to revise the ritual of the National Grand Lodge.[6] A backward glance at my account of Freemasonry in Sweden will enable the reader to discern that at the time of the Eckleff transaction the Swedish rite was still incomplete, as the cope-stone of the highest degrees had not been placed on the structure. In consequence the National Lodge had always been deficient of two degrees, and knew nothing of a Vicarius Salomonis. These defects were now remedied, the ceremonies throughout brought into unison, and a Vicarius Salomonis under the title of "Master of the Order," elected. In 1821 we first hear of Palmié under that title, but I have not met with the date of his election, which

[1] Findel, p. 462. [2] Karl Bergmann, Festgabe, etc., p. 4.

[3] Chap. XX., p. 233; O'Etzel, p. 91; and Appendix (*post*) giving Grand Lodge Minutes, November 26, 1788. [4] Latomia, vol. xxvi., p. 91. [5] O'Etzel, p. 140.

[6] Findel, p. 516. Although Nettelbladt wrote a history of all the other Masonic systems and rites (including the English)—in which the ignorance and credulity of their votaries are pitilessly denounced—unfortunately he has not favored us with one of the National Grand Lodge. He always, however, maintains its infallibility in strong terms, which to the student of to-day are somewhat amusing. Chap. XXV., p. 392.

was probably in 1820. The G.M.—Schmidt—took the title of First Assistant of the Master of the Order in 1821, and retained it so long as he remained G.M. A decree of October, 2 1820,[1] affirms that Masters of Lodges are elected for life, the triennial re-election being a concession on the Master's part, not a right of the Lodge. The election of the Master, according to a decree of March 2, 1824,[2] was to take place by casting the names of all those eligible into an urn; the youngest member drew a name, its owner had to leave the Lodge, and his merits were canvassed. A ballot was then taken for him, and required a two-thirds majority in his favor. If unfavorable, a second ticket was drawn, and so on until the necessary majority was obtained. In 1825—December 5[3]—it was affirmed that the election must be approved by the Grand Lodge; in 1830—December 20—that Lodges which became dormant ceded the property and funds to the Grand Lodge;[4] and in 1837[5]—September 11—that the "Master of the Order shall be *eo ipso* also Grand Master, but he may appoint his First Assistant to this office for life."

In 1838 Count Henckel von Donnersmark was elected G.M. in succession to Schmidt, but in 1841 the "Master of the Order"—Palmié—dying, he was elected in his room, and conformably with the above last quoted law, retained both offices until his death.

In 1843 Constitutions were printed, but I have been unable to procure a complete copy. They were only issued to Masters of Lodges—who are not allowed to show them, or even give extracts, and are kept under three keys held by different Officers of the Lodge.[6] Keller, however, gives some excerpts,[7] and the chief points are naturally more or less well known. The Inner Orient is composed of members of the highest degrees only. It comprises, at its head, the M. of the Order, his two assistants, called Senior and Junior Architects, and nine Officers. These twelve represent the twelve Apostles, and to a certain extent, the M. of the O. is the Vicar of Christ. Their functions are to supervise everything, but especially the ritual and dogma. The members have the right to preside and vote in any Lodge, and can even stop the proceedings. The Grand Lodge, with the G.M. at its head, is divided into two bodies, the St. John's and the St. Andrew's Lodges, to rule respectively the degrees of pure Freemasonry and the Scots degrees. Grand Officers must at least be Scots Masters. The ritual is identical with that of Sweden and Denmark.

In 1849—July 24—Henckel von Donnersmark died, and—October 23—K. F. von Selasinsky was elected "Master of the Order."

On November 5, 1853, an event of great importance to the present generation of Masons throughout Germany took place; this was the initiation of Frederick William, Prince, now Crown Prince, of Prussia. The ceremony took place in the palace of his father, the then heir to the throne, who presided in person, in the presence of the Grand Officers of the three Prussian Grand Lodges, and in the name—or as we should say in England, "under the banner"—of the National Grand Lodge, of which he became a member. The Master's gavel used on this occasion was that formerly belonging to Frederick the Great. The eighth and last of the Berlin Lodges under this system was constituted exactly two years afterwards—November 5, 1855—and named in his honor "Frederick William of the Dawn."

[1] Latomia, vol. xxvi., p. 95. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*, p. 96. [4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 97. [6] *Ibid.*, pp. 83 and 87.
[7] Gesch. der Freimaurerei in Deutschland, 1859, pp. 14–17; and Findel, p. 423 *et seq.*

In 1860—April 26—Selasinsky died, and Prince Frederick William of Prussia accepted the office of Master of the Order on June 24 following.

Ten years later—June 24, 1870—the Grand Lodge celebrated its centenary, with the Prince in the chair. On this occasion a bombshell fell amongst the brethren. The G.M., in a long and able speech, alluded to the superior knowledge and greater purity of origin to which the National Grand Lodge had always laid claim—also to its persistence in requiring that those statements should be taken as articles of faith, whilst the documents on which they rested were jealously preserved from the vulgar ken. He showed how impossible it was to resist libellous misrepresentation from outside, except by frankly producing proofs to the contrary, and how the assumption of infallibility was not only untenable in the nineteenth century, but injurious to the best interests of the Grand Lodge; and concluded by calling upon all to aid him in ascertaining the historical truth of those supposed documents and traditions, and to freely give up whatever should be found unsupported.[1] The excitement caused throughout the Lodges of the system was intense, and two opposing parties—of light and leading, of mystery and conservatism—were at once formed. In 1873 twenty brethren at Hanover were suspended for advocating reform, whilst in 1871 six Lodges attempted to found an historical and archæological union—a crime almost amounting to treason under this Grand Lodge. Schiffmann of Stettin received the prince's commission to undertake researches, but was denied access to the archives. Wearied by this persistent opposition, the Crown Prince at length—March 1, 1874—resigned his office.[2] In his place Von Dachroden was elected, with Schiffmann as Senior Architect. The danger then became obvious that Schiffmann might at the next election be appointed "Master of the Order," and have the archives at his disposal. The Statutes were therefore arbitrarily altered, and the election placed in the hands of the highest degree only. It was also laid down that the G.M. should live in Berlin. As Schiffmann held an ecclesiastica appointment in Stettin, he was thus rendered ineligible for election, but he nevertheless proceeded with his researches, and made most damaging discoveries. For this the G.L. suspended him—May 1, 1876—but his part was warmly taken by several Lodges, and many, especially of other systems, made him an honorary member. Two months later—July 1—Schiffmann was expelled, and several Lodges who supported him were erased; others transferred their allegiance.[3] Thus for the moment the movement was cursed, but with the increasing enlightenment of our age, I cannot but think that the latent volcano is merely crusted over for a time, and that the smothered fire will sooner or later break out afresh. The position and attitude of the National Grand Lodge of Germany is an anomaly in the nineteenth century, and can only be likened in many respects to the standpoint of the Church of Rome.

In 1872 G. A. von Ziegler had been appointed Grand Master, and succeeded the "Master of the Order"—Dachroden—on his retirement, in both capacities. He in turn

[1] An English translation of this address was read before the St. Mary's Lodge, No. 63, by Dr. E. E. Wendt, Grand Secretary for German Correspondence—March 20, 1873—and will be found in the Centennial History of that Lodge, 1883, by George Kelly and Wilmer Hollingworth. *Cf. ante*, Chap. XVI., p. 9.

[2] This was the *third* Royal G. M. of the National G. L. who resigned the chair in disgust.

[3] Allgemeines Handbuch, etc., vol. iv. 1879, *s. v.* Schwedischer System; and Findel, Gesch., etc., p. 568 *et seq.* Chap. XXIV., 333, 346.

was followed by F. R. A. Neuland, the present "Master of the Order" of the National Grand Lodge of all German Masons.

In May, 1885, this Grand Lodge, with 3 Provincial Grand Lodges, ruled over 93 Lodges, with a membership of 10,276, or an average of 110 members per Lodge.[1]

The epoch-marking dates of this Grand Body are:—

1768.—Erection of Zinnendorff's first Lodge at Potsdam.
1770.—June 24.—Creation of the National Grand Lodge.
1772—August 11.—Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, G. M.
1773—November 30.—Compact with England.
1777—April 27.—Repudiation by Sweden.
1788—April 23.—Repudiation by England.
1819—April 6.—Contract of Amity with Sweden, and completion of Rite.
1853—November 5.—Initiation of the Crown Prince of Prussia.
1870.—June 24.—Centenary festival, and Prince Frederick William's speech.

V. The Grand Lodge of Prussia, called Royal York of Friendship, at Berlin.[2]

On May 5, 1760, the Lodge of the Three Globes was informed that several resident French Masons—Frederick the Great had established a large colony of that nationality in Berlin—had petitioned for a warrant to enable them to meet as a Lodge—"Joy and Peace"—to initiate Frenchmen only, offering to pay all their income into the funds of the Mother-Lodge. In fact it was to be merely a distinctly French branch of the Three Globes. The request was granted, and in the same year—August 10—Von Printzen constituted the Lodge under the name of the "Three Doves." No reason is assigned why the title originally chosen was not adhered to. In 1761—March 13—the Mother-Lodge took into consideration a request to enlarge the powers of its daughter, as it was found impossible to recruit the Lodge solely from Frenchmen and to carry it on without funds. The petition was acceded to, and a fresh warrant granted—April 12—whereby the Lodge became an independent sister Lodge of the Three Globes. Its title had at this time been altered to "Friendship of the Three Doves." In the same year it joined with the "Three Globes" and "Concord" in forming the Masonic Tribunal of which Von Printzen was elected Grand Master.[3]

From the character and composition of the Lodge it was inevitable that degrees beyond that of Master Mason would be wrought. These appear as early as 1763 to have included some or all of the following:—"Elect of 9, of 15, and of Perpignan; Red Scots Degree and St. Andrew's Scot; Knight of the East; Knight of the Eagle or Prince Sovereign Rose Croix: the members of this last and 7th degree forming a Sublime Council, which ruled all the others. To vest these degrees, it is possible, with an enhanced authority, the Lodge procured—March 6, 1674—a Scots patent from the Scots Lodge "Puritas," at Brunswick.

The work was, of course, conducted in French, but not without exceptions. Thus in 1764 we find an instance of a Lodge transacting its business in German, but the minutes

[1] Throughout Germany no Mason may be an active member of two Lodges at the same time.

[2] The history of this Lodge has been very well, although somewhat too concisely, told in its official publication, "*Hauptmomente der Geschichte der Grossen Loge von Preussen genannt Royal York zur Freundschaft*," Berlin, 1849. The following sketch is given in the main on the authority of that work. For biographical notices and dates I am indebted chiefly to the excellent "Allgemeines Handbuch." Other sources will be mentioned when made use of.

[3] *Ante*, p. 49.

record a resolve not to do so again. A most curious minute occurs in 1765, when a member proposed for initiation, "somebody"—having forgotten the candidate's name!

July 27, 1765, was a most important date for this Lodge. On that day it initiated into the Craft H.R.H. Edward Augustus, Duke of York, the brother of George III., and his companion, Colonel Henry St. John. On August 2 the Prince signified his acceptance of the title of patron of the Lodge, and authorized it to assume the name of "Royal York of Friendship." The Lodge then applied to the Grand Lodge of England for a patent, and entrusted the petition to St. John. To this circumstance may be due the fact that the Lodge never joined the Strict Observance system, but on the contrary always strenuously opposed it.

The next few years furnish two events which may be recorded. On September 6, 1765, the Lodge warranted its first daughter, at Rheims; and in 1767—June 6—it initiated a Jew. This is remarkable, because in 1779 it had so far modified its views as to refuse admission to two English Masons because they were of the Hebrew persuasion. The latter position it retained until the revision of the Statutes in 1872; but the Jewish question does not appear to have evoked the same strife in this Lodge as in the Three Globes and in the Eclectic Union.

In 1767—June 24—it received a warrant from England as No. 417, successively altered by the closing up of numbers to 330, 260, and 219 (1770, 1781, 1792)—after 1813 it disappears from our lists.

Its next step was to apply for a patent as a *Grand Lodge*, but—February 14, 1769—De Vignolles wrote refusing the request as beyond England's power to grant—a Grand Lodge being the result of several Lodges combining for the purpose. He, however, authorized the Lodge to grant a three months' dispensation to brethren to act as a new Lodge, during which time they were expected to apply for a constitution from England.[2]

The "Royal York" formally seceded from the Three Globes in 1768. Zinnendorff's proceedings within its precincts in 1772 have already been narrated.[3] In 1772 it sent a cypher to London in which to conduct its correspondence, and the same year forwarded by this means the statutes and rituals of its Scots degrees for approval. The result is unknown to me. In the same year also it warranted a Lodge at Besançon. Of this and the former Lodge at Rheims no further notices appear. In 1773 the Lodge gradually ceased to work in French, and—August 13—constituted its first legitimate daughter at Cassel. This Lodge was registered in London, November 19, 1773, as No. 459.

Meanwhile the treaty—so often cited—had been contracted between Zinnendorff and the older or legitimate Grand Lodge in London, and by it the Lodge "Royal York" came under the jurisdiction of the National Grand Lodge. The Royal York succeeded in making terms by which it was to preserve its own ritual and in a great measure its former autonomy, and concluded a treaty of union May 19, 1774. Quarrels, however, ensued and appeals to London, and in the end the "Royal York" reasserted its independence in 1776, a course of action which was approved by England, April 11, 1778.

In 1778 the Royal York constituted its second Lodge—at Mannheim—and in 1779 one each at Munich and Potsdam. A proposal for union with the Three Globes fell through in this year, but a treaty of friendship was entered into, which is still in effect.

[1] It had meanwhile been for a few years in close alliance with Zinnendorff's National Grand Lodge, which always has been, and is now, intensely Christian, which may account for the change of views regarding the Jews. [2] Nettelbladt, Geschichte Freim. Systeme, p. 624. [3] *Ante*, p. 59.

In 1779—November 24—Baron Heyking was commissioned by the Lodge to travel throughout Poland, and where he found Masons in sufficient numbers to erect Lodges. This resulted in the formation (1780) of no less than eight Lodges, and ultimately of an English Provincial Grand Lodge of Poland.[1] From 1782 to 1795 nothing of importance demands record beyond the constitution of seven Lodges, and the occasional use of the names Mother-Lodge and Grand Lodge as applied to the Royal York, but without a specific assertion of either of these titles.

With 1796 there commenced a period of evolution and internal change in this Lodge, not unaccompanied by strife. The central figure of the movement was one of the most prominent Masons of that or any time, noteworthy not only as a Mason, but also as a theologian, politician, and author—Ignatius Aurelius Fessler. I regret that the exigencies of space forbid anything approaching a detailed biography of this remarkable man. The following few data must therefore suffice.

Fessler was born in Lower Hungary in 1756, his father being a retired soldier, and his mother a religious devotee. Educated by the Jesuits, but refused admission to their ranks, he took the Capuchin vows in 1773. In 1779 he was ordained priest, and was at that time of a most serious and earnest disposition, verging on bigotry. But above all things he was plain-spoken, and in 1781 called the Emperor's attention to the disgraceful morals of conventual life. No longer safe in the monasteries from papal vengeance, he was placed in professional chairs at the universities, and led from that time to his death a most eventful and kaleidoscopic life, pursued by the unrelenting hate of the Jesuits. In 1789 he embraced the Lutheran faith, and in 1796 came to Berlin. He entered the Craft at Lemberg in 1783, a period cœval with the fall of the Strict Observance, the founding of the Eclectic Union, and the commencement of the first serious attempts to study and appreciate Freemasonry. Throwing himself with his usual ardor into this new pursuit, he succeeded in a few years in making himself acquainted with the broad facts of Masonic history, and the whole series of fantastic theories and rites to which the original institution had nearly succumbed. Such a man could not fail to attract the attention of his Masonic fellows, and accordingly, we find that having joined the Royal York, May 12, 1796, he was much against his wish forced by the brethren—November 20—to become a member of the Sublime Council. The Three Globes, Frankfort, and Hamburg G.L. had all reformed their rites or were engaged in so doing; the Royal York felt it necessary to follow suit, and in Fessler lay their best hope. One other matter also loomed large on the horizon. In consequence of the French Revolution an edict against secret societies might be expected, and although the Lodges would probably be tolerated, yet it was to be feared that the Royal York would be called upon to submit to the jurisdiction of a Grand Lodge, unless its position as a Grand Lodge in itself could be satisfactorily settled. De Vignolles' letter, already referred to, had indicated the only legal means of attaining this object, and we shall see that Fessler was not the man to neglect such a hint.

Scarcely was Fessler a member of the Sublime Council than he received a commission to draft a constitution, and to revise the ritual and bring the various degrees into accord. He threw himself with almost superhuman energy into the work. His first inclination, as was natural to an enlightened Masonic student, was to abolish all high degrees, and he made this proposal, April 12, 1797.[2] His coadjutors were, however, not yet prepared

[1] *Ante*, p. 27.

[2] Findel, p. 485.

for such a drastic remedy, so he contented himself with making each (so-called) high degree a separate course of philosophy, and with remoulding the Sublime Council, which became the Innermost Orient.[1] His new ritual and constitutions were rapturously approved and accepted, August 3, 1797. The constitution was to be subject to revision in three, six, and afterwards every nine years.[2] In 1798—June 11—at Fessler's instance, the Lodge, Royal York of Berlin, was divided into four Lodges—Frederick William of Justice, Victorious Truth, Urania of Immortality (with Fessler as W. M.), and Pythagoras of the Flaming Star. These four Lodges remained in many respects one. Membership is still interchangeable. The officers of one Lodge may be chosen from the members of another. They also possess in common a general and a charity fund. These four Lodges then combined to erect from among themselves the "Grand Lodge of Prussia, called Royal York of Friendship," with 14 daughters, viz., 4 in Berlin, and 10 previously warranted elsewhere. The Grand Lodge was at once recognized by the Three Globes, and by the King; but the National Grand Lodge refused to do so, maintaining that a Grand Lodge could not be formed by a single Lodge divided *ad hoc*, nor could such a body be established in a kingdom where one already existed—though when Zinnendorff established *his* Grand Lodge for Germany, the Three Globes and others were already in existence. But even in the Royal York itself the measure met with bitter opposition from shortsighted and undiscerning brethren Fessler, a strong man, imperious, hasty, though wanting in conciliation, overbore all opposition, but his victory made him enemies.

De La Goannère was first Grand Master, and Fessler Dep. G.M.; but the Grand Master being called to Coruña as Consul, resigned, October 5, 1798, and was succeeded, October 28, by F. W. A. Von Sellentin.

In the same month—October 20—the Royal Edict appeared, wherein the Royal York is named as one of the three authorized Grand Lodges of Prussia.

On December 20, 1798, the Berlin Lodge, "Victorious Truth," initiated and admitted to active membership, H.R.H. Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex, sixth son of George III., and nephew to the Duke of York, initiated in 1765.[3] From 1813 to 1843 the Duke of Sussex was Grand Master of England. Some idea of Fessler's rite may be acquired from the following facts. The Duke of Sussex was passed to the degree of Fellow Craft, January 19, 1799; raised a Master Mason, February 4; received the degree of Perfect Scots Architect, March 6; of Master of Mount Heredom, March 10; of the Cross and Eagle, March 22; and became an Elect of the New Jerusalem, December 23. In 1839, being then G.M. of England, he renewed his permission to continue his name on the books of the Lodge as an active member. Long previously—April 5, 1799—the Duke had agreed to accept the position of representative of Grand Lodge, Royal York, at the G.L. of England.

In the same year (1799) three new Lodges were warranted, and in 1800 the period arrived for the first revision of the constitutions.

[1] *I. e.*, "Innermost" for *Grand* and "Inner" for *private*, Lodges.

[2] It was revised accordingly in 1800, 1803, 1806, 1815, 1824, 1832, 1836, 1845, 1854, 1863, 1872, and probably in 1881, but of this I have no precise record.

[3] Almost every writer states that the Prince was made in the Royal York Lodge, which of course is incorrect, as the name then only applied to the Grand Lodge or Legislative Body. But the mistake is excusable—at least I hope so, having committed it myself (Chap. XX., p. 235)—as it is easy to confuse the four allied Lodges with the Grand Lodge. Even Mr. G. W. Speth—I am somewhat relieved to find—in his recently issued "Royal Freemasons" has fallen into the same error.

Fessler, meanwhile, had entered into very friendly relations with another reformer—F. L. Schroeder[1]—whose influence now began to act through him on the Royal York.

In August, 1800, Fessler once more proposed to abolish high degrees, but the time for this salutary reform had not yet arrived. Something in the nature of an extrinsic degree was still urgently in demand. A compromise was effected. In lieu of the high degrees Fessler elaborated a history of Fremasonry, its origin, revival in 1717, early progress and subsequent obliquities. This was communicated to Master Masons in five "Steps to Knowledge," *Erkenntniss-stufen*, and to satisfy all parties, each step was preceded by a ceremonial, designed to symbolically illustrate various phases in man's life on earth. The ritual of the three degrees was remodelled on the basis of that of Schroeder, and the constitutions altered in accordance therewith. The complete revision was accepted, December 31, 1800.[2]

In this year (1800) one new Lodge was warranted, and the Sun Lodge at Bayreuth—now the "Grand Lodge of the Sun"—was affiliated, and remained for a time a Provincial Grand Lodge under the "Royal York."

In 1801—June 5—the G.M. Von Sellentin resigned on account of ill health, and—September 13—Ern. Ferd. Klein was installed as G.M. The same year saw the birth of a Lodge at Charlottenburg, and of the Lodge Socrates at Frankfort.[3] The total of private Lodges had now risen to 16.[4] In 1802 one Lodge was warranted, and the closing scenes of Fessler's connection with the Lodge were enacted. For some time angry feelings had been at work on both sides, want of appreciation on the one produced bitterness on the other, and Fessler's own domineering temper added fuel to the flame. At length the G.M. himself went over to Fessler's enemies. According to the constitution the Dep. G.M. was the all-powerful prime minister—the G.M., a very limited monarch. But Klein—a man of character and determination—was little inclined to play the part of *Roi Faineant* to that of Fessler's *Maire du Palais*, and the position became too strained to continue.

On April 30, 1802, Fessler wrote that to facilitate a reconciliation he intended to lay down his offices *pro tem.*, and requested all complaints against him to be at once openly preferred. On May 7 the Grand Lodge agreed to consider this as a formal resignation, and Fessler, indignant, resigned his offices as Dep. G.M. and W.M. of Urania on the 9th. His Lodge was then ordered to exclude him from membership, and Fessler hearing of this order—August 15—wrote—September 6—with haughty scorn, washing his hands once and for all of both Lodge and Grand Lodge.[5] After many troubles in private and public life, Fessler entered the service of the Czar Alexander in 1809, and died December 15, 1839, aged 83, being at the time President of the Russian Lutheran Consistory at Saratow.

In 1803 the Statutes underwent their periodical revision, the Innermost Orient was remodelled, and besides overlooking the dogma and ritual of the Fraternity, became the dispenser of the Steps to Knowledge, and its subordinate Inner Orients were charged with the same duties in the provinces. But these steps were reduced to a single one under the name of Scots Master, and the initiations were abolished, so that practically from henceforth we have a modification of the Hamburg *Engbund*, and the rite of the Royal York may be looked upon as in all essentials that of Schroeder. The irony of fate willed that Fessler's original plans should be adopted within a few months of his expulsion.

In 1806 the Grand Lodge was closed during the French occupation, but the presence

[1] *Ante*, p. 33 *et seq.*

[2] Nettelbladt, p. 636; and Findel, p. 487.

[3] *Ante*, p. 42.

[4] Findel, etc., p. 490.

[5] Nettelbladt, p. 641.



Yours Fraternally

Wm. J. Akers. 33°

Past Deputy Grand Master Grand Lodge of Ohio.

of the enemy served to draw closer the rival German rites, and the National Grand Lodge entered into a pact of amity with the Royal York. In 1808 the G.L. resolved that the officers of private Lodges must be confirmed and approved by itself, thus somewhat, though possibly unintentionally, limiting its own representative character. And at the revision of the Statutes in 1872, the distinctively Christian requirements for initiation were modified, so that Jewish candidates are now accepted.

Little remains to be added except statistics. Lodges warranted:—in 1803, 1; 1812, 2; 1813, 1; 1816, 4; also the Provincial Grand Lodge of Silesia; 1817, 2; 1818, 2; 1820, 1821, 1823, 1824, 1826, 1827, 1828, 1836, 1840, 1843, 1846, 1 each. Later lists I have not been able to procure.

In 1810—March 18—G.M. Klein died, and—April 30—J. H. A. Hey was elected to the office. In 1832 Hey resigned from sickness and old age, and died December 17, 1838. He was succeeded by Prof. H. F. Link as G.M., who died in office—January 1, 1851. On June 2 ensuing, Dr. C. von Kloeden was elected G.M., and also died in office—January 10, 1856. A similar fate befell the next G.M.—Dr. C. W. F. Amelang—who died December 3, 1858; and on the following year—March 26—Prince Louis William Augustus of Baden, a brother of the Grand Duke, was installed as G.M. The G.M.'s tenure of office being terminable with the periodical revisions of the Constitutions, the Prince declined re-election at the revision of 1863, but was appointed Hon. G.M., a position which he still holds. In 1864 Dr. J. F. Schnakenburg was installed Grand Master,[1] and in 1873 Professor Chr. Fr. L. Herrig, who was re-elected in 1882, and still holds the office.

In January, 1885, the Grand Lodge "Royal York of Friendship" ruled over 62 Lodges with 6102 members, or an average of 99 members per Lodge. Of these Lodges 4 are outside the limits of Prussia, 3 in Alsace-Lorraine, and 1 in Bremen. It has 1 Provincial Grand Lodge—that of Silesia—and 8 Inner Orients.

VI. The Grand Lodge "Sun" at Bayreuth.

On January 21, 1741, the Margrave Frederick of Brandenburg-Kulmbach erected in his own castle at Bayreuth, the capital of his dominions, a Lodge under the name of the "Sun," of which he remained Master till his death in 1763. On December 5, 1741, this *Castle* "Sun" instituted in Bayreuth a *City* "Sun" with much pomp, the Margrave himself taking part in the procession. The Castle "Sun" soon grafted on itself a Directory of Scots Masters, which in some respects discharged the functions of a non-representative Grand Lodge.

In 1757—October 24—this Directory opened the Lodge "Lebanon of the Three Cedars," in Erlangen; and in 1758—May 17—that of the "Three Stars," in Anspach, the capital of the Onolzbach or cadet line of Brandenburg.

In 1763 the Margrave was succeeded by his uncle, the Margrave Frederick Christian, both in his civil and Masonic capacity.

In 1769, the elder line being extinct, the Margrave Frederick Carl Alexander of Brandenburg-Onolzbach (the younger or Anspach line) united the two Principalities. The Anspach Lodge of 1758 being also possessed of a Scots Directory, the new ruler caused it in 1772 to amalgamate with the (*Castle*) Sun Directory, and removed the seat of this conjoint Directory to Anspach, granting it jurisdiction over the two Sun Lodges in Bay-

[1] Under him in 1872 the Statutes were altered to admit of Jews being initiated.

reuth, the Lebanon Lodge in Erlangen, and the Three Stars Lodge in Anspach. From 1774 therefore the Sun ceased to work as a Mother-Lodge. In 1776 the City Sun went over to the Strict Observance, which the Margrave himself had joined in the same year, being the first reigning Prince who ever signed the act of Implicit (*or* Unquestioning) Obedience. He himself was the son of the Margrave Carl who had espoused the sister of Frederick the Great, and been initiated by that king in 1740 in Frederick's Royal Lodge.[1] The Margrave Frederick dying childless in 1799, the Brandenburg Principalities reverted to Prussia.

By the Royal Edict of October 20, 1798, an Prussian Lodges were required to hold from one of the three Berlin Grand Lodges. Accordingly, in 1799—November 19—the Anspach and Erlangen Lodges joined the "Three Globes;" whilst the two Suns joined the Royal York in 1800, the Castle Sun being made a Provincial Grand Lodge. It naturally accepted the Fessler Rite, and was granted an Inner Orient, April 1, 1802. The Lodge of Truth and Friendship at Fürth, warranted by the Royal York—March 4, 1803—was placed under its rule, and also the "Morning Star" at Hof, constituted June 9, 1799.

In 1806 Anspach fell to the new kingdom of Bavaria. It had meanwhile been raised to the rank of a Provincial Grand Lodge "Anacharsis," under the Three Globes, with several daughter Lodges, and at the time of these all becoming Bavarian, Freemasonry was under an interdict in that country by virtue of decrees issued March 2 and August 16, 1785;[2] renewed by the Elector—afterwards King of Bavaria—Maximilian Joseph, himself a Freemason, November 4, 1799, and March 5, 1804. In 1807, however—May 8—the King issued an edict of toleration, to which were attached very stringent conditions. A list of all members was to be forwarded to the authorities every three months, all changes of officers or by-laws to be notified, correspondence with Berlin to cease, etc. A further edict was published January 17, 1808, forbidding all State servants to join the Craft. As this deprived the Lodges of all their best members, judges, notaries, professors, military officers, and even schoolmasters and clergymen, the blow was a severe one; but many of the Lodges nevertheless continued to struggle on as independent communities, until in better times they were able to join one of the Grand Lodges of Germany.[3]

In 1810—June 30—Bayreuth also was acquired by the kingdom of Bavaria, and the Lodges had to conform to the same rules, the Sun losing not less than fifty of its best members.

The Provincial Grand Masters meanwhile, under the Royal York Grand Lodge, were Count von Giech, Von Volderndorf, and Schunter.

In 1811—December 13—the Provincial Grand Lodge of the Sun declared itself an independent Grand Lodge, with four daughters, viz., the City Sun under a new name—Eleusis of Silence—the Truth and Friendship at Fürth, the Morning Star and the Golden Balance at Hof—which was warranted February 20, 1804, by the National Grand Lodge of Berlin. By slow degrees and in spite of difficulties, it added to this number. The ritual was naturally the so-called "Fessler," that is, as we have seen, the "Schroeder" slightly

[1] *Ante*, p. 48. [2] Chap. XXIV., p. 377.

[3] By an English patent—dated June 6, 1806—"Charles Alexander, Prince of Thurn and Taxis, Principal Commissary to His Imperial Majesty in Germany," was appointed "Provincial Grand Master for Bavaria." This description, however, is vague and misleading, since with the exception of Ratisbon—which was not permanently incorporated with the new kingdom until 1810—Bavarian Masonry was extinct.—*Cf. post*, pp. 83, 85.

modified, and which does not differ materially from our own. The first G.M.—Schunter—was followed by Münch, Birner, and in 1844 by S. Kolb—under whom, in 1847, the constitutions were amended so as to admit Jews to the full benefits of the Fraternity. In 1849—August 25—Chr. K. Künzel was elected G.M., and in 1862, Friedrich Feustel. At this time the Grand Lodge Sun numbered ten daughters. New constitutions were drawn up in 1868, and accepted in 1869. They are among the most liberal in Germany. The Grand Lodge is thoroughly representative on the English system; its seat as an executive body is at Bayreuth, but it holds, in turn, an annual deliberative meeting and festival at the various towns where it possesses a Lodge.

In 1872 Bluntschli became G.M., and in 1878 Feustel once more—the present G.M. being Dr. Löwe. In January, 1885, the Grand Lodge ruled over 24 Lodges—chiefly in Bavaria and Baden, 1 each in Hamburg, Bremen, and Norway, and 2 in Würtemberg—where Masonry was forbidden in 1784, but has been again tolerated since 1835. The membership of these 24 Lodges was 2017, or an average of 84 per Lodge.[1] A second Norwegian Lodge has since been erected.

VII. The National Grand Lodge of Saxony at Dresden.

Many Provincial Grand Masters for the circle of Upper Saxony and for the Electorate of Saxony were appointed by England in the last century. For instance, in 1737, by Lord Darnley, H. W. von Marschall to the Circle of Upper Saxony;[3] in 1762, Major Aloys Peter D'Agdolo to the Electorate; and in 1766, Count von Werthern to Upper Saxony. There were possibly others, with whom we need not concern ourselves, for it cannot be shown that they ever warranted a single Lodge or exercised their office in any way. Of Marschall it is known that he joined and accepted office in the Lodge Absalom at Hamburg[4] and nothing more, whilst at that very time Rutowsky was active in his especial district; and of the two latter, we know that they were expressly relieved of their duties in the 1773 contract with Zinnendorff.[5] Werthern indeed went over to the Strict Observance immediately after his appointment.

Nevertheless a Grand Lodge of Saxony existed at a very early date. Count Rutowsky—initiated at Warsaw in 1735[6]—who had been a brigadier in the French service, entered that of the Elector of Saxony in 1731, and was a Field-Marshal and Governor of Dresden in 1741. He died March 16, 1764. In 1738 he erected a Lodge of the "Three Eagles" at Dresden. It increased so rapidly that in 1739 a new Lodge of the "Three Golden Swords" was formed also at Dresden, which two years afterwards numbered over fifty members. In 1741—February 15—a third Lodge—of the "Three Swans"—was founded. These three met together, June 24, 1741, raised the Three Swords to the rank of a Grand

[1] I know of no official or detailed history of this Grand Lodge. The above facts have been gleaned chiefly from the Allgemeines Handbuch, 1863-1879, *s.v.* Bayreuth, Brandenburg, Erlangen, Anspach, Friedrich II., Fürth, Hof, Baiern, Zweibrücken, Kolb, Feustel, Würtemberg, Deutschland, etc.

[2] Once more I am constrained to protest against the uncouth title in common use, Grand Countries Lodge of Saxony (*Grosse Landes Loge von Sachsen*). Masonic writers, even of high classical attainments, have adopted this barbarism, of whose paternity I am ignorant. Yet, although a knowledge of German in every case is not to be presupposed, I think we are entitled to expect at least an acquaintance with *English* grammar on the part of English authors. The following sketch is again chiefly based upon the excellent "*Allgemeines Handbuch*," *s.v.* Sachsen, Dresden, Leipzig, Altenberg, Rutowsky, Marschall, Deutschland, Warnatz, Wertheim, Agdolo, etc., etc.

[3] Constitutions, 1756, p. 333. [4] *Ante*, p. 31. [5] *Cf.* Findel, p. 822. [6] W. Keller, Fr. in Deut. p. 80.

Lodge, and chose Rutowsky as G.M. It appears to have been taken for granted by German writers that Rutowsky held an English patent—which may possibly be true, although in the absence of anything like evidence to authenticate the belief, it must of necessity remain an open question.

The Three Swans amalgamated with the Three Swords, July 2, 1741. Earlier in the same year — March 20 — a Lodge was formed at Leipsic, which subsequently became "Minerva of the Compasses," and is now the independent Lodge "Minerva of the Three Palms."[1] If not warranted by Rutowsky in the first instance, it certainly owned his sway *circa* 1747.

In 1742—January 31—this Lodge Minerva inaugurated the Lodge at Altenburg, now "Archimedes of the Three Tracing Boards," one of the five independent Lodges of Germany.[2] This also joined the union.

Rutowsky further warranted—September 2, 1743—the "Three Roses" at Sachsenfels, which was one of the first to join the Strict Observance; and in 1744 the "Three Squares" in Nossen, which soon afterwards died out. There are also traces of one or two other Lodges. The existence of this flourishing body at so early a date is very remarkable.

In 1755 the first efforts of Von Hund's still undeveloped imaginings may be traced in a Lodge—"Of the Three Palms"—warranted by him in Dresden on September 5.

In 1760 the Three Globes also began to constitute a few Lodges in Saxony. But this part of Germany was the very centre of the Strict Observance—Von Hund possessed large estates in the neighborhood, at Lausitz and elsewhere—and naturally the first to be overrun by the new rite. In 1762—September 5—the "Three Swords" accepted the Templar ritual and system, and every Lodge in the Electorate followed suit. The history of the Craft in Saxony for the ensuing half century is comprised in that of the Strict Observance, the three Grand Lodges at Berlin, and the Grand Lodge of Hanover, all of which bodies constituted Lodges in the country at various times.

In 1805 some of the Dresden Lodges began to moot the question of establishing a National Grand Lodge. The idea met with general favor, four Lodges only—those at Görlitz and Bautzen and the two at Leipsic—raising objections. But the project came to naught, the stern necessities of war occupying men's minds to the exclusion of other matters.

In 1811, however, the subject was revived, and a National Grand Lodge for Saxony erected. Twelve Lodges combined for the purpose. These had been constituted, in the years within brackets, as follows:—By Rutowsky—1, The Three Swords, Dresden, being the original Grand Lodge of 1742: By the Grand Lodge of the Three Globes—2, Golden Wall, Bautzen (1802); 3, Leopard, in Lübben (1809); 4, Golden Cross, in Merseburg (1805): By the National Grand Lodge of Prussia—5, The Desert Well, at Kottbus (1797); 6, Golden Apple, Dresden (1776); 7, the Three Hills, Freiberg (1798): By Von Hund—8, the Crowned Serpent, Görlitz (1751)): By the Three Roses of 1743 under the Strict Observance—9, the Three Flames, Plauen (1788): By the Grand Lodge Royal York—10, Harmony, in Hohenstein (1799): By the Provincial Grand Lodge of Hamburg—11, the Three Pillars, in Triebel (1806): By Lodge Archimedes of Altenburg—12, Archimedes of the Saxon Union, Schneeberg (1806). It will be remarked that Nos. 1, 9, and 12 connect this new Grand Lodge historically with the extinct Grand Lodge of Rutowsky. From

[1] *Post*, p. 77. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

this date the Grand Lodge, in spite of a few losses, has gradually, but continuously, increased the number of its Lodges. Some, however, of these were lost in 1815, because a part of Saxony then passed under Prussian rule.

The Constitutions were accepted September 28, 1811, and signed by the Lodges of the Union. They are the most liberal in Germany. The Union does not forbid high degrees, but simply ignores them, and deals only with the Craft. It permits any ritual in the three degrees provided a copy is approved by Grand Lodge. The Grand Lodge consists of two bodies. A legislative, composed of the Master, Deputy Master, and Wardens of each Lodge, and of a Dresden brother specially appointed to represent each Lodge. These all have a deliberative voice, but each Lodge only has one vote. An executive, composed of the Grand Officers chosen from among the members of the legislative body. The ritual used by the Grand Lodge and recommended to its daughters is that of Schroeder.[1]

Of the earlier Grand Masters of this body I have been unable to procure a list. In 1866 G. H. Warnatz, M.D., was elected to the chair, and, dying in 1872, was succeeded—October 27—by Dr. Eckstein, who gave place to Albert Wengler in 1881. Under Dr. Eckstein the revision of the Statutes, begun in 1874, was completed October 18, 1876. The chief alteration was a declaration that Jews were eligible for initiation—they had already been admitted as *visitors* in 1837. The executive still remains at Dresden, but it was enacted that the annual meeting of Grand Lodge may be movable.

The number of Lodges on the roll in January, 1885, was 20, with a membership of 3692, or an average of 185 per Lodge. Of these Lodges, two—at Meiningen and Greiz—are not in the kingdom of Saxony. On the other hand, two Lodges at Leipsic do not belong to the Union, but are independent. The ritual is Schroeder's, with the exception of the Bautzen Lodge, which has retained that of the Three Globes, and the Freiberg Lodge, which still adheres to Fessler's. Dr. Bernhard Arthur Erdmann is the present G.M.

VIII. Grand Lodge "Concord" at Darmstadt.

When Louis X., Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, commenced his reign in 1790, the only Lodge in his dominions was that at Giessen, of which he was a member, as well as its chief and patron. In 1785 it had joined the Eclectic Union. In 1793 the English Prov. G.L. at Frankfort commenced to warrant a series of Lodges in this principality; which in 1806 was made a Grand Duchy, Louis X. becoming the first Grand Duke Louis I. By the events of 1814 he acquired a considerable extension of territory, and in the new provinces of his state existed other Lodges. He died in 1830, protector of all these Lodges, and his successor, Louis II., who took an active part in Lodge work, also assumed the title and duties of protector. By 1839 all the still existing Hessian Lodges had joined the Eclectic Union.

It will now be necessary to recapitulate some facts already alluded to. In 1808 the Grand Orient of France had constituted the Lodge "Nascent Dawn" in Frankfort, which contained a large Jewish element. After various quarrels this Lodge split into two factions: the Landgrave Karl of Hesse-Cassel reconstituted the Christian members as "Karl of the Dawning Light," according to the rite of the rectified Strict Observance, whilst the Jewish brethren received in 1817 a warrant from London as the Lodge of the "Nascent Dawn" (No. 684).[2] In 1836 Prince Karl died; and in 1840—September 27—"Karl of

[1] For the text of these Constitutions see Keller, G. der Fr. in Deut., p. 24. [2] *Ante*, pp. 42, 43.

the Dawning Light" joined the Eclectic Union. The Lodge, however, could not agree on all points with its new Grand Lodge, more especially in relation to the high degrees, and after many quarrels and bickerings, was excluded on July 2, 1844. Its part was taken up warmly by the "Friends of Concord" at Mayence and "St. John the Evangelist of Concord" at Darmstadt, with the result that in 1845 these two Lodges retired from the Eclectic Union.

The *three* Lodges, which had thus recovered their independence, petitioned the Grand Duke and Protector, Louis II., to form a new Eclectic Union; their prayer was granted, and nine prominent members—one of whom, Leykam, will be presently referred to—were deputed to frame a constitution. This act of foundation (*Grundvertrag*) emphasized the purely representative system of G.L. government, forbade all high degrees (Karl of the D.L. voluntarily dissolved its Scots Lodge, which had been the origin of the whole quarrel !), and had but one fault. It refused even the right of visiting to Jews. It was signed by the three Lodges—February 27, 1846; approved by the Grand Duke—March 22—and on the following day the three Lodges met, proclaimed the Grand Lodge "Concord," and elected J. H. Lotheissen, President of the Court of Appeal, as their first G.M.

Curiously enough the Lodge Karl, whose traditions were so purely Christian, was the first to protest against the intolerance of the new Grand Lodge, and this it did within fifteen months. On December 14, 1847, a majority in the Lodge repealed the by-law which debarred Jewish Masons from entering their doors, and the minority, headed by Leykam, resigned their membership. In 1849—March 15—nine of this minority petitioned the G.L. for a warrant for a new Lodge in Frankfort, to be called Karl of Lindenberg. The old Lodge desired to raise no objection, but as it felt that it could not meet the new one in perfect amity, sought permission—November 18—to leave the Darmstadt G.L. Both petitions were granted, and Karl of the Dawning Light rejoined the Eclectic Union June 30, 1850. Here it will be convenient if I slightly anticipate, though at the same time I also go over ground that we have already traversed,[1] by at once recording the fact that Karl of Lindenberg also seceded to the Eclectic Union in 1878.

The Grand Lodge Concord—consisting of three Lodges in all—elected Betz as G.M. in 1851, and in 1853 Lotheissen once more.

Meanwhile, Louis II., who died in 1848, had been succeeded by Louis III., who was not a Mason, nor did he appear to interest himself at all in Masonic matters. Great therefore was the astonishment produced by a Grand Ducal decree of 1859, expressing a *wish* to see all Hessian Lodges united under the authority of the Grand Lodge Concord at Darmstadt. This affected four Eclectic Lodges, one each at Alzey, Giessen, Offenbach, and Worms; and a royal wish being equivalent to a command, non-compliance probably meant dissolution. On the other hand, submission was difficult, because the Eclectic Union having admitted Jews to initiation in 1848, whereas the Darmstadt Union would not even allow them to visit, the Lodges ran the risk of losing their Jewish brethren, who had become very dear to them; Giessen especially was largely recruited from members of the Hebrew race. Grand Lodge, however, passed a resolution to allow these four Lodges to violate the constitutions, provided they would consent to certain disabilities, viz., deprivation of the right to vote on matters of ritual, and inability of their members to fill offices in Grand Lodge. The four Lodges then joined, making seven in all.

[1] *Ante*, p. 46.

In 1859—September 11—Lotheissen died, and Matthew Leykam, Doctor of Laws, was elected G.M. As the latter resided in Frankfort, the Grand Lodge was removed for nine years to that city.

A new Lodge (No. 8) was constituted at Friedberg on November 10, 1862, and in the same year the constitutions were revised. Intercourse with their Jewish brethren having removed many prejudices, the right of visiting was conceded to all Masons of that faith.

The ninth and last Lodge was warranted at Bingen, July 7, 1867, and—a further sign of progress—its constitutions permitted it to initiate Jews, but it had to submit to the same restrictions as the other four Lodges.

In 1868 the Christian Lodges, "out of their exceeding love," voluntarily conceded full rights to the five mixed Lodges, merely debarring them from furnishing a G.M. from among their members. Leykam, who died on February 20 in this year, was succeeded as G.M. by the Postmaster-General, Pfaltz.

At the revision of the Statutes in 1872 the Jews were granted full rights; so that in all Germany there are now only two Grand Lodges, the National and Three Globes, both at Berlin, which insist upon a candidate for Freemasonry being a Christian.

In 1877 the Frankfort Lodge joined the Eclectic Union, reducing the number of Lodges to eight, the figure at which they still stand. In January, 1885, they numbered 855 members, or an average of 107 per Lodge. The G.M. is Phillip Brand, and the Protector of the Brotherhood is the present Grand Duke, Louis IV., who succeeded his uncle, Louis III., in 1877, and like the latter, has not been enrolled as a member of the Fraternity.

INDEPENDENT LODGES.

1. Minerva of the Three Palms, Leipsic.[1]

In 1736, seven Masons who had been made abroad were in the habit of meeting together in Leipsic, and on March 20, 1741, they formed themselves into a Lodge. This Lodge is usually accounted a member, from the commencement, of Rutowsky's Grand Lodge of Upper Saxony; but it is also possible that it only entered into friendly relations with the "Three Gold Swords."[2] The Lodge had no special name, but it prospered exceedingly, and at the end of the year already numbered 46 members. In 1742 its services were called into requisition to inaugurate the Lodge at Altenburg.[3] In 1745 it split up and divided into a French Lodge "of the Three Compasses," and a German-speaking Lodge, "Minerva." These reunited on June 5, 1747, as Minerva of the Three Compasses, which was confirmed by the G.M. Rutowsky. In 1747—November 20—a Scots Lodge, "Apollo," was grafted on the Lodge.

In 1766 a difference of opinion respecting the expediency of joining the Strict Observance caused a majority of the members to found a new Lodge, "Minerva of the Three Palms," under Von Hund, and in 1772 they finally severed themselves entirely from "Minerva of the Three Compasses," which gradually died out. The Knightly Chapter was erected March 16, 1767.

In 1773 the Lodge constituted "Minerva of the Three Lights" at Querfurt, and in the following year the Scots Lodge "Apollo" changed its name to "Karl of the Three Palms," in honor of Prince Karl of Courland, a member of the Lodge.[4]

The Lodge took an active part in all the affairs of the Strict Observance, but began to

[1] Allgemeines Handbuch, *s.v.* Leipzig. [2] *Ante*, p. 74. [3] *Ibid.*; and *post*, p. 78. [4] Chap. XXIV., p. 370.

tire of the folly about 1776. It therefore sent no deputies to the Wilhelmsbad Convent in 1782, nor did it adopt the rectified system. On the contrary, it ceased in 1776 to create fresh knights, so that the Chapter gradually died out, until at last the Count Hohenthal alone was left—who, to keep the history of the Chapter alive, formed a so-called Inner Union of a few chosen members of the 4th or Scots grade. The exact scope of this institution has, however, eluded my researches.

In 1783 the Lodge for a time showed signs of an inclination to join the newly formed "Eclectic Union," but it ultimately decided to remain isolated, or rather independent.

The last of the Knights, Hohenthal, died in 1819, and the constitutions of the Lodge were remodelled, April 8, 1820. The old Scots Lodge "Karl" was formed into a Directoral Lodge, governing the affairs of the Lodge. It consists of twenty-seven Masters. On the death of a member the Lodge submits the names of three of its Master Masons, from whom the Directoral Lodge chooses one to complete its number. Seven members of this Directoral Lodge combine to form an Inner Union, who also complete their number from time to time in a similar manner. The duty and privilege of the Inner Union is to discuss all matters of importance before they are submitted to the Directoral Lodge, etc.

Mahlmann, W.M., 1813-26, revised the ritual, which had suffered much during the Strict Observance times, and this version was accepted in 1829, three years after his death.

The Statutes underwent revision in 1832 and 1867. On the latter occasion Jews were freed from all disabilities. In 1863 the Lodge had 359 members, which in 1878 had increased to 414, and in 1885 to 447.

II. Baldwin of the Linden, Leipsic.[1]

In 1776—February 7—several Masons, among them some of the Minerva members, founded a Lodge "Baldwin" under the Zinnendorff rite. The Lodge was constituted on February 23 by Duke Ernest of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg, G.M. of the National Grand Lodge of Berlin. It suspended work July 24, 1781, but resumed on March 13, 1783, under the title of the Linden (lime-tree). In 1807—November 7—this Lodge threw off its allegiance and declared itself independent.

Beckmann, the English Prov. G.M. for Hamburg, granted it a new constitution—January 14, 1809—as an independent Lodge under its present title "Baldwin of the Linden." The Lodge adopted the Schroeder Ritual and new constitutions—which were revised in 1833 and 1854.

The Lodge joined the Grand Lodge of Saxony in 1815, but retired once more in 1824, since which date it has maintained its independence. Its members numbered in 1864, 302; in 1878, 424; and in 1885, 509. The strength of the Leipsic Lodges is remarkable. There are but three in the city: Minerva, independent, with 447 members; Baldwin, independent, with 509; and Apollo—under the Grand Lodge of Saxony—with 384.

III. Archimedes of the Three Tracing-Boards in Altenburg.[2]

In 1741 several Altenburg Masons applied to H.W. von Marschall, Prov. G.M. of Upper Saxony, for permission to erect a Lodge. Marschall granted the prayer, and for-

[1] Allgemeines Handbuch, *s.v.* Leipzig.

[2] *Ibid.*, *s.v.* Altenburg.

warded a copy of the English Ritual, but advised them to apply elsewhere for a warrant. The brethren turned to the Minerva Lodge at Leipsic, and were constituted by a deputation from that body, January 31, 1742.[1] From the very first, Lodge Archimedes conducted its proceedings in the vernacular idiom, and was probably the earliest German Lodge that ever did so; in 1743 it published the first German Masonic song book. In 1751 Prince Louis Ernest of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg was W.M. of the Lodge, and he procured from the "Three Globes" a warrant for a Scots Chapter, which, however, died out almost immediately afterwards. The Altenburg Fraternity, which has always adopted innovations with reluctance, worked pure English Masonry until 1775. We have already seen[2] that on June 30 of that year Duke Ernest II. of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg was elected G.M. of Zinnendorff's Grand Lodge; and "Archimedes" very naturally joined the National Grand Lodge and accepted the Swedish Rite. Although the Duke resigned in disgust the following year, the Lodge did not reassert its independence until 1785, and subsequently to that date continued to use the Ritual, to which it had become accustomed in the preceding ten years, even keeping up the practice after joining the Eclectic Union in 1788.

It seceded from the Eclectic Union, in anticipation of the threatening political troubles, in 1793; and the same reasons induced it to suspend its meetings on January 9, 1795, after having declared its officers "permanent" during the interim. In 1796 it reopened. At the beginning of the century it rejected the Zinnendorff Ritual, and accepted as a temporary measure that of the Eclectic Union. Pierer received orders to compile a new one, and after carefully comparing the rituals of England, Scotland, Ireland, the Royal York, and Hamburg, his version was accepted in 1803. In the same year Schneider published the constitutions of the Lodge, a work even now much sought after for its valuable contributions to Masonic archæology, and which show a wonderful power of just criticism considering the time at which they appeared. From this epoch may be dated the rise of the brilliant Altenburg school of Masonic historians and students, to whose labors we are all so much indebted. No less than three Masonic journals owe their birth to this school —the *Journal für Freimaurer*, the *Zeitschrift für Freimaurerei*, and the *Ziegeldecker*— which in later years became the *Bruderblätter*. The last-named publication continued to appear until 1854. Fallou, whose work has been so often alluded to in Chapter III. of this History, was a member of the Lodge.

In 1803 —December 18—the Lodge opened a branch at Gera, but this was afterwards constituted by it an independent Lodge, October 25, 1804.[3] The Altenburg Lodge divided into two in 1803, and erected a Directoral Lodge to govern the Lodge at Gera and the two new divisions at Altenburg; but the whole arrangement was abrogated in 1805, and the old position resumed.

In 1809 the Lodge established a branch in Schneeberg, but this joined the Grand Lodge of Saxony in 1812.

In the election of its officers, etc., this Lodge follows the English plan; but it possesses a sort of permanent committee to sift matters before they come before the Lodge, consisting of the Master and Deputy Master, the Wardens, and all Past Masters and Wardens. Its library contains over 700 valuable works. In 1823 it opened a savings' bank, largely used by the surrounding population. In 1861 its members numbered 210; in 1878, over 250; and in 1885, 271.

[1] *Ante*, pp. 74, 77. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 61. [3] *Post*, p. 80.

IV. Archimedes of Eternal Union at Gera.[1]

On January 16, 1803, several resident Masons formed a Masonic club in Gera, and at the close of the same year—December 18—this club was declared a branch establishment or "Deputation Lodge" of Archimedes at Altenburg, under the name "Archimedes of Eternal Union." That is, it could only act under the directions of its parent, and in its name, much as an agent acts for his principal. This state of tutelage proving inconvenient, the Lodge petitioned for independence, and in the result was reconstituted by Lodge Archimedes (of Altenburg), October 25, 1804. The German Grand Lodges, however, refusing to acknowledge the right of one Lodge to constitute another, and declaring the Lodge at Gera to be clandestine, the subject of this sketch at last petitioned Schroeder in Hamburg to grant it an English charter. This was issued April 30, 1806. It then accepted, and has ever since worked, the Schroeder or Hamburg Ritual. Gera was not in the jurisdiction of Hamburg; but G.M. Beckmann granted the warrant by virtue of his right to do so outside his district in states where no Grand Lodge existed.[2] At Gera and Hamburg the Lodge was considered as directly dependent on London, whilst by the English authorities it seems to have been long regarded as subject to Hamburg. This may account for the fact that it only received an English number (669) in 1815, five years after the Prov. G.L. Hamburg had ceased to exist. Virtually, however, "Archimedes" retained its independence. The princes of Reuss have ever been members and patrons of this Lodge. Speth[3] gives as such Henry LIV. of Reuss-Lobenstein (1810), Henry LXXII. of Reuss-Ebersdorff and Lobenstein (1827), Henry LXXVI. of Reuss-Lobenstein (1852), and Henry LXVII. of Reuss-Schleiz (1852). In 1862 the membership of this Lodge was 121; in 1885, 187.

V. Karl of the Wreath of Rue, Hildburgshausen.

Hildburgshausen is a town in the small duchy of Saxe-Meiningen. According to the *Handbuch*, a Lodge, "Ernestus," was warranted here by England in 1755, which only lived a few years. No trace of it is to be found in our Lodge lists.

In 1787 a second Lodge[4] was warranted—also from London; this is the Lodge Charles of the Ruewreath,[5] but our Lodge lists call it Lodge of St. Charles, No. 495. It has ever since worked independently under the immediate protection of its princes, and the number of its members in 1885 was 54.

In 1883—October 14—the five Independent Lodges (pp. 271-274) entered into a Treaty of Alliance and Bond of Union. Dr. Victor Carus of Leipsic is the President of this League.

[1] Allgemeines Handbuch, *s.v.* Gera; Verfassungs Urkunde der F. L. Archimedes, 1841; Asträa, Sondershausen, 1853, p. 258 *et seq.* Gera is the capital of the principality of Reuss, junior line, one of the pigmy independent states of Germany. A good tale is told of a German Liberal who was ordered by a prince to leave his dominions. "If," said the former, "your Highness will deign to ascend to the attic of your palace, you shall see me cross the frontier in five minutes!" The story might well have applied to Reuss.

[2] See the *Freemason*, May 16, 1885 (N. and Q., No. 599), where this warrant is given at length by Mr. G. W. Speth.

[3] Royal Freemasons, Philadelphia, 1885.

[4] Continued in our lists until the Union.

[5] The Wreath of Rue is part of the armorial bearings of the Dukes of Mecklenburg.

EXTINCT GRAND LODGES.

1. Hanover.

Of all the extinct Grand Lodges of Germany this is by far the most important, and naturally of most interest to English readers. I shall therefore devote a few pages to describing its career with some amount of detail; its equally defunct sisters will, however, in each case, only be sketched in broader outline.

In 1743—July 26—Prov. G.M. Lütmann of Hamburg deputed Simon as Prov. G.M. of Hanover, but no sign exists that he ever displayed any activity in that office.

The following year—January 19—Lieutenant, afterwards Captain, of Horse Grenadiers, Mehmet von Königstreu was initiated in Lodge "Absalom" at Hamburg.[1] In 1746—January 21—he obtained a warrant from Lüttmann, and on the 29th founded the Lodge Frederick in Hanover, so called in honor of Frederick, Prince of Wales. In 1753—June 27—Hinüber was elected W.M., and in 1755, in consequence of a slight difference of opinion with Hamburg, and of discovering that the Lodge had not been registered in England, he made use of his business relations with England to ascertain if there was any chance of obtaining a provincial warrant for Hanover. Being assured that if the Lodge would indicate some special brother, a patent would be forthcoming, the Lodge elected Hinüber as G.M.—June 25—and—November 28—he was appointed G.M. of all His Majesty's German dominions, "with a power [in the Province] to choose his successors."[2] The G. Lodge Frederick in Hanover was registered as No. 208, became No. 122 in 1792, and was "dropped out" at the Union (1813).[3]

On June 24, 1756, the Grand Lodge made a formal visitation to the Lodge Frederick, and the next year—January 31—"Frederick" accepted a warrant of confirmation from the new G.L. of Hanover. In 1760 a Scots Lodge, "Karl of the Purple Mantle," and in 1762—May 24—the Lodge "George" of Hanover, were founded.

In 1764 Hanover was formed by Von Hund into the "Prefectory Callenburg" under the S.O. system, which at first was vigorously opposed by the G.L. and its daughters, but gradually acquired preponderating influence. The last Craft meeting of the Lodge Frederick occurred January 12, 1765.

Schubart arrived in Hanover October 13, 1766, and commenced his propaganda on the 27th Prince, afterwards Grand Duke, Karl of Mecklenberg-Strelitz joined the S.O. in Celle, and was appointed Protector of the district; on November 25 the Lodges George and Frederick dissolved in order to reconstitute themselves as the Strict Observance Lodge of the "White Horse," and thus the G.L. of Hanover ceased to exist. As a consequence we find that in 1773 Hanover was made a neutral territory, open alike to the G.L. of England and the National Grand Lodge of Prussia at Berlin.[4]

Zinnendorff, who immediately invaded the district, met with remarkable success. In 1774 he established a Lodge of the "Golden Compasses" at Gottingen; in the same year

[1] His father, Mahomet, had been taken prisoner of war as a child in Candia during the Venetian Wars. Prince Maximilian of Hanover brought him home and had him baptized Louis Max. Mehmet. He was subsequently ennobled, appointed Gentleman of the Bedchamber to King George, and died at Kensington Palace, 1726.

[2] Constitutions, 1756, p. 333. [3] *Post*, p. 82. [4] *Ante*, p. 60.

this Lodge warranted the "Black Bear" in Hanover, and the "Crocodile" in Harburg, and in 1775 a Lodge in Lüneburg; whilst in 1777 the National Grand Lodge constituted the "Cedar" in Hanover, and a Lodge in Stade, and in 1778 one in Hameln.

Meanwhile the Fraternity had found themselves disappointed in the Strict Observance, and took no interest in Lodge matters, so much so that the "White Horse" did not meet between 1775 and 1778. The Protector, Grand Duke Karl, to remedy this state of affairs, ceased working the S.O. Rite, gradually altered the ritual of the first three degrees, and without formally renouncing the Templar connection, practically revived the extinct Grand Lodge by converting the Scots Lodge "Karl of the Purple Mantle" into a Directoral Lodge over all Lodges of the Strict Observance in His Majesty's dominions in Brunswick, Lüneberg, and Hanover. After the Wilhelmsbad Convent of 1782 the Fraternity in these lands declined to accept the rectified system, and calmly continued in their own way. Some few of the Zinnendorff Lodges, more especially the "Black Bear," at this time entered into more or less intimate relations with the Lodges under the Grand Duke.[1]

In 1786 this Prince being in England, procured, with Col. Graefe's assistance, the re-instatement of the Prov. G.L. of the Electorate of Hanover and British Dominions in Germany,[2] together with a warrant under the No. 486 for the former Zinnendorff Lodge of the "Black Bear." The Lodge "White Horse" then prefixed its former name, and became "Frederick of the White Horse," and, November 28, this Lodge and the "Black Bear" joined in re-establishing the Provincial Grand Lodge. A Royal Arch Chapter was also added by Graefe, but was very short lived.[3]

The district was, however, invaded in 1786 by the Eclectic Union at Hoya, and in 1792 by the National Grand Lodge of Germany at Osterode.

In 1796 new statutes were enacted in consonance with the new arrangements, of which the chief fault was the non-admission of Jewish candidates.

In 1791 the Provincial Grand Lodge constituted new Lodges in Münden and Einbeck. In 1799 Fessler visited Hanover, and was enthusiastically received, as was Schroeder in 1800. The immediate result of these visits was a closer bond of union between the Grand Lodge Royal York and the Provincial Grand Lodges of Hanover and Hamburg.[4] But of still greater importance was the consequent adoption by Lodge "Frederick"—August 10, 1801—of the Schroeder Ritual, and the example was soon followed by the Provincial Grand Lodge and all its daughters. This opened the door to candidates of the Jewish persuasion.

A troublous time now awaited the Fraternity in Hanover: in 1803 the French troops entered into possession of the country, and in 1806 were replaced by the Prussians. Meanwhile the Lodges only met when absolutely necessary, but it is worthy of note that they yet managed secretly to celebrate the birthday of King George. In 1806 the Grand Lodge of the Three Globes constituted a Lodge at Osnabrück. In 1807 the Lodges summoned courage to resume work; in 1808 new statutes were promulgated; in 1809 the Provincial Grand Lodge warranted a Lodge in Lüneburg, and that of the Three Globes another in

[1] Governor of Hanover for King George III. Chap. XXIV., p. 359 *et seq.*

[2] The patent granted to "Prince Charles of Mecklenburg-Strelitz," bore date July 5, 1786 (G.L. Records).

[3] This degree appears never to have had any attractions for Germans, in spite of—or possibly owing to—its similitude to the French Scots Master degree.

[4] *Post*, p. 87.

Goslar; and in 1810 Hanover became an integral part of the short-lived kingdom of Westphalia. The Grand Lodge of that kingdom[1] was, however, so tolerant that the Lodges were not compelled to give in their adhesion, and although some few Hanoverian Lodges joined it, the Provincial Grand Lodge retained its separate existence, as did most of its daughters.

In 1813—November 30—Ernest Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, fifth son of George III., visited the Lodge "Frederick of the White Horse," and at the ensuing banquet prayed admission as an active member. It is needless to say that the request was joyfully granted. The events of 1814-15 raised the Electorate of Hanover to the rank of a kingdom, besides considerably enlarging its boundaries. In 1815 the Provincial Grand Lodge constituted a Lodge in Nienburg, and affiliated the one warranted in Celle by Hamburg in the previous year. It also received the adhesion of a Lodge in Göttingen which had been erected by the Grand Lodge of Westphalia, and several of its daughters who had joined that body now returned to the national fold.

Karl, Grand Duke of Mecklenburg, died November 6, 1816, and was succeeded as Prov. G.M. by Count L. F. von Kilmansegge, whose appointment is first noticed in the *Freemasons' Calendar* for 1822. In the same publication, the Lodge, Frederick of the White Horse, *reappears* as No. 146,* and eleven other German Lodges—Nos. 734, Frankfort; 735, Nuremberg; 736-44, Hanover—are *added* to the roll.[2] Gradually, however, a feeling arose that the Grand Lodge should declare its independence. In consequence—November 1, 1828—the Duke of Cumberland proclaimed the autonomy of the Grand Lodge of the Kingdom of Hanover, and was himself elected its first G.M.

The year 1828 saw the accession of the Lodge at Hildesheim, Door to Virtue, No. 312, warranted by England, December 27, 1762; and new Lodges were constituted at Stade 1845, at Kassel 1849, and at Klauenthal 1851. New statutes had been passed January 22, 1839.

At the death of William IV. in 1837, Hanover became an independent kingdom, and the Duke of Cumberland, G.M., succeeded to the vacant throne. He died in 1851, and was followed by his son, George (V.). In 1852—March 19—although not a Mason, King George V. assumed the patronage of the Craft, and in 1857 caused himself to be initiated in the "Black Bear," as the representative of all the other Lodges in the kingdom, becoming thereby an active member of each one of them.

Von Hattorf had been elected G.M. in 1851, and at his death, July 29, 1854, was succeeded by Count Bentinck, February 1, 1855. In 1857, however, the King expressed his intention of assuming the Grand Mastership upon the condition that the Hanoverian Lodges under foreign jurisdictions should join the Grand Lodge of Hanover, and that the statutes should be so altered as to exclude Jews from initiation. The latter condition was sorrowfully complied with; the former was only opposed by the Zinnendorff Lodge erected at Stade in 1777, which preferred dissolution.

In the following years new Lodges were constituted—1857, at Verden; 1858, Harburg; 1859, Leer; 1860, Ulzen. In 1861 the number of Lodges was 22, with 2187 members. The last Lodge was warranted in 1863 at Hameln.

[1] *Post*, p. 86.

[2] All under the year 1821. Nos. 662—the Three Mallets, Naumberg; 669—Archimedes, Gera; 671—the Three Arrows, Nuremberg—were placed on our roll in 1815; and 684—the Nascent Dawn, Frankfort—in 1817.

In the Austro-Prussian conflict of 1866 Hanover unfortunately espoused the losing side, and suffered by annexation to Prussian. Now, inasmuch as the edict of 1798 only acknowledges three Grand Lodges in Prussia, and no other Lodges but those dependent upon these three, extinction stared the Grand Lodge of Hanover in the face. Nevertheless had it at once applied for permission to rank as a fourth Grand Lodge, and had the G.M. himself resigned, there is reason to believe that the prayer might have been granted. Hamburg and Frankfort are now Prussian, but the edict of 1798 was not enforced in their case in 1870. But resignation formed no part of the late King's intentions; there is every cause to conjecture that, on the contrary, the position of G.M. entered into his political calculations. Let us not heedlessly stigmatize the action of Prussia as tyrannical and uncalled for, but rather let us try to imagine how—in our own country—the case would have been dealt with, had the young Pretender been at the head of a British Grand Lodge in 1746?

The Deputy G.M., Krüger, endeavored to get Hanover constituted a fourth Grand Lodge. King George thereupon tried to impeach him in Grand Lodge—by which body resolutions were passed—December 8—approving the step taken by the Deputy, but setting a limit to his future activity. Krüger resigned, as did his successor, Bödeker. The King then appointed Bokelberg. On April 17, 1867, the Grand Lodge resolved to petition the King to retire, upon which his agent, the Deputy G.M. Bokelberg, resigned. The Grand Lodge then took matters into its own hands, and—June 6—17 Lodges elected Krüger G.M. But it was too late. On September 30 the Minister of Justice and of the Interior closed the Grand Lodge of Hanover by virtue of the edict of 1798, and nothing remained for the subordinate Lodges but to choose their new superiors. Velzen, Goslar, and Osnabrück joined the Three Globes; Bückeburg, the Grand Lodge of Hamburg; Walsrode dissolved; "Cedar," in Hanover, joined the National Grand Lodge; the other 17 Lodges affiliated with the Grand Lodge Royal York, and were of material weight in carrying the more liberal constitutions of that Grand Lodge in 1872.[1]

II. Mother-Lodge of Silesia in Glogau.

This was a Grand Lodge under the Strict Observance. On May 20, 1765, Von Hund constituted a Mother-Lodge at Nistiz, with the name of "Celestial Sphere of Gold." It was removed in 1772 to Gross-Osten, and warranted in 1772 a Lodge at Glogau. In 1779 the Mother-Lodge removed to Glogau as the Grand Lodge of Silesia. It constituted some other Lodges, but both the Grand Lodge and its daughters closed on June 24, 1794, after the downfall of the Strict Observance and the death of Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick.

III. Mother-Lodge for the Provinces of East and West Prussia and Lithuania at Königsberg.

This also was a Strict Observance Grand Lodge. The oldest Lodge in Königsberg, the "Three Anchors," was constituted September 12, 1746, dissolved in 1760, and immediately reconstituted by the "Three Globes," June 10, 1760, as the "Three Crowns." In

[1] *Ante*, p. 71. Authorities consulted:—For the general history—Neueste Zeitschrift fur Freimaurerei, R. R. Fischer, Altenburg, 1838, pp. 161 *et seq.*; Geschichte der G. and V. Fr. Loge Friedrich zum Weissenpferde, Fr. Voigts. Hanover, 1846; and Allgemeines Handbuch, *s.v.* Hannover, Mehmet, etc., etc. For the closing scenes—Latomia, vol. xxvi., 1868, p. 217 *et seq.*; and Mittheilungen aus dem Verein Deutscher Freimaurer, Findel, Leipsic, 1864.

1769 it joined the Strict Observance, and was raised to the rank of a Provincial Grand Lodge, as above, in which capacity it warranted several Lodges. In consequence of the Prussian Edict of 1798 recognizing only three Grand Lodges in that kingdom, it subsided into its former position of a daughter Lodge of the "Three Globes" in 1799. The Lodge is still active. In 1863 it numbered 262, and in 1885, 312 members.

IV. Grand Lodge "of the Three Keys" at Ratisbon.

This was in its time a most important Grand Lodge, and remarkable for having successfully resisted the blandishments of the Strict Observance. Its influence extended over a very large circle. In 1765 a Prince of Thurn and Taxis founded in Ratisbon a Lodge "St. Charles of Constancy," which he himself dissolved in 1774. But during these nine years it had given birth to a second Lodge, "Crescent of the Three Keys," constituted May 1, 1767. The Master of that Lodge, Schkler, who had been initiated in Amsterdam, obtained—July 1, 1768—from G.M. Von Botzelaar of the Netherlands, a warrant of constitution, and immediately assumed for the Lodge the prerogatives of a Grand Lodge. It worked the degrees of the Craft, with those of a Scots Lodge superadded, in 1770; the latter were, however, suppressed in 1784, so that—considering the times—the Lodge kept itself remarkably pure. In 1771 it warranted its first daughter, "Hope," in Vienna, and during the next twenty years, Lodges in Marktseft on the Main, Munich, Passau, Ulm, Baitsch, Neusohl in Hungary, Hermannstadt in Siebenbürgen, (a second) in Vienna, Görlitz, Dresden, and Hanover—in all twelve. Schkler was G.M. from 1771 to 1777, when he resigned; and the second G.M., the Prince of Thurn and Taxis,[1] was elected in 1799. It is probable that this long interregnum was due to the ravages committed in every direction by the Strict Observance. From 1793 to 1799 the Lodge was perfectly dormant, owing to the disturbing effects of the Revolution. But it resumed activity with the new G.M., who, June 6, 1806, obtained a patent from England.[2] In this he is styled "Provincial Grand Master for Bavaria," an excusable error, Ratisbon being one of the recent acquisitions of that State; and it is indeed surprising that the Grand Lodge did not take the place now occupied by the "Sun" of Bayreuth. The Lodge also changed its name to "Karl of the Three Keys," and constituted several Lodges, for instance, Leipsic and Heidelberg. In the first decade of this century the Grand Lodge had lost all her daughters through death or desertion, but was itself strong and much respected throughout the Continent; with Sweden especially it stood on the most intimate terms from 1801 to 1823. It gradually fell into decay, but once more, about 1830, flickered up under Von Stachelhausen. On his departure from Ratisbon the Lodge died out altogether, *circa* 1840.[3]

V. English Provincial Grand Lodge of Brunswick at Brunswick.

This Grand Lodge can hardly be said to have existed, but its short history exemplifies the unsettled state of the Craft at this period. In 1744—February 12—the Lodge "Jonathan" was founded and opened by the Grand Lodge of Hamburg; and on December 27 its founder, Kissleben, was appointed "Permanent Deputy G.M."[4] In 1762 the Lodge

[1] I do not know if this Prince is identical with the founder of the Lodge. *Cf. ante*, p. 72.

[2] Grand Lodge Records. Nuremberg became a Bavarian city in 1806. *Cf. ante*, p. 82.

[3] A detailed account of this Lodge will be found in "Latomia," vol. xxii., 1863, pp. 322–330.

[4] It will be remembered that Lüttmann, Provincial Grand Master for Hamburg, took upon himself to make a similar appointment in Hanover. *Cf. ante*, p. 80.

superadded the Rosa-Clermont Chapter; and in 1764, the Master, Von Lestwitz, was appointed by England Prov. G.M. of Brunswick.[1] But while the warrant was on the road, Lestwitz and the Lodge had both deserted to the Strict Observance, so that the Provincial Grand Lodge was never erected. A minority of the Lodge, however, continued the old Lodge "Jonathan;" and in the same year, Le Boeuf, in his quality of a Scots Master, established a French Lodge. These three quarrelled, so that the Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick closed them all and founded two new ones, one working in French as a Mother-Lodge, "St. Charles of Concord," and a German Lodge "Jonathan." This he did by virtue of a Provincial patent granted to him by England, July 5, 1768. The Lodges were constituted on October 10 and 11, 1770. But before the end of the year Ferdinand had signed the Act of Strict Observance, and that was the end of the second Provincial Grand Lodge of Brunswick.[2] "St. Charles of Concord" was granted a place in the English registry as No. 400 in 1770, and continued on the roll until 1813 (as No. 259)—one of many proofs that the Grand Lodge of England knew little and cared less concerning foreign affairs.

VI. Bode's Union of German Freemasons.

In 1788—March 1—the Directoral Lodge of the Eclectic Union at Frankfort resumed its former position as a Prov. G.L. under England. This seems to have given umbrage to the "Compass" Lodge in Gotha, who feared, or pretended to fear, that the perfect equality among the Eclectic Lodges would be violated. Their chief adviser was Bode. As he was a convert to the Illuminati, and Frankfort had declared itself adverse to that sect, this circumstance may have also contributed to the ensuing events. Certain it is that the Gotha Lodge issued a circular to all German Lodges—November 24, 1790—signed by nine Masters "acting under the advice of a highly instructed Mason"—Bode—calling upon all Lodges to aid in forming a general Union of German Lodges on the real Eclectic principles. The Gotha Lodge was erased, and that of the "Three Arrows" at Nuremberg[3] took its part so warmly as to provoke a like result. These were the only two Eclectic Lodges that joined Bode's Union, which in all never numbered more than ten Lodges. Bode died in 1793, and with him the projected union and Grand Lodge after a precarious existence of three years. The movement is of interest, as the last effort of a man who was made a Hamburg Mason in 1761, dubbed a Templar Knight in 1764, who in 1782 first took up the idea that the Jesuits were at the bottom of all the high degrees, and finished by joining the Illuminati.

VII. Grand Orient of Baden at Mannheim.

In 1778 Mannheim belonged to Bavaria, and the Lodge "Karl of Unity" was constituted in that city—November 28—by the G.L. Royal York. In 1783 it joined the Eclectic Union, and in 1785 was closed together with all other Bavarian Lodges.[4] In 1803 Mannheim was made over to the Grand Duchy of Baden, and in 1805 the Lodge reopened under Karl von Dalberg.[5] In 1806 it received a warrant from the G.O. of France,

[1] Constitutions, 1767, p. 365; Preston, 1812, p. 261.

[2] It is not unlikely that England, or at least De Vignolles, contributed to this result? See the letter of December 28, 1770, from the Prov. G.M. for foreign lodges (*ante* Chap. XIX., p. 211).

[3] Became No. 671 *English*, in 1815; and again *Eclectic* in 1823 (*ante*, p. 82).

[4] Chap. XXIV., p. 377; *ante*, p. 72.

[5] *Ante*, p. 42.

accepted the modern French Rite, and changed its name to "Charles of Concord." Its Chapter then declared itself a Grand Orient for the Duchy of Baden, and was acknowledged as such by France on June 25, 1807.

In 1808 it was joined by the Lodge "Karl of Good Hope," Heidelberg, warranted in 1807 by the G.L. of Ratisbon—which it deserted, but rejoined, in the same year. In 1809 it constituted the Lodges "Temple of Patriotic Light" at Bruchsal, and Karl and Stephanie at Mannheim; so that in all the G.O. extended its jurisdiction over three Lodges. Its Grand Master was Karl, Prince of Ysenburg. The Grand Duke, Karl Friedrich, being dead, his successor, Karl Ludwig Friedrich, issued—February 16, 1813, and March 7, 1814—decrees suppressing secret societies, and with them Freemasonry throughout his dominions. All Lodges in Baden then closed, and the Craft was not allowed to reassert itself until 1845; but there is no longer a Grand Lodge for Baden, the Lodges being pretty equally divided between the "Sun" and the "Eclectic Union."

VIII. Grand National Union of Baden Lodges at Carlsruhe.

This Union was contemporary with the foregoing. The "Karl of Unity" at Carlsruhe was warranted by the Eclectic Union in 1786, closed during the Revolution from 1791 onwards, and reopened in 1808. The Lodge "Noble Prospect" at Freiburg was warranted by the Prov. G.L. of Austria at Vienna in 1784, joined the Eclectic Union in 1785, and was also dormant from 1793 to 1808. The "Karl of Good Hope" at Heidelberg was warranted by Ratisbon in 1807, joined the G.O. of Baden 1808, and rejoined Ratisbon the same year.

These three Lodges—May 23, 1809—erected the Grand National Union of Lodges, to be governed, not by a Grand, but by a Directoral Lodge, the Lodge exercising this function to change every three years. Lodges of each and every ritual were eligible for the Union, except those working the French Modern Rite—which was ceded to the Grand Orient of Baden. These two Grand Bodies subsisted side by side in perfect amity. The Heidelberg Lodge threw off a shoot in 1809, which was constituted by the Eclectic Union, and joined the Baden Union without apparently deserting Frankfort. In like manner the original Heidelberg Lodge appears to have belonged to the Ratisbon G.L. and the Baden Union. In 1809 the Bruchsal Lodge also joined it without deserting its Grand Orient, and there is a further though somewhat undefined allusion to a Minerva Lodge at Mannheim. Its Grand Masters were successively K. F. Schilling von Canstadt, and Hemeling. The directory remained at Carlsruhe until July 1, 1812, when it was removed to Freiburg, but in 1813-14 the same fate of course overtook this Union, which crushed the Grand Orient of Baden.[1]

IX. Grand Orient of Westphalia in Cassel.

An English Provincial Grand Master, described in the Constitutions[2] as "George Augustus, Baron of Hammerstein," was appointed by Earl Ferrers—1762-64—for Westphalia, but he does not appear to have exerted himself to any purpose, for nothing more is known of him.

[1] The origin of these Baden Grand Lodges is well told by J. H. Bürmann (Maurer Archiv., Mannheim, 1809), who was a high official of the Grand Orient of Baden.

[2] Edition 1767, p. 365. A marginal note (MS.) in the office copy preserved in the library of the G.L. of England, runs—"don't know of a Lodge."

In the electorate of Hesse-Cassel the first Lodge was constituted at Marburg in 1743, and others soon followed. The Strict Observance in due course swamped the Craft, and on its subsidence the preponderating influence was that of the G.L. Royal York. In 1794, however, the Elector suppressed all the Lodges in his dominions.

In 1807 the Electorate and the city of Cassel became the centre of Napoleon's kingdom of Westphalia, at the head of which he placed his brother Jérome.

The first Lodge to revive, Frederick of Friendship, took the name of "Jérome Napoleon of Fidelity," and in order to avoid falling under a French jurisdiction, erected a Grand Orient of the Kingdom of Westphalia, February 10, 1808. This was done at the instigation of Count Siméon, Jérome's chief minister, himself an assistant G.M. of the G.O. of France. The king was G.M., and Siméon his deputy; but all the other officers were Germans. The utmost toleration prevailed, as I have already had occasion to remark, and Lodges under other jurisdictions were not compelled to affiliate; any ritual was permitted, and Lodges enjoyed complete freedom from interference in their private affairs. Three new Lodges appear to have been constituted in Cassel (1808-13), and the following joined:—Münden, Alfeld, Hildesheim, Einbeck, Goslar, Osterode, Heiligenstadt, Eschwege, Göttingen, Nordhausen, Celle, Marburg, Hanover (a new French one), Helmstedt, Magdeburg, etc. In 1813 the kingdom of Westphalia disappeared, and with it the Grand Orient.

X. Grand Lodge of Hesse-Cassel in Cassel.

The Elector having been restored, the old edict of 1794 suppressing the Craft was revived. Von Bardeleben succeeded in obtaining a repeal of this obnoxious decree, but only on the condition that the Lodges would submit to the G.L. Royal York, under an intermediate Prov. G.L. of the Electorate, with Bardeleben as the Prov. G.M. Accordingly two Lodges at Cassel and one at Eschwege constituted—May 26, 1814—the Prov. G.L. desired by the Elector, and placed themselves under the Royal York of Berlin. In 1817, however, this Prov. G.L. declared its independence under the title of "Mother Grand Lodge of the Electorate of Hesse," and the Elector William II. on his accession promised it his protection. Besides the three already mentioned, the following at Marburg, Rinteln, Hanau, Ziegenhain, Hersfeld, Neutershausen, in all nine Lodges, formed part of this jurisdiction. But on July 19, 1824, an edict of the Elector once more suppressed and interdicted the Lodges, and in spite of all petitions to the contrary, they remained forbidden and closed until the events of 1866 caused the Electorate to be incorporated with Prussia.

OTHER MASONIC UNIONS NOT CLASSED AS GRAND LODGES.

I. Grand Union of Freemasons (Fessler's).

It will be remembered that in 1799 and 1800 both Fessler and Schroeder visited Hanover, and about the same time these two ardent reformers made each other's acquaintance. Early in 1801 Fessler attempted to strengthen the hands of the leading supporters of pure Freemasonry by drawing closer the bonds of union between the Provincial Grand Lodges of Hamburg and Hanover, and the Grand Lodge Royal York of Berlin. On August 20, 1801, a tripartite treaty was concluded between these bodies, entitled "*Magnum Foedus Latomorum*," providing for mutual representation, and communication of all minutes,

and for a select circle in each Grand Lodge for the free imparting to one another of all ritualistic and historic knowledge. Resolutions were adopted against the use of any of the old-fashioned high degrees, and provision was made for the admission to the Union of other Grand Lodges.[1] Frankfort was invited to join the Union. But at this time the Prov. G.L. was dormant,[2] and wished to refer the matter to England before deciding. Deceived by this condition of affairs, the "Royal York" warranted a Lodge—"Socrates"—in Frankfort, December 4, 1801, and to the friction to which this gave rise, the absence of a reply from London, and the renewed dormancy of the P.G.L. of Frankfort in 1803-5, must be ascribed the failure on the latter's part to affiliate with the Union. Following this came the French occupation of Berlin and Hanover, and thus the Union gradually lost its hold on the Lodges, and is now confined to a mutual representation in Grand Lodge, which, however, has extended to all the other Grand Lodges of Germany.

II. The Correspondence Bureau.

In most German Lodges two secretaries divide the work between them, one attending to the minutes and records, and the other conducting the correspondence, both with members and with the Lodges in fraternal alliance. It is usual for the latter to forward, in the summer, to every member and allied Lodge a so-called St. John's letter, detailing the events of the past twelve months, and giving a list of present members. In some cases allied Lodges undertake a regular exchange of their respective minutes. As the parties to these arrangements increased in number, the work became more onerous, and Dr. Lechner of the Baldwin Lodge, Leipsic, formed a plan to facilitate matters, which was communicated to the Lodges by circular in 1831. According to this scheme the Baldwin Lodge was to act as a central point under a special officer charged to receive proceedings from all quarters, and to distribute them to all corresponding members. Forty-two Lodges joined the association at the outset, and at present almost every German Lodge is affiliated, besides many in Switzerland, Denmark, and North America.

III. Union of the Three Grand Lodges of Berlin.

A Union, composed of the Grand and Deputy Grand Masters of these three Grand Lodges, was founded in 1810 to deliberate on matters of common interest. It had been preceded by a joint monthly committee meeting, established in 1807. Unfortunately in 1823 the G.L. of Hamburg and the National G.L. quarrelled about the Lodge at Rostock. Hamburg brought its case before the Union through the good offices of the G.L. Royal York. This produced very strained relations, and the Union—by common consent—quietly came to an end.

IV. Prussian Grand Masters' Union.

About the year 1830 the three Berlin Grand Lodges had, in a great measure, forgotten their quarrels, and lived together in peace and amity. To ensure a continuance of this happy state of affairs, the Union of Prussian Gand Masters was established December 28, 1839. On that day the following officers met together—Von Donnersmark and Selapinsky, the G.M. and Dep. G.M. of the National G.L.; Link and Bever, the G.M. and Deputy of

[1] For the full text of this treaty, see W. Keller, Gesch., etc., pp. 225 *et seq.* [2] *Ante*, p. 41.

the Royal York; O'Etzel and Schmückert, filling similar offices in the Three Globes; and the three Grand Secretaries. The object of this Union was to take council in common on important Masonic matters, and to strengthen the bonds of friendship between the Grand Lodges. The Union might propose Masonic principles for acceptance, but was powerless to force their adoption on the individual Grand Lodges.

One of the first acts of this Union was an important one. At a meeting held May 18, 1840, at the premises of the Royal York, Von Donnersmark informed the Grand Masters that Prince William of Prussia (now the Emperor of Germany) had obtained his father's permission to join the Craft, provided he could be made in the name of all three Grand Lodges, and belong to them conjointly; further, that in that case he would assume the protectorate of the entire Craft in Prussia. For such a purpose the Union was exactly fitted, and—May 22, 1840—the Prince was initiated. Donnersmark, his old companion in arms, presided at a "Common Prussian G. Lodge," and on the right and left were the other Grand Masters. The Masters of the fifteen Berlin Lodges were also present. The National G.L. lent its premises for the occasion. The Prince swore "truth and silence" to all three Grand Masters, and then in his capacity of Protector received their vows of fealty in return. The Union still subsists, and has been of great service to the Fraternity in Prussia, as preparing the way for joint action in many matters.

V. Grand Masters' Diet.

This may be considered as an extension of the Grand Masters' Union, applied to all Germany. In 1868, Warnatz, G.M. of Saxony, invited the other G.M.'s of Germany with their Deputies to meet him in conference. The first meeting was held May 3, 1868, at Berlin. Every G.L., except the Sun of Bayreuth, was represented by its G.M.; and in some instances by the Deputy Grand Masters or their substitutes. An idea of the scope of this association may be gathered from the proceedings of the Third Annual Diet, held June 5, 1870, when it was agreed to accept the Old English Charges as the basis and landmarks of Freemasonry. At the fourth Diet at Frankfort, in 1871, the formation of a "Union of German G. Lodges" was mooted, and G.M. Warnatz was deputed to draw up a draft code of by-laws for the same. These were duly approved, and as a consequence the fifth and last Diet of 1872 at Berlin became the first meeting of the

VI. German Grand Lodges' Union.

This Union has worked to great advantage for the Craft, and in the absence of an impossible General Grand Lodge, serves to maintain a close bond between every system in the Fatherland, and to preserve or inaugurate a common line of conduct in external affairs.

VII. Union of German Freemasons.

This is a purely deliberative and literary society, composed of individual Masons meeting yearly at various cities. It was founded in 1861, and at first met with strenuous opposition from some of the Grand Lodges, so that in 1867 it only numbered 309 members. It has, however, formed a valuable library and museum at Leipsic, and its official organ is the Leipsic "Bauhütte." Its influence has grown yearly, and in 1878 it numbered 1509 active, and 31 corresponding, members. As a Literary Masonic Association, it takes high rank; as a

Deliberative Assembly, there are signs of an unfortunate and regrettable tendency towards a mild form of socialism. Although politics are rigorously forbidden in the Lodge, it would appear that Germans do not include political economy under this head, and the boundary-line is easily overstepped.

Although the exigencies of space forbid more than a passing allusion to many subjects of deep interest to our antiquaries, but lying on the extreme border line of history, there is one upon which—at this stage of our inquiry—some general observations will not be out of place.

Germany (including Austria and Switzerland) excels all other countries, bothin the affluence of its Masonic literature, and in the profoundity of research which has characterized the labors of so many gifted historians of the Craft. The earliest efforts of German Masonic writers—translations of the English constitutions, orations, and didactic pieces—evince both diligence and accuracy. Thence, by a gradual transition—the publication of the constitutions of many other Grand (and private) Lodges, and of songs and poems remarkable for beauty of thought and diction—we are brought to a higher sphere of intellectual labor, and find in the literature of the Craft the noblest moral teaching, accompanied by very learned and ingenious reflections on both the origin and objects of our Society.

Lessing—"the father of German criticism"—known to Masonic readers by his "Ernest and Falk," 1778, and "Nathan the Wise," 1779—a noble plea for toleration and a rational religion—was followed by Vogel, "Letters on Freemasonry," 1783-85; Albrecht, "Materials for a Critical History," 1792; Schroeder, "Materials for the *Engbund*," 1802; Schneider, "Constitutions of Archimedes," etc., 1803; Fessler, "Attempts at a Critical History," etc., 1801-7; Krause, "The Three Oldest Masonic Documents," 1810; Mossdorf, "Addresses to Thoughtful Masons," 1818; Heldmann, "The Three Oldest Historical Documents of German Masonry," 1819; Nettelbladt, "Hisory of Masonic Systems," *circa* 1836; O'Etzel, "History of the Three Globes," 1840; Kloss, "Annals of the Eclectic Union," 1842—"Freemasonry in its True Significance," 1846—"Freemasonry in Great Britain," 1848—and "in France," 1852; Fallou, "The Mysteries of Freemasonry," 1848; Winzer, "The German Brotherhoods," 1859; Keller, "History of the Eclectic Union," 1857—"Of Masonry in Germany," 1859; Findel, "History of Freemasonry," 1861-62; and Paul, "History of the Eclectic Union," 1883. The list might be extended, but I shall merely add that both Herder and Goethe are to be classed among "writers of the Craft." [1]

[1] German periodical literature devoted to the Craft began in 1776–79 with Bode's "Almanach," and subsequently there appeared (*inter alia*) the "Freemasons' Library," 1778–1803; "Vienna Journal for Masons," 1784–86; "Kothener Annual," 1798–1805; Meissner's "Pocket-Book," 1801–17; "Altenburg Journal," 1804, continued as Fisher's *Zeitschrift* and *Neueste Zeitschrift;* Nettelbladt's "Calendars for the Prov. G.L. of Mecklenburg," 1821–46; but above all, the matchless "Latomia," commenced by Meissner and Merzdorf in 1842, and continued to 1873. The most prominent Masonic journal in Germany at the present date, is the *Bauhütte*, begun in 1858. Works of especial merit are Gädicke's "Lexicon," 1818, but chiefly on account of its being the first of its kind; Kloss' "Bibliography," 1844, a monument of research; and the "Handbook," 1863–79—or the second edition of Lenning's "Encyclopædia," edited by Mossdorf in 1822–28. No other Masonic work of a similar character can pretend to rival the *Handbuch der Freimaurerei* in the extent, variety, and accuracy of its information.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

FREEMASONRY IN SOUTHERN EUROPE.

AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY—SWITZERLAND—ITALY—PORTUGAL—SPAIN—GREECE—TURKEY—ROUMANIA—MALTA.

Austria and Hungary.[1]

THE history of Freemasonry in Austria—its traces in the Austrian Netherlands have already been referred to in connection with Belgium[2]—may be said to commence with the initiation of the Duke of Lorraine.

Francis Stephen was born 1708, and succeeded his father as Duke of Lorraine in 1729. In 1731 a special Lodge was held at the Hague under Dr. Desaguliers as W.M.; John Stanhope and John Holzendorff, Wardens, the Earl of Chesterfield, and others, in order to initiate and pass the Duke, who was afterwards made a Master Mason in England in the same year.[3] In 1736 he married Maria Theresa, the heiress to the throne of Austria, and, on the death of Gaston of Medici, in 1737, exchanged the crown of Lorraine for that of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. To his influence with his father-in-law, the Emperor, may be probably ascribed the fact that Clement's Bull of 1738 was promulgated in the Austrian dominions. In 1740 Maria Theresa succeeded to the imperial diadem of Austria, and appointed her husband Co-Regent. Personally the Empress was averse to the Craft, but her consort was able to procure for it a certain amount of tolerance in the long run, although powerless to prevent occasional outbursts of persecution. In these early days Freemasons existed in the Austrian dominions in considerable numbers, but as yet there was no Lodge.

In 1742—September 17—the first Vienna Lodge, "The Three Firing Glasses," was constituted by the "Three Skulls" of Breslau, under its Master the Prince Bishop of that city; but on March 7, 1743, the Lodge was, without warning, closed by the military at the command of the Empress, and 18 members—chiefly of the nobility—taken prisoners. Tradition has it that Francis himself had considerable difficulty in escaping by the back

[1] The leading authority on the history of the Craft in these countries is Dr. L. Lewis, "Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Oesterreich," etc., Vienna, 1861. The information contained in that work may be supplemented by reference to Beigel, "Verfassung der Provincial und Gr. Loge von Oesterreich, 1784," Vienna, 1877; and Allgemeines Handbuch, *s.v.* Oesterreich, Ungarn, Wien, Boehmen, Prag, Pest, Mailand, Innspruck, etc., etc.

[2] *Ante*, p. 15 *et seq.*

[3] Chap. XVII., pp. 105, 140.

stairs. On the 19th, however, the prisoners were released in honor of the *fête* of the young Crown Prince, and documentary evidence is forthcoming that the Lodge continued to meet in secret, relying doubtless on the protection of the Prince, who in 1745 was elected Emperor of Germany as Francis I.

According to Lawrie, Freemasonry was introduced into the province of Bohemia (Prague) in 1749.[1] He speaks of the members as "*Scotish Masons,*" and the probability is that they were "Scots degree" Masons. Subsequent writers have, however, stated on the strength of this passage that the Grand Lodge of Scotland warranted a Lodge at Prague, a conclusion which is not supported by any evidence which has come under my notice.[2]

The Bull of Benedict XIV. in 1751 gave fresh courage to the clergy surrounding the Austrian throne, and renewed efforts to suppress Freemasonry were made. The Empress, however, held her hand, and (*it is said*) visited the Lodge in company with one of her ladies, both disguised as men, in order to assure herself that none of the *beau sexe* were admitted to the mysteries. Having satisfied herself on this point she retired. As this legend, however, derives no support from "inherent probability," not even can the Italian maxim, "*Se non è vero, è ben trovato,*" be applied to it.

In 1751—May 22—the Lodge Frederick at Hanover warranted a branch Lodge, Frederick, at Vienna; in 1764 the Strict Observance began to constitute Lodges in the Austrian dominions; and in the same year a decree was issued suppressing Freemasonry altogether. But Francis, the Emperor, was himself at that time Master of "The Three Firing Glasses," and we need therefore not be surprised to find that it remained inoperative.

Francis died at Innsbruck, August 18, 1765, and his son, Joseph II., was elected Emperor. The Empress Maria Theresa also made him Co-Regent (with herself) of Austria. Although not a Mason, on more than one occasion he expressed a favorable opinion of the Craft. At this period the Jesuits were straining every nerve to avert their own extinction, and the Fraternity of Masons therefore obtained a little breathing time. Lodges began to multiply. In 1771 the Strict Observance founded one—the Three Eagles—in Vienna; and Zinnendorff followed the lead by erecting two others in the same city, 1771 and 1775. In 1776 Prague already possessed four Lodges, and in 1777 Zinnendorff's National Grand Lodge at Berlin established a Provincial Grand Lodge of Austria at Vienna.

By the death of Maria Theresa—November 19, 1780—the Emperor Joseph II. became Emperor of Austria also, and the Craft continued to prosper. The greater part of the new Lodges were constituted by Zinnendorff or by the Provincial Grand Lodge at Vienna of the same system; and in 1784 there were no less than 45 Lodges in the various provinces of the Austrian Empire (8 being in Vienna alone) under the following Provincial Grand Lodges: — Austria proper (Vienna), 17; Bohemia, 7; Hungary, 12; Siebenburgen, 3; Galicia, 4; and Lombardy, 2.

On April 22, 1784, the Provincial Grand Lodges of Bohemia, Hungary, Siebenburgen, and Austria met and formed a National Grand Lodge of the Austrian States, with Count Dietrichstein as Grand Master. Their intention was to declare themselves independent, but they met with such opposition from Berlin, that Dietrichstein was obliged to content himself with the position of a Prov. G.M. under the National—*i.e.*, Zinnendorff—Grand Lodge. In 1785, however, the Emperor ordered the latent Grand Lodge to assert its in-

[1] Edit. 1804, p. 131.

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 2.

dependence, and Berlin was naturally obliged to give way. The other Provincial Grand Lodges appear to have joined the Union. Each Lodge had by its delegate one vote in the Provincial Lodges, which met every three months, and each Provincial Grand Lodge had one vote at the half-yearly meeting of the National Grand Lodge (of the Austrian States), thus forming a perfect representative system.

Unfortunately at this time the Emperor interfered in the internal arrangements of the Craft, apparently at the instigation of Dietrichstein, the G.M. The desire to suppress the Asiatic Brothers—at work in Austria since 1780—was not unconnected with these proceedings. An edict appeared on December 1, 1785, restricting the number of Lodges in any city to three, and ordering all those established in towns where there was no imperial court to close altogether. On the strength of this edict Dietrichstein caused the eight Vienna Lodges to reduce their number by amalgamation to two, and to greatly curtail their membership. Each member had to submit to a fresh ballot, and many were thereby prevented from taking any further part in the proceedings of the Craft. Several of the best Masons in Austria retired in disgust, numerous Lodges were closed by virtue of the edict, the spirit and independence of the Craft had flown, and its best days vanished.

Joseph died in 1790, and Leopold II. expressed himself as not unfriendly to the Fraternity; but his successor in 1792, Francis II., tried at the Ratisbon Diet to induce the German Princes to suppress Freemasonry throughout the Empire. In this he failed, but the Vienna Lodges, taking the cue, voluntarily closed in 1794 "until better times;" and in 1795 an imperial edict suppressed the Craft and all secret societies throughout the States of Austria. A further edict of 1801 required all State officials to sign a paper affirming that they did not belong to any such society. Freemasonry thus died out in Austria, and has not since revived. During the French occupation, 1805-9, some ephemeral Lodges arose, and even a short-lived Grand Orient under French jurisdiction; and again in 1848 a former Vienna Lodge reopened October 5, but was closed on the 6th. All subsequent attempts have proved fruitless as far as Austria is concerned, but Hungary rejoices in a better fate.

In 1861 Dr. Lewis made an attempt to revive the Craft in Hungary, and founded a Lodge in Pesth, but it was quickly closed by the police. The political division of 1867, however, by which Austria and Hungary became separate kingdoms under one crown, opened the door to Hungarian Freemasonry, no Hungarian law existing to the contrary. The Government approved in October, 1868, the statutes of Lewis' Lodge "Unity," and in 1869 two others Lodges arose in Temesvar and Oedenburg. The "Unity" threw off shoots in Baja, Pressburg, and Buda-Pesth, and the Temesvar Lodge one in Arad. On January 30, 1870, these seven formed a Grand Lodge of Hungary, and were strengthened in the same year by a new Lodge in Szegedin. These eight increased in 1871 to twelve. In 1872 the members already mustered 800 strong. The G.M. was, and still is, Franz Pulszky. But although prosperous in numbers, the organization, ritual, and spirit of the new body left much to be desired, and the Craft seemd destined to wreck on the lee-shore of its own unworthiness, when a judicious change of *personnel* in 1875 enabled it to make a good offing. The new Constitutions were approved February 24, 1876, providing a representative system of government, and the new ritual came into force on July 1. The immediate consequence of this was the formation of four new Lodges before the end of the year, since which date the National Grand Lodge of Hungary has proceeded on its way without much of importance to relate.

Returning to 1869 we find that in this year several Masons who had been initiated abroad opened a Lodge (the proceedings being conducted in the Hungarian tongue) according to the A. and A.S.R. 33°, under the auspices of the Grand Orient of France. This was soon followed by a second, working in German. As one of the prime movers in this matter, the celebrated Hungarian patriot Klapka should be mentioned. In 1870, these two Lodges made honorable overtures to the Grand Lodge for a fusion of government combined with freedom of ritual. Unfortunately, as we have seen in the History of French Freemasonry, such a fusion is difficult, and it failed on this as on so many previous occasions. Thrown upon their own resources, the two Lodges constituted—on the part of the Grand Orient of France—further Scots Lodges in Kaschau, Werschetz, Oravicza, Arad, Beregszasz, and other towns; and having instituted the necessary High Chapters, these Lodges in 1872 formed a Grand Orient of Hungary for the A. and A.S.R. 33°, under Grand Master George Joannovics. In 1875 this Grand Orient exercised jurisdiction over some 20 Lodges with 1000 members. It has since lost much in importance. The two Grand bodies are on a perfectly friendly footing. The statistics of 1885 are as follows:—Grand Lodge in Buda-Pesth, founded January 30, 1870, 26 Lodges and 1268 members; Grand Orient of Buda-Pesth, founded 1872, 12 Lodges and about 502 members.

In Austria proper there are many Masonic clubs, that is, merely social clubs composed exclusively of Freemasons; as Lodges they are forbidden to meet. But Vienna itself is so near the Hungarian frontier, that many of these clubs are really Lodges which take a short railway trip in order to meet as such. In Pressburg and Oedenburg there are several Lodges whose members are all resident in Vienna. The other large towns of the Empire are, however, not so fortunately situated, and the Fraternity in each of such cities has to content itself with meeting as a social club.

Switzerland.

The early history of the Craft in the Swiss Confederation is so involved, that unless my readers will kindly bear a few historical data in mind, I can hardly expect to make myself clear.

When Freemasonry first appeared in the valleys of Switzerland the Confederacy consisted of fourteen autonomous and confederated Cantons. Beyond these were a few districts, now Cantons with full rights, but then subject to individual Cantons by right of conquest, such as the Pays de Vaud—dependent on Berne. Further we have to deal with certain of the present Cantons which at that time were independent Republics in alliance with the Confederacy, such as St. Gall and Geneva; and lastly, the present Canton of Neufchatel was at that time Prussian (1707-1806), from 1806-14 French, and since 1815 has been a member of the Confederation, but under Prussian suzerainty. At first we need chiefly concern ourselves with Zurich, Basle, and Berne, belonging to Switzerland proper; with Vaud, the dependency of Berne; with the Allied Republic of Geneva; and with the then Prussian State of Neufchatel.

The first distinct period may be taken as extending to the reign of terror in 1792-93.

Geneva.— In 1736 some English gentlemen established a Lodge in the city of Geneva, a resident and naturalized Scotsman, George Hamilton, being the Master. On March 5 of the same year he was forbidden by the Republic to initiate native citizens—a decree

which appears to have been systematically violated—and in 1737 he was appointed by the G.L. of England Prov. G.M. for all Lodges in the state.[1] Even in these few months many had been established. To attempt to follow their history would be impossible. Throughout Switzerland Lodges were like mushrooms—they sprang up in a night and disappeared as quickly, leaving, in most cases, nothing but a name behind. In 1744 the Archives of the Town Council make mention of three Lodges only. These—February 13—the Fathers placed under a ban, which, however, did not prevent the Prov. G.L., under Lord Malpas, from holding a public festival on June 24. In 1745—when six Lodges are mentioned—the Council renewed its edict, which, however, was allowed to lapse. This was the last obstacle thrown in the way of the Craft in this territory. For the next fifteen years little is known of Geneva Freemasonry, except that Lodges were formed, existed for a time, and died out. The history of this period is involved in much confusion. In 1768—February 7—the "Union of Hearts" was established. This is the first Lodge which kept minutes, and its so-called "Golden Book" is full of interesting notes on Swiss Masonry. At this time Alexander Gerard returned from England, and set to work to reduce the existing chaos to order. At his instigation ten Geneva Lodges met on June 1, 1769, and on the 24th erected the Independent Grand Lodge of Geneva—working pure English Masonry. In the same year eight other Lodges united with this body, some being in France, and comprised of members averse to the high degrees (so-called). There was also one in Zurich and another in Constantinople. Before 1773 ten more had joined. This Grand Lodge was therefore of some importance, but towards 1782 the political ferment in France had extended to Geneva, and the state was put under military government. For the next four years the Craft was almost extinct.

In 1786 it re-awoke, and many Lodges joined the Grand Orient of France; but on March 22, eight Lodges reconstituted the Grand Lodge under the new title of Grand Orient of Geneva. It had much success—in the same year ten Lodges joined the original eight—and warranted a Lodge at Smyrna in 1787. The G.O. of France also extended its operations, and a Zurich paper of 1787 alludes to there being seventy-two Lodges (!) in Geneva. The Lodges were, however, continually shifting their allegiance from one Grand Orient to the other.

In 1790, February 10, the Lodge "Union of Hearts" initiated H.R.H. the late Duke of Kent, father of H.M. Queen Victoria.[2]

In 1792-93, during the reign of terror, the Grand Orient barely existed, almost all the Lodges dissolved or declared themselves dormant, and very few indeed professed to work on undismayed.

Vaud.—In 1739—February 2—some English noblemen in Lausanne were warranted as the "Perfect Union of Strangers," No. 187, on the roll of England,[3] and declared themselves a Directing or *quasi* Grand Lodge under the name National Grand Directory of French Helvetia. Other Lodges were formed, but—March 3, 1745—the authorities at Berne issued most stringent decrees against the Craft,[4] and the Lodges were closed. Although the Swiss Fraternity published a strong protest in Frankfort and Leipsic, Freemasonry became obliterated throughout Switzerland proper (as it then was) for quite fifteen years.

[1] Constitutions, 1756, p. 333.

[2] Chap. XX., p. 238.

[3] Engraved Lists. *Cf.* "The Four Old Lodges," p. 55.

[4] Printed in the "Pocket Companion," 1754.

BERNE.—The state Archives mention a Lodge as existing here prior to the year 1745, which, however, must have succumbed to the above edict.

VAUD.—In 1761 the Perfect Union reopened. It had gone over to the Strict Observance, and now called itself the Scots Directory for French Helvetia; it belonged to the Vth Province, Burgundy. Other Lodges also reopened; and in 1772 the Lodges even appeared in a public manner, throwing open their halls to the large influx of foreign Masons attracted to Lausanne by the wedding of the Princess Carignan. When the guests, however, had left, the authorities requested the Scots Directory to close its doors, and were obeyed. In 1775 for some unknown reasons Berne suddenly withdrew all its edicts against Freemasonry, several new Lodges were warranted in 1776-78, and the Directory reconstituted.

ZURICH.—In 1740 a Lodge, Concordia, was warranted by a Swiss regiment in the Dutch service, but was closed by the authorities. Again in 1769 a Lodge, "Discretion," was formed by Geneva residents, and warranted by the Grand Lodge of Geneva, but appears to have died out almost immediately. In 1771—August 13—some officers who had seen foreign service opened a second Lodge, "Discretion," according to the French Rite, but this was won over to the Strict Observance by Diethelm Lavater in 1772. Helvetia was a sub-priory of the Vth Province, and a Chapter was established with Lavater as sub-prior.

BASLE.—In 1744 a Lodge is mentioned, and disappears in 1745. In 1765 the Strict Observance Lodge "Libertas" was opened, and in 1769 a second.

FRIBURG.—Gottreau de Trefaje opened a Lodge in 1761, but in 1763 the Lodge was closed, and Gottreau handed over to justice. In 1764 he was condemned to be burned, a punishment at that time reserved for sorcerers, but escaped with exile owing to the influence of his relatives.

In 1778 therefore we have Strict Observances Lodges in Vaud, Zurich, and Basle, and no others in Switzerland proper. In that year Lausanne and Zurich agreed to divide the country between them accordingly as the cantons spoke German or French. The French Scots Directory at Lausanne, and the German Scots Directory at Zurich, under their respective Grand Masters, to be subordinate to Lavater as Sub-Prior. These two Directories attended the Convent de Gaules at Lyons in 1778, where the S. O. system was modified. Both were then raised to the rank of Sub-Priories, and Helvetia to that of a Priory of the Vth Province, with Lavater as Grand Prior.

VAUD.—In 1782, on account of some students' follies, Berne renewed its decrees, and the Lodges closed. As, however, fourteen Lodges in Piedmont and Savoy were dependent on Lausanne, three directors were appointed to control external affairs. Gradually the state authorities relaxed their severity, and the Lodges resumed work; new ones even were constituted in 1786. In 1787 the number of Vaud Lodges was stated at twenty-four. 1788 witnessed two fresh Lodges, 1789 an alliance with England. Then came the French troubles, and in 1792-93 the Directors resigned their functions, and all the Lodges closed.

ZURICH.—The Lodges closed in 1786, and the Scots Directory in 1792.

BASLE.—A congress of the Vth Province Burgundy was held here in 1779, but the Lodges were closed by superior authority in 1785.

NEUFCHATEL.—The G.L. of the Three Globes (Berlin) warranted the "Three Flaming Stars" here on June 6, 1743; the Lodge is known to have existed in 1750, and must have died out soon afterwards. Another Lodge was warranted by the G.L. of France at Locle

—May 22, 1770—of which nothing more is known.[1] Also, in 1791—December 27—the "Three Globes" constituted the "Frederick William of Good Harmony" at Neufchatel.

This brings us to the close of the first period of Swiss Freemasonry. In Switzerland the Craft was extinct, in Geneva languishing, and in Neufchatel scarcely founded. The second period will carry us to 1814 16.

GENEVA.—In 1795—June 21—the G.O. reopened under G.M. Louis Rivale, and for the next few years both the French and the native Grand Orients were fully employed in constituting and resuscitating Lodges. In 1798 Geneva was annexed to France, and the Paris G.O. began to obtain the upper hand. English Freemasonry also lost ground, and the French Rites were substituted. In 1801 the G.O. of France revised its statutes, and the G.O. of Geneva lost its independence, being made a Prov. G.L. under Paris. In this capacity it ruled twelve Lodges in 1802, at which time there also existed a Geneva Lodge under the Supreme Council of the A. and A.S.R. 33° at Paris. In 1809 the Prov. G.L. was dissolved in conformity with the centralizing policy of the G.O., and the Geneva Lodges came under the immediate rule of Paris.

NEUFCHATEL was annexed to France in 1806, and the Lodge there reconstituted by the Grand Orient of France.

VAUD.—Several Lodges reopened in 1795, but no Grand Lodge; and in 1798 the Grand Orient at Paris commenced to constitute Lodges. In 1803 Napoleon reconstructed the Swiss Confederation, and absolved Vaud from its subjection to Berne, creating it an independent Canton. For the next few years French influence and French ritual were uppermost. In 1810 Maurice Glaire, a former minister of King Stanislaus of Poland, revived the Scots Directory in Lausanne, called seven Lodges together—October 15, 1810—and erected a National Grand Orient of French Helvetia, with Bergier as *ad interim* G.M. The Scots Directory was superior to this G.O. in matters of Ritual and Dogma only. Existing Lodges might use their own ritual, new ones were to accept Glaire's own version of the rectified system of the Strict Observance. Having thus made several innovations, it ceased to be a part of the Vth Province, and formed a system of its own known as the Helvetic Rite. In 1811, March 1, these statutes were approved, and Glaire, then 67 years old, elected G.M; in 1813 he was reappointed for life. The G.O. prospered fairly well, but after the battle of Leipsic, and the entry of the allies into Switzerland, Glaire closed the Lodges *pro tem.*

BASLE.—In 1807 a Lodge under the G.O. of France was opened here. In 1809 Burkhard reintroduced the former rectified Strict Observance, won over the Lodge, re-erected the Priory, and applied to Cambacères, at that time head of all the various rites in France, for a patent. Having given the assurance that the former Grand Prior, Lavater, had resigned, he was appointed to the office, and the Archives, closed in 1793, were transferred from Zurich to Basle. We have thus once more a Scots Templar Directory of the Vth Province at Basle, but this time for all Switzerland, that at Lausanne having struck out a path of its own.

SOLEURE.—In 1809 this Canton was first opened to the Craft by the constitution of a Lodge under the Grand Orient of France.

ZURICH.—In 1810, March 4, a former Strict Observance Lodge was reopened by the Directory at Basle.

[1] It was revived later on, and will be mentioned again.

Aargau.—In this newly emancipated Canton the first signs of improvement may be seen. Heldmann,[1] Zschokke,[2] and others opened a Lodge in 1810 at Aarau. They were obliged to apply to Basle for a constitution, as they did not wish to become subservient to a foreign jurisdiction, but they firmly rejected, from the outset, high degrees, Templarism, and Unknown Superiors, together with other innovations of a like character, and worked in the three degrees only according to Schroeder's Ritual.

Berne.—In 1802—September 14—the Lodge Hope was warranted by the Grand Orient of France, and in 1804 a Rose Croix Chapter was added, of which Tavel was the Master. From its earliest days this Lodge was devoted to the task of forming one sole Masonic authority for Switzerland which should be independent, the Scots Directories being of course only partly so, as they were subordinated to the Prov. G.M. of the Vth Province, *i.e.*, Cambacères. It even received encouragement from the G.O. of France to assume itself this *rôle*, but refused the offer from a fear lest its intentions might be misconstrued as a usurpation. This Lodge has ever since been one of the first in the Confederation, and in 1813 had the honor of initiating Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg Gotha, subsequently the first King of the Belgians.

From 1795 to 1813 we thus see Switzerland divided between the G.O. of France and the Scots Directories of the Vth Province. The German Cantons possessed only a few Lodges, which were more numerous in the French provinces and at Geneva. There was much confusion, the most hopeful signs being the existence of the two new Lodges in Aarau and Berne.

With Napoleon's fall and the Congress of Vienna the Confederation was remodelled. Vaud and Aargau were confirmed as independent Cantons, and Neufchatel and Geneva were added in the same capacity. This was not accomplished without much internal friction, and during the troubled years, 1813-16, Masonry may be looked upon as once more dormant in Switzerland.

With the resumption of Masonic activity in 1816 we may cease to consider the subject under the heading of the different Cantons, but confine our attention to the fortunes of the various systems, that is, the Grand Orients of France, and of the Helvetic Rite in Lausanne, the Directory of the Rectified Strict Observance, and the Lodge of Hope at Berne.

The Grand Orient of France may be soon dismissed. It gradually lost its Lodges throughout the country, chiefly through its own unworthiness. Those that still remained true to it were practically left to their own devices; of the others, some joined the Directory and others the G.O. of Lausanne. Many died out altogether.

The Directory of the Rectified Rite (S.O.).—This fell into a state of decay, and in 1817 the G.M., Burkhard, dying, was replaced by Kaspar Ott of Zurich. As a consequence the archives and Directory were transferred from Basle to Zurich. The system was strengthened by the adhesion of some Geneva Lodges in 1816, and by two new Lodges in St. Gall and Chur (Brisons), thus opening up two fresh Cantons to the Craft. In 1820 G.M. Ott died at a time when Freemasonry was undergoing a series of virulent attacks, and it was thought advisable not to attract attention by a new election. A namesake, though not a relative, of the last G.M., one Hans Caspar Ott, was therefore entrusted with the direction of affairs. In 1821 a new Lodge at Winterthur, in the Canton of Zurich,

[1] *Cf.* Chapter III., *passim.*

[2] To whose work I am indebted for much information. *Cf. post*, p., note.

was warranted, and in 1823 the Lodges in Locle and Neufchatel, under the G.O. of France, joined the Rectified Rite. This made nine Lodges of this system, which had now reached its culminating point, but still persisted in its refusal to aid in forming a National Grand Lodge otherwise than by absorbing all others within itself. It was, however, virtually the National G. Lodge for the German Cantons, but unfortunately its conduct of affairs did not equal its strength in Lodges.

Grand Orient of the Helvetic Rite.—This body reopened on March 9, 1816, with nine Lodges. G.M. Glaire resigned on account of old age (died March 26, 1820), and was replaced by Verdeil. The system was strengthened by some Geneva Lodges and a few new ones, and in 1820 Bergier d'Illens succeeded Verdeil as G.M. Various proposals from Berne to join the "Hope" Lodge, in forming a National Grand Lodge, had been refused by the Committee of Grand Officers; but the idea was taking root gradually among the rank and file of the private Lodges.

Berne.—In 1817 the Hope, finding itself severed from its mother, the Grand Orient of France, made proposals to Ott, the G.M. of the Directory, but without results. In search of a new parent, and having fully made up its mind to dispense in future with all high degrees, it applied in 1818 to the Grand Lodge of England for a constitution. The Duke of Sussex not only granted this request, but raised the Lodge (No. 706) to the position of a Provincial Grand Lodge, under Tavel, G.M. This unlooked-for favor was hardly welcome, as it scarcely allowed the Lodge to take up its former independent position in proposing a National Grand Lodge. However, the Lodge accepted the patent, based its constitutions on the work of Dr. Anderson (1723), and, unable to obtain a written ritual from London, adopted that of Schroeder. The Provincial Grand Lodge was inaugurated June 24, 1819, and all the nineteen Lodges of Switzerland, without regard to divergence of ritual and procedure, were invited to attend. In 1821 it constituted its first daughter in Neufchatel, and asked the Lausanne Grand Orient to unite with it in forming a National Grand Lodge—but the time for this had not yet arrived.

Lausanne.—Events within this Grand body brought about the desired result. The brothers Bedarride arrived in Switzerland to establish their Rite of Misraim. After much ill success they formed two Lodges at Lausanne, and won over the G.M. Bergier to their cause. It was arranged that the Lodges should submit to the Grand Lodge so far as concerned the first three degrees, but the high degrees were to be wrought under Bedarride. Bergier attempted to carry out this project at a Grand Lodge held in 1821, but was opposed by the majority at the meeting and by his Deputy, Mieville. He finally resigned and left the Lodge. Mieville's party then agreed to effect a fusion with the English Provincial Grand Lodge at Berne. On October 23, 1821, the Sublime Chapter met under Bergier and dissolved the Grand Lodge, which held from them, resolving to resume sole control of affairs. The Chapter, however, did not follow up this step, and became practically dormant. The members of the defunct Grand Orient entrusted their power of attorney to the former College of Grand Officers. The Provincial Grand Lodge of Berne addressed a circular to each of the private Lodges, and not, as formerly, to the Grand Lodge. The Committee of Grand Officers replied on behalf of the Lodges to these overtures, and a meeting was held at Berne—April 29, 1822—between the deputies of the two Berne and of five Vaud Lodges. It was decided to form a Grand Lodge on the English system; to *recognize* three degrees only, but to *tolerate* any others as a refuge for the play of fancy;

to allow the constituent Lodges to preserve their own rituals, but to require new Lodges to use the Schroeder version. The Lausanne Grand Lodge dissolved, May 18, 1822, and exactly a week later the English Provincial Grand Lodge followed suit. A National Grand Lodge of Switzerland was then constituted by the Masters and Wardens of the seven Lodges. The Hope Lodge resumed its place as a private Lodge under this Grand Lodge; and an eighth Lodge at Geneva immediately proffered its allegiance. The Grand Lodge was inaugurated June 24, when Tavel was elected G.M., and two more Geneva Lodges joined. The Grand Lodge entered upon a prosperous career, receiving adhesions from all parts, and in the course of a few years its daughter Lodges had ceased to work any high degrees, and had all adopted the Schroeder Ritual.

Rectified Rite.—Left face to face with a single rival, this body bethought itself to put its house in order. The first step was to fill the vacant Grand Mastership, and Sarasin, of Basle, was elected to that office All the Lodges of the system were invited to his installation (1823)—nine in all; and various attempts were made to bring the system and rite more into harmony with the spirit of the times. But the close of this, the third period of Swiss Masonry, presents to us two Grand Bodies, one—on the wane—the antiquated Templar system, and the other—older still—an offshoot of the pure English Craft, lusty as a young giant, prepared to run his race, and confident of victory.

The fourth period therefore opens with the National Grand Lodge of Berne and the Grand Directory of the Rectified Rite at Basle only in the field; for the Helvetic Rite, which still pretended to exist, for very many years resembled a general without an army, or a head without a body.

In 1828 the Rectified Grand Lodge was so dull and lifeless that Sarasin resigned, and it was not until 1829 that Von Escher, of Zurich, was elected in his stead. The Lodges themselves were induced to take part in festivals and meetings of the National Grand Lodge, and individually were not averse to a fusion, though unprepared to take active steps from an honorable feeling of loyalty towards their Grand Officers. Only one Lodge, that at Locle, deserted to the National Grand Lodge.

In 1830—June 19—Tavel, G.M. of the National Grand Lodge, died. The new election was delayed in order to make a further attempt at a fusion. The Lodge of Hope once more took the matter in hand. But the July revolution in Paris had raised an echo in the Cantons where the still somewhat patrician style of government was in course of being overthrown. Under these circumstances the Grand Directory—Rectified Rite—thought the moment not a propitious one for attracting public attention to the Fraternity, but admitted its inability to cope with the spirit of the times, and declared it would not attempt to prevent its daughters seceding, nor feel hurt at their desertion. As already related, a sentimental feeling prevented this, and as the effort was evidently not destined to succeed, the National Grand Lodge contented itself with quietly making friends in all directions. Shortly afterwards the Duke Charles of Hesse Cassel, G.M. of the Rectified system, died; the Provinces of the Order had all ceased to exist except Burgundy, represented by the Directory in Switzerland, and half a Lodge in Besançon, which professed to be the Provincial Chapter, and thus in 1844 it became possible, with the tacit consent of the almost defunct Directory, to appoint a commission to draw up the constitutions of the proposed Sole Grand Lodge. This constitution was finally approved at Zurich, July 22, 1844, by 14 Lodges present on the occasion. The following day Hottinger was elected Grand

Master, the *two* Grand Lodges previously existing made over to him all their rights and duties and dissolved, new Grand Officers were appointed, and—July 24, 1844—the Grand Lodge "Alpina," of Switzerland, met for the first time. Only six Lodges refused to join; one of these was dormant, the others were in Geneva; one persisted in retaining the Rectified system, and hung on to the shadow of a Chapter at Besançon; three still owned the sway of the Grand Orient of France, and one that of the Supreme Council 33° of the same country. So that the close of the fourth period leaves us with practically a united Craft in Switzerland under the Grand Lodge Alpina. There is no necessity to describe its constitutions at length; they were almost identical with those of England both in spirit and machinery.

The fifth period extends to the present time. The constitution had enacted six years as the term of office for the G.M. Hottinger therefore retired in 1850, and was succeeded by Jung. The last Provincial Grand Chapter of the Rectified Rite at Besançon having died out in 1845, the only remaining Lodge of this system (Geneva) joined the Grand Lodge Alpina in 1851; and the same course was pursued by the Geneva Lodge working under the A. and A.S.R. 33° at Paris. Two of the three Geneva Lodges under the G.O. of France also affiliated in course of time, thus leaving only one foreign Lodge in the Confederation.

But the extinct or rather dormant Supreme Chapter of the old Helvetic Rite at Lausanne made periodical efforts to recover control of the Lodges, though it only so far succeeded as to graft Rose Croix Chapters on some few French Lodges, and to sow dissension in the French Cantons. On the other hand, some old high degree Masons of the Rectified Rite followed a similar plan in the German Cantons, and these knightly degrees were worked until 1862, and possibly later. The system is, I believe, now quite extinct. But into the history of these and other "Masonic Aberrations" space forbids me to enter any further than is absolutely necessary to a due comprehension of the annals of the Craft.

The National Grand Lodge continued to prosper, resuscitating old Lodges and warranting new. The Annual Festival is movable, being held at various towns. At the Grand Lodge of 1853, 18 Lodges were represented; in 1856, 19 and 4 not. The periodical election of G.M. brought Maistre to the head of the Fraternity. In 1862 he was succeeded as G.M. by Dr. Gelpke, the number of Lodges having increased to 25, with 1730 members. In 1866 the Lodges were 28. In 1868 Ruegg was elected G.M.

In 1869 the long extinct or dormant Helvetic Directory at Lausanne transformed itself into a Supreme Council of the A. and A.S.R. 33° for Switzerland, and began to pose as a Grand Lodge. The consequence was, that at the Grand Lodge in 1871 its members were excluded. Ruegg resigned, and was followed as G.M. by Humbert. The periodical election in 1874 placed Tscharner at the head of the Craft, who was in turn succeeded by John Cuinoud.

The exclusion of the A. and A.S.R. Masons produced great irritation, and the Supreme Council revenged itself by warranting Craft Lodges to the number of six. After many years of strife an arrangement was come to in 1876, whereby the excluded brethren were reinstated, and the Supreme Council undertook to leave the Lodges alone, confining its attention to the additional degrees. Its fate therefore interests us no more, but it still exists on friendly terms with the Grand Lodge. Five of its six Lodges joined the "Alpina," and the sixth amalgamated with a neighboring Lodge.

The following table may serve to present the chief of the above facts in a concise form:

GENEVA.	VAUD.	GERMAN CANTONS.
1737. **Eng. Prov. Grand Lodge.** (Date of decay unknown.)	1739. **National Grand Directory** for French Helvetia. (Closed by civil authorities, 1745.)	1771. **Lodge of Discretion** at Zurich.
1769. **Grand Lodge**—Independent. (Closed by state of Siege, 1782.)	1761. **Scots Directory,** Strict Observance, Vth Province, Burgundy. (Closed by authorities, 1773; re-opened, 1776.)	1772. Embraced Strict Observance system, and became SUB-PRIORY OF VTH PROVINCE.
1786. **Grand Orient.** (A revival of the Grand Lodge.)	1778. Adopted Rectified Rite.	1778. Adopted Rectified Rite, and became SCOTS DIRECTORY.

1792–1793. All Freemasonry ceased during the Reign of Terror.

1795. **Grand Orient.** (Revived.)	1809. **Scots Directory.** (Revived.)	1809. **Scots Directory of Vth Province.** (Transferred from Zurich to Basle).
1801. Transformed to PROV. GRAND LODGE OF GENEVA. (Under Grand Orient of France; abolished by G. Orient in 1809).	1810. Transformed to **National Grand Orient of French Helvetia** (Glaire's Helvetic Rite).	

1813–1816. All Freemasonry ceased during political reconstitution.

BERNE.		
1818. **English Pro. Grand Lodge.**	1816. **Grand Orient of Helvetic Rite.** (Revived.)	1816. **Scots Directory.** (Revived at Zurich.)
		1823. Transferred to Basle.
1822. **National Grand Lodge of Switzerland** at Berne.		
1869. **Sup. Council for Switzerland of Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite 33°,** at Lausanne.	1844. **National Grand Lodge "Alpina."**	

1876.

"Alpina," Sole Grand Lodge for the Craft.

The latest statistics before me refer to May, 1885. The number of Lodges was 34, with 2451 members, an average of 72 per Lodge. Of these 11 are in Vaud, 6 in Geneva (all in the city itself), 4 in Neufchatel, 4 in Berne, 2 in Zurich, and 1 each in Freiburg, Basle, Schaffhausen, St. Gall, Grisons, Aargau, and Ticino. 10 of the Cantons possess no Lodge; 7 of these are strictly Roman Catholic; the other 3, although Protestant—Glarus, Appenzell, and Thurgau—contain no town large enough to support a Lodge. As regards dialect, the result is curious. Only one-fifth of the Confederation speak the French tongue, yet here we find 22 Lodges; whereas the German four-fifths only contain 11. In Ticino the language is Italian. The present G.M. is E. C. Jung of Winterthur (Zurich). In Geneva there is still one Lodge under the Grand Orient of France—a "Memphis" Lodge, under the A. and P. Rite, England (Vol. III., p. 389,) established there in 1856, joined the National G.L. "Alpinas" in 1865.[1]

[1] Authorities consulted: Fr. Heldmann, Die 3 ältesten Geschichtliche Denkmäle, etc., Aarau, 1819, pp. 520-540—Asträa, 1849, Sondershausen (a magazine). Article by Th. Zschokke, "Umrisse der Gesch. der Freim. in der Schweiz," pp. 226-240; J. G. Findel, Gesch. der Freim., fourth edit., pp. 622-640; Allgemeines Handbuch der Freim., 1863-79, *s.v.* Schweiz, Genf., etc. (by far the fullest article known to me—117 columns of data, very little of which is devoted to description); Nettelbladt, Gesch. Freim. Systeme, p. 748 (a mere sketch). Notices of the chief events may also be found in Thory, Acta Latomorum, and Em. Rebold, Histoire Générale de la Franc-Maçonnerie, Paris, 1851, but in both cases a want of accuracy makes itself felt. Heldmann and Zschokke mentioned above in this note were the founders of the Lodge in Aarau, which was the first in Switzerland to return to the practice of pure English Freemasonry.

Italy.

Until 1859-60 Italy was merely a geographical expression, so that to obtain any amount of clearness in a description of the Craft in that district, it becomes essential, as in the case of Switzerland, to treat the various states separately.

The Two Sicilies (Naples and Sicily) 1717-1860.—In 1717 the kingdom was a portion of the Austrian Empire; in 1733 it was ceded to Spain; in 1759 under Ferdinand IV. it passed as an independent kingdom to the younger branch of the Royal House of Spain; in 1805 Naples—but not Sicily—was annexed to France; in 1806 Joseph Buonaparte was made King of Naples, and was followed in 1808 by Joachim Murat; in 1815 the two Sicilies were reunited under Ferdinand; and in 1860 Garibaldi incorporated them with the recently formed kingdom of Italy.

It would appear that about 1750 a Greek established a Lodge in Naples, and that on July 10, 1751, Charles III., influenced by the Bull of Benedict IV., prohibited Freemasonry throughout his dominions, but so soon changed his views, that in the following year he entrusted his son's education to a Mason and priest, whom he also appointed his own confessor. In 1754 we hear of another Lodge working under the Mother-Lodge at Marseilles, which in 1760 placed itself under the Grand Lodge of Holland, and in 1762 transferred its allegiance to England. Our Lodge Lists show no evidence of this transaction, but perhaps the appointment of Don Nicholas Manuzzi by Lord Blaney (1764-67), as Prov. G.M. for Italy,[1] may tend to support the assertion.

In 1764—February 27—a National Grand Lodge was erected, with four daughters in Naples itself, and an equal number distributed throughout the other cities of the kingdom. Besides these there existed in Naples in 1775, according to a report signed by the Grand Master of the Lodge, Prince Di Caramanica, a Lodge working under the Grand Orient of France, and two under the G.L. of England, pronounced clandestine by the National G.L. The latter are evidently those which appear in the Engraved List for 1769 as No. 433, "in his Sicilian Majesty's regiment of Foot," and No. 444,[2] "Well Chosen Lodge." Prince Caramanica's leaning to the Strict Observance, and the isolated position of the two English Lodges, probably led to the appointment by Lord Beaufort, G.M., in 1770, of a Prov. G.M. for Naples and Sicily.[3] The Craft at this period made great progress in the two Sicilies.

Meanwhile, in 1767, Ferdinand IV. assumed the government at the close of his minority, and his minister, Tanucci—an unscrupulous and inveterate enemy of the Craft—at last induced him—September 12, 1775—to suppress Freemasonry. The Lodges closed, but Tanucci, by means of *agents provocateurs*, induced some Masons to meet, who were duly arrested. Again, on the day of St. Januarius, 1776, the saint's blood refused to liquify in the customary manner, which the agents of Tanucci attributed to the machinations of the Masons, and a regular persecution ensued. But Ferdinand's wife, Queen Caroline—daughter of the Emperor Francis of Lorraine—"loved Masons well." Owing to her advocacy the edict was revoked and Tanucci dismissed. In June, 1776, Diego Naselli

[1] Constitutions, 1767, p. 365 *et seq.*

[2] The warrant of this Lodge—granted to Prince Caramanica and others at Naples—is dated April 26, 1769.

[3] "The most noble Cæsar Pignatelli, Duke di la Rocca, [appointed Prov. G.M.] for the kingdom of Naples and Sicily" (G.L. Minutes, April 25, 1770).

was elected G.M. in succession to Caramanica, four new Lodges were warranted, and the two English Lodges affiliated with the National G.L.

In 1777 Weiler came to Naples. This emissary of the Strict Observance had succeeded in erecting Italy into the VIIIth Province, with a Provincial Grand Chapter at Turin, and as the National G.L. of Sicily had from its earliest days been on cordial terms with the German Lodges of Prince Ferdinand, he experienced no difficulty in converting it into a Chapter and Sub-Priory of the S.O., with Naselli as Sub-Prior. That this perversion displeased some of the Fraternity, and caused them to apply to England for relief, cannot be positively affirmed; but it is at least certain that the following Lodges were constituted almost immediately afterwards under English Charters[1]—No. 510 at Messina (May 12, 1778), No. 525 at Naples (March 6, 1780), No. 440 at Naples (1781).[2]

In 1781 Ferdinand IV. once more placed the Craft under an interdict; in 1783 he cancelled all former inhibitions, but subjected the meetings to strict judicial control.[3] Their independence and privacy being thus endangered the Lodges gradually dwindled and died out, and Masonry ceased to exist in the two kingdoms.

In 1804 the French entered Naples, and the Royal Family took refuge in Sicily under the protection of Nelson and the Fleet. I can discover no trace of the Craft in the island during this period; but in Naples a Grand Orient was established in 1804 by the French army of Italy, with General Lechi as G.M.,[4] which in 1805 amalgamated with the G.O. of Italy at Milan.[5]

In 1809—June 11—Murat being King of Naples, a Supreme Council 33° was established in that city, and on June 24 of the same year a Grand Orient[6] of which Murat allowed himself to be proclaimed G.M. In October, 1812, he was appointed Sovereign Grand Commander of the 33°. But on the fall of Napoleon in 1815 Murat was driven out, and a law of 1816—August 8—prohibited Freemasonry under pain of the galleys. Nevertheless it dragged on a fitful existence, and the G.O. of France, in its list for 1820, still makes mention of three Lodges and one Chapter at Messina. This was followed by a new decree in 1821, upon which the Grand Orient for the two Sicilies declared itself dissolved. In the revolutionary year 1848 a Lodge existed—but for a few months only—in Palermo. This was the last effort of the Craft in the *kingdom* of the two Sicilies.

States of the Church.—Freemasonry was early introduced into Rome. On August 16, 1735, a Lodge was opened there under J. Colton. It worked in English, but under the Earl of Wintoun, in 1737, the Inquisition seized its serving brothers, and on August 20, it closed.[7] The Bull of Clement XII. was published in 1738, and confirmed—January 14, 1739—by a further edict forbidding Freemasonry throughout the Papal States under pain of death and confiscation of worldly goods. The burning by the public executioner in the same year—February 25—of the "*Relation Apologétique,*" wrongly attributed to Ramsay, has already been mentioned.[8] Nevertheless there is evidence to show that the foreign Masons then residing at Rome continued to meet from time to time. In 1742 they even issued a medal in honor of Martin Folkes, D.G.M. of England, 1724-25.[9] A Lodge

[1] The name of the Duke de Sandemetrio Pignatelli appears as Prov. G.M. for Naples and Sicily in the "Freemasons' Calendar" for 1779, and only disappears in the edition for 1833!

[2] Engraved Lists; and Four Old Lodges, pp. 67–72.

[3] Acta Latomorum, pp. 150, 158.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 223.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 229.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 243.

[7] Freemasons' Quarterly Review, 1842, p. 393 *et seq.*

[8] Chap. XXIV., p. 344.

[9] Merzdorf, Denkmünze, p. 118, No. 8.

was again established at Rome in 1787, but was surprised by the Inquisition, December 27, 1789; the brethren escaped, though the property and archives were seized. On the same day the Inquisition captured the charlatan Cagliostro, whose evil repute had acted most prejudicially upon Freemasonry. The Lodges in Lombardy issued a manifesto which was brought up by the college[1] of Cardinals—disclaiming all connection with him, and defending the Craft from papal aspersions.

In 1809 the Papal States were incorporated with France, and Rome was declared the second capital of the empire. Under French rule several Lodges were established, but on the return of Pope Pius VII. in 1814 the Craft was once more effectually suppressed.[2] It was not until 1861 that a new Lodge opened, in which year one was formed under the Grand Orient of Turin. We may now leave these states until 1870, when the Franco-Prussian war permitted Victor Emmanuel to unite the ancient capital to his kingdom of Italy.

Tuscany—Florence.—On the extinction of the Medici family in 1737, Francis of Lorraine[3] received this Grand Duchy in exchange for Lorraine, which had been conquered by Louis XIV. of France and presented to his father in-law, Stanislaus, ex-King of Poland. When Francis was elected German Emperor in 1745, the Duchy was vested in the junior branch of the Austrian family, but in 1790 reverted to the imperial crown under Leopold when his elder brother Joseph II. died childless. As Francis of Lorraine was Grand Duke from 1737 to 1765, it is somewhat surprising the Craft should have prospered so little in Tuscany during that period; for the only Lodge of which we hear, *supposed* to have been founded in 1733 by Lord Sackville, and closed under the persecutions of the Inquisition in 1739, probably never existed at all. Its existence has only been inferred on the authority of a medal by Natter dated 1733, which medal is almost certainly a fraud perpetrated at a much later date in the interests of the Strict Observance.[4] From this supposititious Lodge, however, both the Swedish system and the Strict Observance have professed to receive that light denied to England in 1717; but whether this legendary transmission inspired the medal, or whether the medal gave rise to the legend, I am unable to say, nor would it profit us much to inquire. Beyond this apocryphal Lodge we have only general accounts of Freemasonry in Tuscany[5] until June 24, 1763, when a Lodge—No. 117—was established at Leghorn[6] by the Schismatic G.L. of England (*Ancients*). This was followed by a second—No. 138—in 1765 (under the same sanction), also at Leghorn, where, in 1771, two further Lodges—of "Perfect Union," No. 410; and of "Sincere Brotherly Love," No. 412—were constituted by the older (or legitimate) Grand Lodge of England.

Troops were quartered in the Duchy by the French in 1796-97, and we again hear of

[1] Acta Latomorum, pp. 183-187. [2] Chap. XX., pp. 229, 230. [3] *Ante*, p. 92.

[4] See an interesting discussion extending from January to November, 1883, in the "London Freemason," between disputants who wrote under the signatures of G.B.A. and Dryasdust.

[5] *E.g.*, *St. James Evening Post*, letter from Florence dated May 24, 1738.—"The Freemasons' Lodges which had been interdicted here during the life of the great Duke are now held again with all the liberty and freedom imaginable, and without any dread of the Inquisition, which has no right to attack a society of which the new sovereign [Francis of Lorraine] is a member. The Freemasons of Leghorn have also reopened their Lodges" (Mas. Mag., vol. iv., July, 1876, p. 421)

[6] Under the beneficent sway of the Medici, religious toleration was established at Leghorn, and merchants of all nations flocked there. We learn from Boswell that there was a British factory in that city, to which the Rev. Mr. Burnaby was Chaplain, in 1765 (Account of Corsica, 1768, preface, p. xiv.).

Lodges at Leghorn, which, however, were closed by the Grand Duke in 1800. But he was himself driven out by the French, and his Duchy transformed into an Etruscan Republic, then into a kingdom of Tuscany, and finally annexed to France, with Napoleon's sister, the Duchess of Lucca, as Grand Duchess. Consequently, from 1807 to 1809, we find Lodges erected both at Florence and Leghorn, hailing either from the Grand Orients of France or of Italy [at Milan].[1] But with the return of the (Austrian) Grand Duke Ferdinand in 1814 all Masonry once more died out, and was not revived until, in 1859, Tuscany became a part of the kingdom of Italy.

Genoa.—The old British and Ligurian Lodge, No. 444, was warranted here by the Grand Lodge of England in 1782. As Thory relates[2] that several Masons were imprisoned here in consequence of the Senate's edict of March 26, 1803, it is possible that this Lodge was then still in existence. This was under Napoleon's Ligurian Republic, finally established in 1802 after the Austrians had held the town for two years. In 1805 the State was annexed to France, and two Lodges were established under the Grand Orient of France, 1805-1807; a third but earlier one is also mentioned. In 1814 Genoa was handed over to Sardinia, and Freemasonry there ceased to exist.

Lombardy, Milan.—We have already seen that in 1784, when the National Grand Lodge of Austria was formed, a Provincial Grand Lodge existed in this province of the Austrian dominions, with two daughters, at Cremona and Milan respectively.[3] It is not clear whether these Lodges expired before 1794 of their own want of vitality, or whether they survived long enough to be closed by the imperial edict of 1795. In 1797 this province formed part of Napoleon's Cisalpine Republic, to which I shall again allude.

Venetia.—The Grand Lodge of England granted warrants on November 27, 1772, to the Union Lodge, No. 438, at Venice; and on the 28th to a Lodge, No. 439, at Verona. Nothing further is known of their history, but they are supposed to have continued in existence till 1785. In Padua, in 1781, there existed a Prefectory and Chapter of the Strict Observance under the Grand Priory of the VIIIth Province in Turin, which, after 1782, was changed to the IVth; and this Chapter presided over a S.O. in Lodge in Vicenza, of which there were notices in 1784-85. All these Lodges and any others which may have existed were suppressed by a decree of the Venetian Senate in May, 1785.

By the peace of Campo-Formio, in 1797, Venetia was divided, part going to Austria—where Freemasonry was already under a ban—and part to the Cisalpine Republic.

Cisalpine Republic.—This, formed in 1797 of Milan, Modena, Mantua, Bologna, Ferrara, Romagno, part of Venetia, etc., was called, in 1801, the Italian Republic, with Napoleon as President, and in 1805 became the kingdom of Italy, with Buonaparte as King, and Eugene Beauharnais as Viceroy.

On December 26, 1801, the French Grand Orient erected at Milan the first Lodge in this new State. In 1805—the A. and A.S.R. founded a Supreme Council 33° at Milan, which constituted a Grand Orient for the kingdom of Italy, with Beauharnais as G.M. The recently formed G.O. at Naples amalgamated with it,[4] and in 1808 it was recognized as an independent Grand Orient by the G.O. at Paris. Many Lodges were constituted in the kingdom, two at Milan itself, 1807-10, but the whole system was suppressed, when in 1814 the kingdom was broken up, Parma and Modena becoming separate States, and the greater part of the remainder falling to Austria, forming, with the previously acquired

[1] *See* below. [2] Acta Latomorum, p. 217. [3] *Ante*, p. 93. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 105.

portion of Venetia, the Austrian Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. Freemasonry therefore ceased to exist here until in 1860 Lombardy, and in 1866 Venetia, were incorporated with the present kingdom of Italy.

SARDINIA (PIEDMONT AND SAVOY).—The first notice of the Craft in this kingdom is the appointment by Lord Raymond, G.M., of the Marquis des Marches as Prov. G.M. for Savoy and Piedmont in 1739.[1] Beyond this bare record nothing is known.

The next notice is the existence in Piedmont (Turin), in 1774, of a Grand Lodge called "La Mystèrieuse," working a rite of its own, consisting of the three degrees and of 4° Elect Grand Master, 5° Perfect Irish Master, 6° Grand Scot, 7° Knight of the East, 8° Holy Kadosch, and 9° Rose Croix. This was transformed by Weiler in 1775 into the Great Priory of Italy (VIIIth Province) or Bailiwick of Lombardy at Turin, with Weiler himself as Grand Prior, and after him Count Bernez.[2] It had three subordinate Prefectories —at Naples, Turin, and Padua—and a score or more of Lodges. In the same year—March 25, 1775—an English Lodge, St. Jean de Nouvelle Espérance, No. 479, was constituted at Turin, of whose subsequent history nothing appears to be known.

Savoy, in 1778, joined the Rectified Scots Rite of the Strict Observance, with a Directory—"La Sincérité"—of the IInd Province (Auvergne), at Chambery. The Grand Orient of France had, however, also constituted Lodges there from 1770 onwards, of which one—"The Three Mortars"—claimed to be a Grand Orient of Sardinia—a claim rejected by the G.O. of France in 1790—and even warranted a Lodge as far off as Dresden. In 1782 also, as we have already seen, no less than 14 Lodges existed in Piedmont and Savoy dependent upon the Scots Directory for French Helvetia in Lausanne.[3]

In 1788 the King of Sardinia, Victor Amadeus III., ordered the Strict Observance Grand Priory in Turin to dissolve, and transfer its powers to the Scots Directory at Chambery, which thus became the recognized Grand Lodge of the kingdom.

But on January 11, 1790, this Grand Lodge was also dissolved by the King (though *Freemasonry* was not otherwise interfered with), and the Lodges transferred their allegiance—as the Craft itself was not placed under an interdict—to the Grand Orients of France and Geneva, or to the Directory at Lausanne.

In 1792 Savoy was ceded to France, and the Craft there revived under the G O. of the latter country. Two years later—May 20, 1794—Victor Amadeus III. issued an edict totally suppressing Masonry throughout the remainder of his dominions. In 1798, however, his sovereignty was restricted to the Island of Sardinia. The French occupied Piedmont, lost it temporarily in 1799, converted it into a Republic in 1802, and annexed it to France a few months later. Under French rule a Lodge was warranted in Turin, and probably others under the Grand Orient of Italy at Milan,[4] but they were all short-lived, for in 1814 the King of Sardinia re-obtained possession of Piedmont (enlarged) and of Savoy, besides acquiring Genoa, and in 1814—May 20—renewed the edict of 1794 rigidly suppressing Freemasonry. This edict remained in force until shortly before the dawn of Italian free-

[1] Constitutions, 1756, p. 333.

[2] In the engraved List for 1773, and subsequently in the "Freemasons' Calendar" until 1804, Count de Bernez appears as English Prov. G. M. for Piedmont in Italy. I am not aware whether he was the G.M. of the "Mystérieuse," but even if so, it would not be the sole example of an English Prov. G.M. presiding over assemblies where degrees were wrought other than those of the Craft.

[3] *Ante*, p. 97.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 107.

dom in 1859, so that from 1821 (see under The Two Sicilies, *ante*, p. 105) until 1856, not a Lodge existed in any part of what is now the kingdom of Italy.[1]

The Kingdom of Italy.—In 1859, Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia acquired all northern Italy except Venetia, but lost Savoy, which was ceded to France; in 1860 Naples and Sicily were gained for him by Garibaldi; in 1866 he obtained Venetia by treaty, and in 1870 the city of Rome. The year 1859 forms therefore a perfectly fresh starting-point for us, although the Grand Orient of France had warranted a Lodge at Genoa in 1856.

In 1859 several Masons constituted themselves into a Lodge at Turin working the so-called modern Italian rite of three degrees—in other words, pure English Masonry. Their example was soon followed by the erection of numerous other Lodges in Genoa, Milan, Pisa, Florence, Leghorn, Rome, and other places. These Lodges adopted measures to form a Grand Lodge, and by general correspondence agreed upon a provisional constitution, ritual, etc. The Chevalier Nigra, Ambassador at Paris, was elected G.M. provisionally. To this there was no opposition, but some few Lodges having given a *silent* vote, Nigra declined the nomination—November 22, 1861—in order to allow the proposed constituent assembly perfect liberty. This assembly met at Turin December 26, 1861, and sat daily until January 1, 1862. Twenty-two Lodges in all were represented. On January 1, 1862, the Grand Orient of Italy at Turin was proclaimed, with Nigra as G.M., and Garibaldi as Hon. Past G.M. The yearly assembly was declared movable from city to city. The Lodges not only restricted themselves to the three degrees, but agreed to refuse fellowship to those working any others. In most respects the organization of the Grand Lodge followed the arrangements of the Grand Lodge of England. This was not accomplished without protest, which to understand, it will be necessary in some degree to retrace our steps.

In 1860 some Masons established a Supreme Council A. and A.S.R. 33° for Naples and Sicily, and professed to consider themselves a revival of the Supreme Council 33° established at Naples in 1809 and suppressed in 1821. Many Lodges sprang up and adhered to this organization.

About the same time other Lodges in Sicily also working the A. and A.S.R. 33° met and established a Grand Orient of that Rite at Palermo, with Garibaldi as G.M.

Also at Turin there existed a Consistory of the 32°, likewise warranting Lodges, and assuming all the rights of a Supreme Council until the time arrived when they might be strong enough to form a Grand Orient of the Scots Rite in the capital of Italy—at that time Turin.

Further, about 1861, it would appear as if a similar Consistory existed at Leghorn for Tuscany.

The chief protests against the Grand Orient of Italy at Turin came from the Supreme Council at Naples. We thus see that not only was Italy divided in its views as to Masonic ceremonial, but also that the old territorial divisions showed a tendency to assert themselves in spite of Italian unity. The Grand Orient was not only opposed by these four Scots Councils, but unfortunately failed to secure any external support beyond that of

[1] Authorities consulted up to this point:—Engraved Lists, Freemasons' Calendars; Acta Latomorum; Asträa, 1849, p, 237 *et seq.*; Findel, Geschichte, etc., pp. 640-651; Allgemeines Handbuch, *s. v.* Mailand, Verona, Padua, Vicenza, Venedig, Rom, Neapel, Turin, Piedmont, Livorno, Florenz, Sardinien, Savoyen, Italien, etc., etc.

Belgium and France, because it very openly interfered in the politics of the day, domestic and foreign. Under these circumstances Nigra resigned—March 1, 1863—and Cordova was elected by the small majority of 15 to 13 over Garibaldi. Matters, however, did not improve under the new G.M.; England especially withheld its recognition. The Grand Orient in 1862 unwisely adopted very strong measures with regard to a Turin Lodge addicted to the high degrees, and general discontent prevailed. Nevertheless in July, 1863, the G.O. had no less than 68 Lodges on its roll, including daughters at Alexandria, Cairo, Constantinople, Lima, and elsewhere.

On August 1, 1863, at a general assembly held in Florence, the troubles reached a climax. The Grand Officers, with one exception, resigned; and an *interim* committee of five was appointed to draw up a new constitution. These were all Scots, *i.e.*, A. and A.S.R. Masons.

This committee having concluded its labors, called a meeting at Florence, May 21-24, 1864. "Latomia" of the same year states that only some thirty Lodges of the Italian (*i.e.*, English) rite and a few of the Scots were represented, whilst the "Handbuch" of 1867 speaks of seventy Lodges and five Grand Lodges being present. This shows the difficulty of advancing anything of a positive character respecting this troubled period of Italian Freemasonry. On May 22 a new Grand Orient of Italy, consisting of forty members, was proclaimed. The chief seat of this body was Turin, but sections were appointed for Florence, Naples, and Palermo. The Lodges were allowed to work in either rite; but it is evident that the A. and A.S.R. 33° had gained a victory. On the 23d Garibaldi was elected G.M., and Luca President of the Grand Council 33°. The Supreme Councils of Naples, Leghorn, and Turin appear to have concurred, for of these we hear nothing more; that of Palermo under Garibaldi stood out from the arrangement; Garibaldi himself speedily resigned; and on September 15, 1864, Luca was elected in his stead. But Garibaldi's S.C. had also to contend with a rival in Palermo itself, a so-called Central Supreme Council under Prince Sant' Elia. I must candidly confess that I have been unable to discover whether this was an offshoot from Garibaldi's Council, or whether it had spontaneously sprung up some few years previously. A further complication arose from the action of eleven Lodges working the Italian Rite of three degrees, who, dissatisfied with the May meeting at Florence and its results, met at Milan July 1-5, 1864, and erected a Grand Lodge, under the name of a Grand Council, to sit at Turin, with Franchi as President or Grand Master. In 1865 the Grand Orient of Italy (mixed rites) was transferred to the new capital, Florence, and the Grand Council (Craft only) from Turin to Milan. From 1864 to 1867 we have thus four Grand Bodies in Italy, whose strength in 1867 was about as follows:—

I. Grand Orient of Italy at Florence (Composite), about 150 Lodges; Luca, G.M.

II. Supreme Council at Palermo (A. and A.S.R.), about 39 Lodges; Garibaldi, G.M.

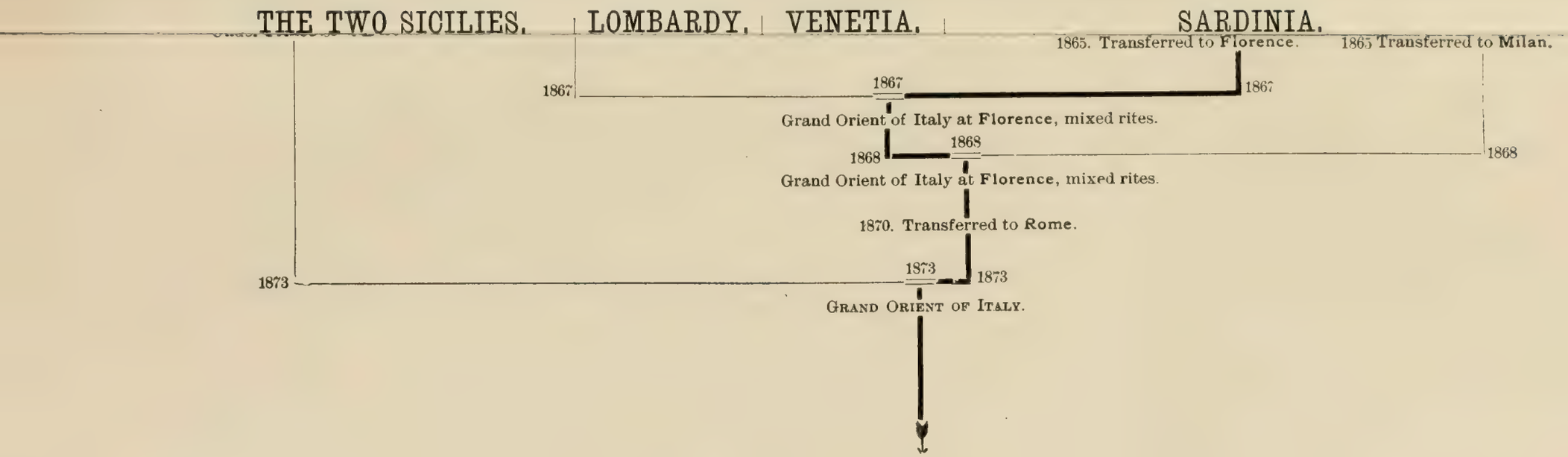
III. Grand Council at Milan (Craft), 7-8 Lodges; Franchi, G.M., who on July 15, 1867, was succeeded by Guastalla.

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CHART No. 5.

TABLE OF ITALIAN GRAND LODGES.



Belgium and France, because it very openly interfered in the politics of the day, domestic and foreign. Under these circumstances Nigra resigned—March 1, 1863—and Cordova was elected by the small majority of 15 to 13 over Garibaldi. Matters, however, did not improve under the new G.M.; England especially withheld its recognition. The Grand Orient in 1862 unwisely adopted very strong measures with regard to a Turin Lodge addicted to the high degrees, and general discontent prevailed. Nevertheless in July, 1863, the G.O. had no less than 68 Lodges on its roll, including daughters at Alexandria, Cairo, Constantinople, Lima, and elsewhere.

On August 1, 1863, at a general assembly held in Florence, the troubles reached a climax. The Grand Officers, with one exception, resigned; and an *interim* committee of five was appointed to draw up a new constitution. These were all Scots, *i.e.*, A. and A.S.R. Masons.

This committee having concluded its labors, called a meeting at Florence, May 21-24, 1864. "Latomia" of the same year states that only some thirty Lodges of the Italian (*i.e.*, English) rite and a few of the Scots were represented, whilst the "Handbuch" of 1867 speaks of seventy Lodges and five Grand Lodges being present. This shows the difficulty of advancing anything of a positive character respecting this troubled period of Italian Freemasonry. On May 22 a new Grand Orient of Italy, consisting of forty members, was proclaimed. The chief seat of this body was Turin, but sections were appointed for Florence, Naples, and Palermo. The Lodges were allowed to work in either rite; but it is evident that the A. and A.S.R. 33° had gained a victory. On the 23d Garibaldi was elected G.M., and Luca President of the Grand Council 33°. The Supreme Councils of Naples, Leghorn, and Turin appear to have concurred, for of these we hear nothing more; that of Palermo under Garibaldi stood out from the arrangement; Garibaldi himself speedily resigned; and on September 15, 1864, Luca was elected in his stead. But Garibaldi's S.C. had also to contend with a rival in Palermo itself, a so-called Central Supreme Council under Prince Sant' Elia. I must candidly confess that I have been unable to discover whether this was an offshoot from Garibaldi's Council, or whether it had spontaneously sprung up some few years previously. A further complication arose from the action of eleven Lodges working the Italian Rite of three degrees, who, dissatisfied with the May meeting at Florence and its results, met at Milan July 1-5, 1864, and erected a Grand Lodge, under the name of a Grand Council, to sit at Turin, with Franchi as President or Grand Master. In 1865 the Grand Orient of Italy (mixed rites) was transferred to the new capital, Florence, and the Grand Council (Craft only) from Turin to Milan. From 1864 to 1867 we have thus four Grand Bodies in Italy, whose strength in 1867 was about as follows:—

I. Grand Orient of Italy at Florence (Composite), about 150 Lodges; Luca, G.M.

II. Supreme Council at Palermo (A. and A.S.R.), about 39 Lodges; Garibaldi, G.M.

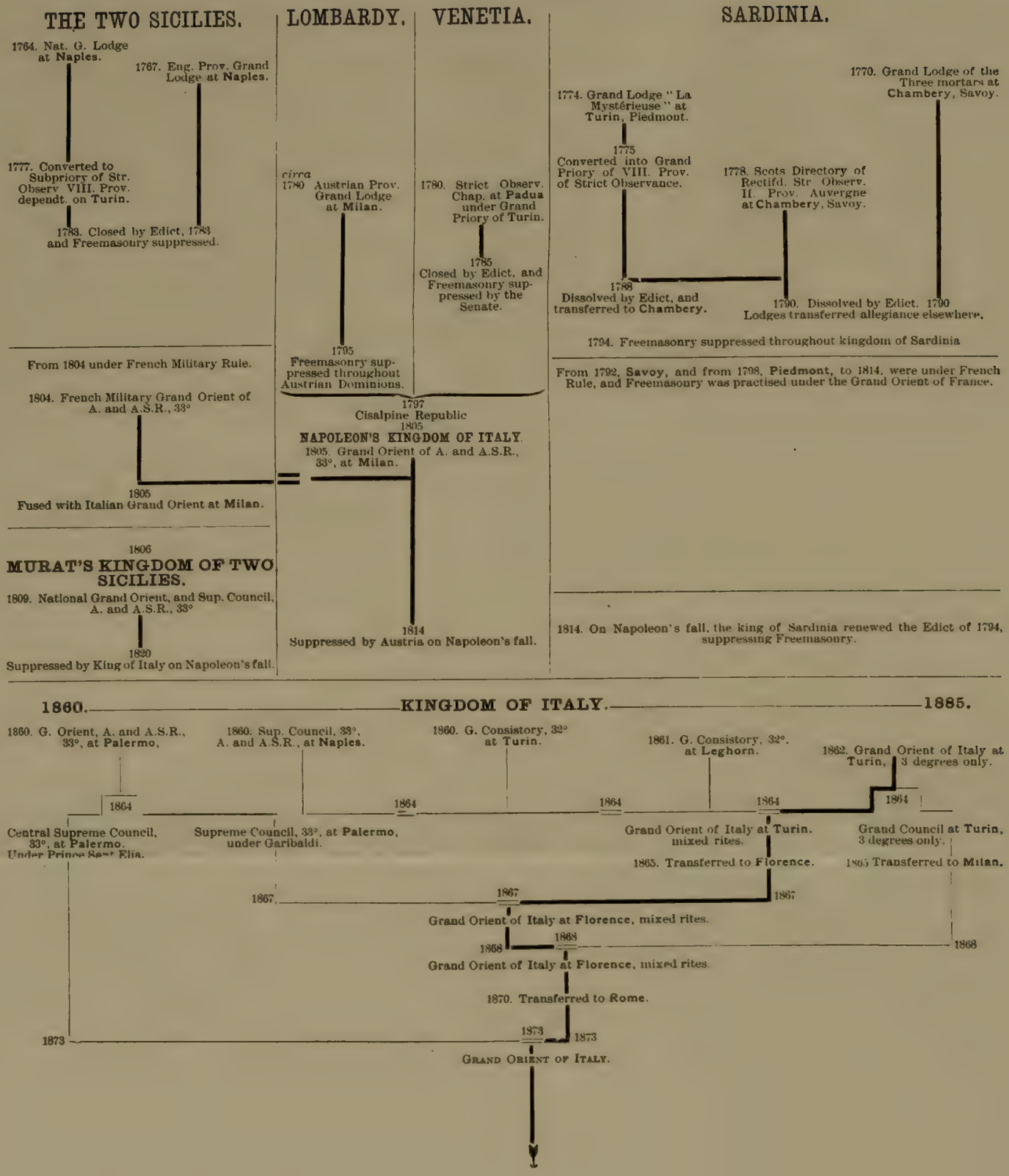
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Grand Orient on June 21, 1867. Luca presided. The Supreme Council of Palermo became merged in the Grand Orient, the four sections of the G.O. at Florence, Turin, Naples, and Palermo were abolished, Cordova was elected G.M., Garibaldi Hon. G.M. for life, and Luca Hon. G.M. for a year. Cordova soon resigned on account of bad health, and was succeeded by Frapolli. Garibaldi's Supreme Council did not approve of the fusion, but elected Campanella as Grand Master, and essayed to maintain its position. It became even more careless than before in its choice of candidates, and warranted sixteen Lodges (one at Smyrna) in 1868. But this was an expiring effort. Its Lodges died out or joined the Grand Orient, and towards the end of the year the Supreme Council was practically extinct

At this time the Grand Lodge at Milan, finding itself unable to make any progress, so far modified its views as to acknowledge that Lodges under the Scots Rite might be legitimate, and thus a fusion was easily arranged on March 4, 1868, at Milan, between the Grand Orient of Italy at Florence and the Grand (Craft) Lodge at Milan. The amalgamation was effected April 1. This left only the Grand Orient of Italy—the title adopted by the parties to the fusion last referred to—and the Central Supreme Council of Palermo, in the field. In the next year or two Grand Master Frapolli succeeded in great measure in banishing religion and politics from Lodge discussions, and at the annual meeting in Florence in 1869 no less than 150 Lodges were represented. But as a general rule there is little stability amongst Italian Lodges, they spring up in a night and die at noontide. In June, 1870, Frapolli retired and Mazzoni was elected, and towards the end of the year the Grand Orient was transferred to the newly acquired capital, Rome.

In 1872—April 25—new constitutions were accepted, and at last in 1873 the Supreme Council at Palermo amalgamated with the Grand Orient, which has ever since been the sole Grand, or Governing Masonic Body in Italy. Under Mazzoni the quality of Italian Masonry has improved, at the expense of its quantity. Unworthy members and disreputable Lodges have been relentlessly weeded out. As we have seen, in 1869 there were over 150 Lodges, but in 1877 there remained only 134, and in 1878 only 109—with a membership of 12,053, or an average of 110 per Lodge—whilst in 1885 the number had once more increased to 146. Besides these there are 57 Lodges scattered throughout Roumania, Egypt—one, at Alexandria, is composed of Germans only—the Levant, and South America. The cities containing the greatest number of Lodges are Naples, with 10; Leghorn and Genoa, 5; Palermo and Rome, 4; Messina, Milan, and Florence, 3; and Venice, 2 each.

The seat of the Grand Orient is at Rome, the G.M. being Adriano Lemmi. It is divided into Three Chambers—for the Scots Rite 33°, a Supreme Council, under Giorgio Tomajo, as Sov. G. Com., with 174 Lodges, of which 54 are abroad—for the Craft, a Symbolic Grand Lodge, under a President, Perro Aporti, with 25 Lodges, of which 3 are abroad—and for the Rite of Memphis, a Supreme Council in Catania, under Gaetano Mondino, as President, with 4 Lodges only. The accompanying table of the Grand Bodies which have existed in Italy may be acceptable as an *aide mémoire.*[1]

[1] Authorities consulted for the latter portion (kingdom of Italy):—Latomia, 1863, vol. xxii., pp. 104-129, 165-170, 200-205; vol. xxiii., 1864, pp. 266-270, 371-373; vol. xxvi., 1868, pp. 223-228; vol. xxvii., 1869, pp. 207-214; Allgemeines Handbuch, *s.v.* Italian, 1868-79; Findel, Geschichte, etc., pp. 640-651.

Portugal.

It is a well-known axiom with Freemasons, that their duty requires them to close their Lodges in the presence of a prohibition by the government of the day. We have seen this duty cheerfully submitted to in various countries, but Portugal forms an exception to the ordinary rule. In no country has the Craft been more persecuted, both by the Government and the Church; but it would appear as if the Fraternity had obstinately determined not to yield to any pressure from without. Once it had taken root, neither decrees of state nor tortures of the Inquisition ever succeeded in extirpating Freemasonry in Portugal, and at no time did Lodges cease to exist in more or less secrecy. Whilst as a law-abiding Fraternity, we must needs lament this disobedience of our Portuguese brethren—as admirers of devotion and courage, we may be permitted to appreciate their resolution and endurance.

Clavel[1] asserts that French deputies founded Lodges in Portugal in 1727, but this uncorroborated statement fails to inspire me with the confidence I should wish to attach to it. We touch solid ground, however, in the minutes of the G.L. of England, April 17, 1735. —"A petition from several brethren now residing in or about the City of Lisbon in Portugal, humbly praying that a Deputation may be granted to Mr. George Gordon for constituting them into a regular Lodge, the prayer of which petition was granted;" and in the *St. James' Evening Post*—letter from Lisbon, June 3, 1736—"by authority of the Right Honorable the Earl of Weymouth, the then G. Master of all Masons' Lodges, Mr. George Gordon, Mathematician, has constituted a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons in that City; and a great many merchants of the Factory and other people of distinction have been received and regularly made Freemasons. Lord George Graham, Lord Forrester, and a great many gentlemen belonging to the English Fleet, being brethren, were present at constituting the Lodge, and it is expected that in a short time it will be one of the greatest abroad." This early mention of the Fleet is notable, because in after times, during the Craft's darkest hour, foreign vessels in port were extensively used as safe meeting-places for the persecuted Lodges.

Freemasonry, however, from the very first, met with a determined enemy in the Church, and the opposition of the Roman prelacy became more pronounced, after the issue of the famous Bull of Clement XII., April 27, 1738.[2] At last, in 1743, King John V. (1707-50) was persuaded by his *entourage* that the Freemasons were heretics and rebels, and issued an edict of death against them. An era of persecution and torture at the hands of the Inquisition followed; the best known case being that of Coustos.

Coustos—the son of a Swiss surgeon—was born at Berne, but emigrated, in 1716, with his father to England, where he followed the trade of a gem-cutter, and was admitted into the Fraternity. After spending twenty-two years in London he went to Lisbon with the intention of shipping for Brazil, but failing to obtain a permit from the government, settled down to his trade in the Portuguese capital. There, with two French jewellers—Mouton and Braslé—he founded a Lodge, where they were surprised—March 14, 1743—by the familiars of the Inquisition. In order to wrest from him the secrets of a Freemason, and a renunciation of his religion, Coustos was within the space of three months subjected nine times to the rack, scourged, branded, and otherwise tortured, and—June

[1] Histoire Pittoresque de la Franc-Maçonnerie.

[2] *Cf.* Chap. XX., p. 229.

21, 1743—he figured as a principal personage at an *auto-da-fé* in the Church of the Dominicans. He was sentenced to four years at the galleys as a Protestant and *Freemason*—but his two companions, being Catholics, to five years exile only. Mouton and Braslé were also tortured, and the latter died in consequence of his sufferings. Coustos was claimed by the British Embassy as an English subject, and with Mouton arrived in London December 14, 1744, where they were well received and cared for by the Fraternity.[1]

John V. was succeeded by his son Joseph II. (1750-77). Under this liberal prince and his celebrated minister, the Marquis de Pombal, the clergy lost much of their influence, and the Jesuits were banished from the kingdom in 1761. Freemasonry recovered, and only once—in 1776—did the Inquisition attempt to suppress the Craft. This tribunal, however, was constrained to release its victims, Major D' Alincourt and Dom Ayres de Orvellas Peraçao, after fourteen months' detention.[2]

Joseph was succeeded by his daughter Maria, married to her uncle Dom Pedro. Pombal was dismissed, and the clergy once more gained the upper hand. The most talented men of the kingdom, being Freemasons, only saved their lives by flight, and the celebrated mathematician, Da Cunha, lay in the dungeons of the Inquisition from 1778 to 1780. In 1792 the Queen was attacked by incurable melancholia, and her son John was made Prince Regent. Matters then became worse, and in the same year the Governor of Madeira was ordered to deliver over all Freemasons to the Inquisition. A few only escaped to America, their vessel on entering New York harbor flying a white flag with the inscription "*Asylum Quaerimus.*" Nevertheless the Fraternity was not exterminated. Lodges are known to have existed at Coimbra, 1793-94; at Oporto, 1795; and others were held in 1796-97 on board various ships in port. The frigate "Phœnix" is especially mentioned in this connection, and there soon arose five or six Lodges in Lisbon as well as elsewhere. Three at the capital—Nos. 315, 319, and 330—are shown on the roll of the (Atholl) Grand Lodge of England, under the years 1798, 1799, and 1807-13 respectively. Numerous others doubtless penetrated into the kingdom with the British regiments to which they were attached. Brethren of the Sea and Land services appear to have worked together in great harmony, and the records of the Grand Lodge last referred to, show that many seafaring men became members of Lodge, No. 332, held in the 58th Foot, whilst that regiment was quartered at Lisbon in 1811.

A committee of six was appointed to act as a Grand Lodge, and other Lodges were established. Great secrecy was observed; the places of meeting were continually changed, and often whilst some members worked in the upper story of a house, the remainder, with their wives and daughters, danced on the lower in order to deceive the police.[3] Although this persecution lasted until 1806, it is during this very period that some remarkable Masonic manifestations occurred. The first Grand Lodge for Portugal was erected, and the first G.M., Dom Sebastian José de Sampajo e Mello de Castro e Luziguano (brother of the

[1] A description of these horrors was published in a book, entitled "The Sufferings of John Coustos for Freemasonry," etc., 1746; 400 pages—of which an abridgment has been frequently reprinted.

[2] Thory, Acta Latomorum, vol i., p. 123.

[3] Mr. G. W. Speth remembers taking part in Lodge work under exactly similar circumstances and surroundings (Lodge above, ball below) in 1870-71 in Havana, Cuba. In his case, however, although the consequences of detection would have inevitably been serious, at least no Inquisition was to be feared. He pleads as an excuse for infringing the law that he was *very young*, both as a man and a Mason.

Marquis de Pombal), a counsellor of the High Court (or, according to Thory, Egaz-Moniz), was appointed in 1800 (or 1802). This new Grand Lodge, acting through four Lodges, "empowered Dom Hypolite Joseph da Costa to act as their representative at the Grand Lodge of England, and in their name to solicit a regular authority to practise the rites of the Order under the English banner and protection. After mature deliberation it was determined that every encouragement should be given to the brethren in Portugal; and a treaty was immediately entered into and signed by Da Costa and Haseltine—then Treasurer of the Grand Lodge, and approved by the Grand Master, whereby it was agreed that as long as the Portuguese Lodges should conform to the ancient constitutions of the Order they should be empowered to have a representative in the Grand Lodge of England, and that the Grand Lodge of England should have a representative in the Grand Lodge of Portugal, and that the brethren belonging to each Grand Lodge should be equally entitled to the privileges of the other." [1]

In 1807 war broke out between France and Portugal, because the ports were not closed to the British fleet. On November 29 Prince John, the Regent, left for Brazil, and the next day the French entered Lisbon under General Junot. With the presence of the French troops Freemasonry of course showed itself openly; but in order to counteract the evident desire of the French to bring the National Grand Lodge under the control of the Grand Orient at Paris, the G.M. closed the Grand Lodge *pro tem.* in 1808. The Junto, or Provisional Government, does not appear to have been inimical to Freemasonry after Junot's forced evacuation, and the presence of the English troops could not fail to have been beneficial. Marshal Soult's invasion in 1809 was of too short duration to produce any effect, but after his departure a deplorable, though ridiculous, incident occurred. The English Masons assembled publicly, and walked in procession with banners and emblems of the Society. This remarkable spectacle the Portuguese troops mistook—not unnaturally—for one of the pageants of the Romish Church, and therefore turned out in order to render the usual military honors; but on discovering their error the soldiers—aided by the populace—maltreated the itinerant Craftsmen, which resulted in a fresh series of persecutions at the hands of the Inquisition. At Massena's arrival in 1810 the Craft was re-established, but his retreat was followed by renewed persecutions, thirty at least of the foremost Freemasons of Lisbon being deported to the Azores in September of that year. But the Fraternity still persevered, and in 1812 there were no less than thirteen Lodges in Lisbon alone. Meanwhile, in 1809, the G.M., Dom Sebastian—whose other names may with convenience be omitted—had been succeeded by Dom Fernando Romão d'Alaide Teive, and the latter was followed in 1816 by General Gomez Freire d'Andrade. This Grand Master's fate was untoward; he lived at enmity with Lord Beresford, and having been accused of inciting a revolt against the English commander, was, with eleven co-conspirators, sentenced to death October 15, 1817. This was followed—March 30, 1818—by an edict of John VI.—whose mother, the Queen Maria, had died March 20, 1816—dated from Rio de Janeiro, threatening the Freemasons once more with death and divers other but minor terrors, which produced no effect whatever except a return to the most inviolable secrecy.

Beresford having left, there are to chronicle, a popular revolt in 1820, a Provisional Regency, the arrival from Brazil of the King, and his acceptance of a constitution abolishing the Inquisition, establishing trial by jury, etc., in 1821. Naturally enough Freema-

[1] Chap. XX., p. 241; Grand Lodge Minutes; and Preston, edit. 1812, p. 375, *ut supra.*

sonry again emerged from concealment, and in 1822 the King's eldest son, Dom Pedro, having accepted the Grand Mastership of Brazil, the Lisbon Lodges, eight in number, elected Ioão da Cunha Souto Major, G.M., for Portugal.

In 1823, however, a counter-revolution of Royalists triumphed, and re-instated John VI. in all his autocratic privileges, Freemasons were once more persecuted—by an edict of June 20, 1823—and his second son, Dom Miguel, headed a proclamation of April 30, 1824, with these words, "Long live the King! Long live Roman Catholicism! Death and Destruction to the sacrilegious Freemasons!"

A proclamation by the Cardinal Archbishop Souza, published the same evening, so inflamed the minds of the rabble, that many people were murdered on the mere suspicion of being Freemasons.[1]

In 1826 King John died, and his eldest son Pedro disjoined the crowns of Brazil and Portugal—conferring the latter on his daughter Maria da Gloria, a minor, married to her uncle Dom Miguel. With the aid of the ultra Royalists, Miguel proclaimed himself king, so that in 1831 Dom Pedro abdicated Brazil, returned to Portugal, and in 1834 defeated and banished the usurper, his brother and son-in-law. Pedro himself died in September, 1834, and the Cortes declared his daughter of full age. During all this troubled time the Lodges had been under a ban, and the brothers dispersed in all parts of Europe and Brazil. Under these circumstances some had elected Da Silva Carvalho, and others the Marquis Saldanha, as G.M., so that on the return of the exiles in 1834 two Grand Lodges existed in Lisbon. To add to the confusion the brethren in Oporto elected a third G.M., Manuel da Silva Passos. Carvalho left Portugal in 1836, and although his Lodges, with the exception of those in the Azores, lay dormant for a while, yet the Grand Lodge was revived a few years afterwards in the person of Manuel Gonzalves da Miranda as Grand Master (1839-41). An attempt at fusion in 1837 failed, and unfortunately politics were not kept out of sight in Craft matters. For unmasonic conduct of this kind the G.M. Saldanha was deposed in 1837, and his place filled by Baron Vialla Nova da Foz-Côa in 1839; the Oporto G.L. also elected a new G.M., Da Costa Cabal, in 1841. All these three Grand Lodges followed the modern French Rite of seven degrees.[2]

About this time a Rose Croix Chapter was established at Lisbon under the Grand Chapter of Prince Masons of Ireland. This, although not constituted as a Provincial Grand Orient, Chapter, or Lodge, apparently assumed, in some degree, the functions of such a body, since, by the authority last cited, Dom F. G. da Silva Pereira is described as having been its *Grand Master*.

In 1840, Carvalho—*ci-devant* G.M.—returned from Brazil with a patent from the Supreme Council 33° in that empire; erected a Lodge and a consistory 32°, which by a Brazilian patent of June 20, 1841, was—December 27—transformed into a Provincial Supreme Council of the 33° dependent on Brazil. This took the name of Grand Orient of Lusitania. It published its statutes in 1843, and in 1845 numbered no less than 17 Lodges.

To add to this multiplicity of jurisdictions we find the G.L. of Ireland warranting Lodges at Lisbon; Nos. 338, in 1839; and 339, 341, and 344,[3] in 1842-44; and ultimately

[1] These persecutions—of which interesting details will be found in "Latomia," vol. viii.—were put an end to by the constitutional government established in 1834.

[2] Boletim Official do Gr. Oriente Lusitano Unido, 1882, pp. 93, 113, 130, 143, 163, 178, 198.

[3] It is possible that these warrants merely *legitimated* four Lodges which already existed—

a Provincial Grand Lodge was established (1856-72), making the fifth ruling body in Portugal. In 1848 we hear of a second Grand Orient of Lusitania asking for, but not obtaining recognition at Paris. Omitting this latter as an ephemeral appearance, we have in that year—I. A. Grand Lodge at Lisbon (French Rite), under Carvalho in the first instance, and afterwards Miranda as Grand Masters. II. A Grand Lodge also at Lisbon (French Rite), under Saldanha and Foz-Côa successively. III. A Grand Lodge at Oporto (French Rite), under Passos and Costa Cabal. IV. A Grand Orient of Lusitania (A. and A.S.R. 33°) at Lisbon, under Carvalho, G.M., dependent upon Brazil. V. An Irish Provincial Grand Lodge—*de facto*, if not as yet *de jure*—under Frederico Guilheime da Silva Pereira at Lisbon.

In 1849 all these governing bodies, except that controlled by Pereira, united to form a Grand Orient of Portugal at Lisbon, with D'Oliveira as G.M. His successor, Alves de Mauro Contucho, unfortunately created dissatisfaction by his despotic rule, and the Scots Grand Orient of Lusitania was revived—January 31, 1859—under Count Paraty, G.M. This Grand Orient proved itself very active, even beyond the borders, many of the Spanish Lodges owning its sway. In 1869, however, the two Grand Orients amalgamated under Paraty as the G.O. of Lusitania. In 1872 they were joined by the Irish Lodges, leaving thus only one Grand Body in Portugal. In 1873 this G.O. ruled over 48 Lodges (12 in Lisbon and 15 in Spain); in 1885, 70 Lodges, of which 22 were in Portugal, 7 in Portuguese colonies; 32 in Spain, and 9 in Spanish colonies. Of the 22 Portuguese Lodges, 14 were in Lisbon. The present G.M. of the United Grand Lusitanian Orient is Dom Antonio Augusto D'Aguiar, and the brethren number 2800. The President or acting G.M. is Dom João Eusebio D'Oliveira. The Grand Orient comprises four subsections—a Symbolic Grand Lodge, under a President, for Lodges working Masonry only; a Supreme Council of the 33° for the A. and A.S. Rite; a Supreme Rose Croix Chapter for the French Rite, and—*mirabile dictu*—a Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons, the only one except in Spain and Roumania outside of Anglo-Saxon Masonry.[1]

In 1881 occurred a movement of much significance. Five Lodges, possibly tired of the control, direct or indirect, exerted by the high degrees, combined to erect a Grand Lodge of the Craft, totally independent of all other degrees beyond the *three* of ancient Freemasonry. Count Paraty, the head of the Grand Orient, was called to preside also over the Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, which was formed on the English model. The movement does not appear to have been of English origin—because in the first list of Grand Office-Bearers only one English name is to be found, and that in a very subordinate position—but to have been purely national. Under Paraty's guidance, this Grand Lodge was brought back into the fold of the Grand Orient, which was subdivided into three Grand Bodies or Chambers, each having sole control over its own rite—a Supreme Council 33° for the Scots, a Supreme Chapter Rose Croix for the French, and a Sublime Chamber or Grand Lodge for the Craft. For matters of general interest these three Chambers were united in one assembly, of which the Presidency was confided to Mig. Bapt. Maciel, who, on Paraty's death, was appointed his successor as head of all

though irregularly—under the Rose Croix Chapter, of which Pereira was the "Grand Master"? This influential personage, who was Minister of Justice 1853-56, died in 1871. In the following year the Irish Prov. Grand Lodge joined the United Grand Orient, and the Rose Croix Chapter returned its warrant.

[1] For these statistics I am indebted to Dom Ferreira Gomos, G. Sec., U.G. Lusitanian Orient.

three Chambers and G.M. of the Grand Orient *ad interim.* An official bulletin informs us, that on December 6, 1883, at a convention of thirteen Lodges—all, with two exceptions, meeting at Lisbon—a Grand Lodge, totally distinct from, and independent of the Grand Orient was organized, and the following officers elected:—Dr. Jose Dias Ferreira, G.M.; J. d'A. de Franco Netto, D.G.M.; and Cæsar de Castello Bianco, Grand Secretary. There are thus in existence two Grand Lodges, one siding with and forming a Chamber of the Grand Orient, and the other bearing the former title of "G. Lodge of A.F. and A. Masons, founded 1737, re-established 1881." The latter has an apparent following of 24 Lodges. Why claim is laid to the earlier of these dates I am unable to conjecture, but although spoiling the unity which the Craft had so recently attained, it is impossible not to wish this body success. It has struck the right keynote in bidding its high degree friends go their ways in peace, to add as many degrees as their humor may suggest, but to cease from troubling the Craft.

Spain.

Spain disputes with Portugal the sad distinction of having most persistently and relentlessly persecuted its own children on account of their attachment to the Craft; and, like Portugal, it is somewhat remarkable for still practising Royal Arch Masonry. But unlike its sister kingdom, it has not yet succeeded in bringing its Lodges under one single jurisdiction, and presents at the present day a picture of confusion in Craft matters unequalled elsewhere. It is much to be deplored that the partisans of these various Grand Lodges should have allowed their predilections to color their historical statements. Indeed, to such a length has this been carried, that the later history of the Craft in Spain is more difficult to unravel than the earlier one; and although no source of information has been overlooked, I am unable to place on record the events of the last twenty years without entertaining some misgivings as to the accuracy of my own narrative. Masonic news from the Peninsula reaches us but rarely—in small and unsatisfactory quantities—and no two accounts are reconcilable with each other. I must therefore beg my readers to regard the description of this period (1868-85) as a conscientious attempt to lay some few facts before them, but by no means to pin their faith upon my narrative. Having confessed my inability to cope with the difficulties before me, I trust any errors that may be discovered will be leniently dealt with.

Before proceeding with our main subject it will be well to advert to two small territories, which, though forming a part of Spain—one geographically, the other politically—yet require separate mention. I allude to Gibraltar and Minorca.

A Lodge—"of St John of Jerusalem," No. 51—was constituted at Gibraltar by the Grand Lodge of England in 1728;[1] and three years later, Captain James Commerford was appointed Prov. G.M. for Andalusia, which, as we learn from the terms of subsequent patents, comprised the Rock or fortress, "and places adjacent." Commerford was succeeded by Colonel J. G Montrésor, 1752-53, Chief Engineer, one of the founders of No. 51—St. John—but who embarked in 1754 for America. Further Lodges were established under the same sanction, in 1762—Inhabitants; 1786—Hiram's; 1789—Calpean; and in 1791—Friendship. The first Lodge under the Schismatic Grand Lodge of England—No. 58—was formed in 1756, but was short-lived, and after this we meet, in 1773, with the

[1] Chap. XVII. p. 136.

same quarrels between the so-called "Moderns" and "Ancients," as prevailed in the mother country of Freemasonry.[1] The latter, however, were triumphant in the struggle which ensued,[2] and they established at Gibraltar Nos. 148—originally constituted in the Royal Artillery in 1767 (*now* St. John's); 202 (*now* Inhabitants), in 1777; and a Prov. Grand Lodge in 1786. The Lodges under the earlier sanction continued to be shown on the lists until 1813, but only one—apparently a union of the Calpean and Friendship—was carried forward at the Union. Prince Edward—afterwards Duke of Kent—was appointed Prov. G.M. in 1790.[3] In 1792 there were no less than eleven[4] Military Lodges at Gibraltar, and the records from which I quote, mention three Lodges of the same character, as having recently left the garrison, besides a warrant, "No. 61 (*Irish*) held by the Officers of the 32d Foot, but for neglect erased." Many Lodges were locally constituted by the Atholl Provincial Grand Lodge, of which no record has been preserved, but in 1804 there were at least nine holding provincial warrants.

Two English Lodges—now both extinct—"Ordnance" and "Calpean," were established in 1819 and 1822; and there are at present in existence three Lodges—St. John's, Inhabitants, and Friendship—under the Grand Lodge of England; two under Scotland—St. Thomas (1876), and "Al Moghreb al Aksa" (1882); and one—No. 325 (1826)—under the Grand Lodge of Ireland.

The Masonic annals of Minorca afford an interesting study owing to the vicissitudes of warfare. In 1708 England took the island from Spain, and held it until 1758, when it was taken by the French. We regained possession in 1763, but in 1782 once more lost it—on this occasion to Spain. Again, from 1798 until the peace of Amiens, 1802, the English flag floated over the island. During the first of these three periods Lord Byron—G. M. 1747-51—appointed Lieut.-Col. James Adolphus Oughton[5] Prov. G.M. for Minorca,[6] and the following four Lodges were constituted—Nos. 213-215 in 1750, and No. 216 in 1751.[7] These Lodges were carried forward at the renumbering in 1756,[8] but dropping out in 1766, the *places* of original Nos. 213-215 (*then* 141-143) were assigned to three American Lodges in 1768.[9] Again during the third British occupation, a "Lodge in the Island of Minorca," No. 586, was established in 1800. Turning to the Atholl Register, we find that Lodges Nos. 141 and 117, were erected on the island in 1766 and 1770, and a Provincial Grand Lodge in 1772. Even in our own times Minorca seems to have been regarded as "unoccupied country," for French Lodges were formed at Mahon by the A. and A.S.R. 33° in 1860, and 1870.

The first Lodge in Spain was founded by the Duke of Wharton in his own apartments in a French hotel at Madrid, in February 15, 1728. Two months later—April 17—this Lodge, through its Worshipful Master Mr. Ch. Labelle (or Labelye), informed the Grand Lodge of the fact, but applied nevertheless to the same body—March 29, 1729—to be properly constituted, and the request was acceded to.[10] The Lodge received the number 50 on the list of Lodges, and *was the first Lodge warranted in foreign lands by the Grand*

[1] *Cf.* The Atholl Lodges, p. 29. [2] Chap. XIX. p. 201. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 206.

[4] One Scotch—32d Regiment; six Irish—1st, 11th, 18th, 46th, 51st, and 68th Regiments; three English (*ancient*)—50th Regiment, Royal Artillery, and Garrison; and one Provincial—in the Company of Artificers.

[5] *Cf.* Chaps. XIX., p. 199; XXIII., pp. 315, 316, 330. [6] Constit., 1756, p. 333.

[7] Engraved Lists. [8] *Ibid.* [9] Engraved Lists. *Cf. ante*, Chap. XX., p. 219.

[10] Chaps. XVI. p. 41; XVII. pp. 130, 136.

Lodge of England. It was erased in 1768, in company with the first Paris Lodge "Louis d'Argent," and the Duke of Richmond's Lodge at Aubigny[1] (a notable trio), either for having ceased to meet, or neglected to conform to the laws of the Society.[2]

The next step introduces the first of the persecutions which, until quite recently, Spanish Freemasons have suffered, and like their Portuguese brethren, doggedly withstood. In 1740 King Philip V. approved the Papal Bull of 1738, and issued a confirmatory edict for his possessions. The Inquisition discovered a Lodge, and eight of its members were condemned to the galleys.[3]

But the Fraternity persisted in meeting, and we have proofs that at Barcelona a German chaplain visited a Lodge in 1743. Indeed the Lodges increased in spite of all difficulties, and—July 2, 1751—Father Joseph Torrubia, a member of the Inquisition, obtained from Ferdinand VI. a further decree condemning Masons to death without the benefit of a trial of any kind. It is affirmed that Torrubia traitorously caused himself to be initiated in order to betray every member's name to the Inquisitors, and his report mentions at that date 97 (!) Lodges in Spain. Meetings nevertheless continued to be held, even at the house of the British Ambassador (1753) in Madrid, and the "Freemasons' Calendar" of 1776 alludes to an Independent Lodge in Spain. According to Don Rafael Sunyé, Spanish Freemasonry declared itself independent of England in 1767, and elected as Grand Master the Prime Minister of Charles III., Count d'Aranda, who had in the spring of the year procured the banishment of the Jesuits. This would provide a reason for the Madrid Lodge being struck off the roll in 1768 as mentioned above. In 1780 this Grand Lodge became permeated with French ideas, and took the name of Grand Orient. In 1795 Count d'Aranda having lost his liberty, his nominee, the Count de Montijo, was elected G.M French ideas made further strides, and in 1806 the Royal Order of Scotland at Rouen was enabled to found a Spanish Grand Lodge of the Order at Xeres,[4] of which little more is known. This appears to have been followed by the erection of a real *Scottish* (not *Scots*) Lodge in 1807, the "Desired Re-Union," No. 276, on the roll of the Grand Lodge of Scotland;[5] and in the same year, James Gordon was appointed Prov. G.M. "over all the Lodges under that jurisdiction," "east of Balbos in Andalusia." About this time appeared on the scene the Count de Tilly, brother of De Grasse-Tilly,[7] a bitter enemy of Buonaparte, who made himself famous in the south of Spain under the name of Gusman. Like his brother, Tilly was a stanch adherent of the A. and A.S.R., and—December 17, 1808—assembled several brothers at Aranjuez, where he constituted a Supreme Council of the 33° for Spain. At this time Freemasonry was openly practised in Spain without fear of persecution, for on the one hand the Craft was protected by the French armies who had invaded the country, whilst on the other hand it enjoyed the goodwill of the British troops who were assisting the legitimate sovereign, Ferdinand VII. On June 6, 1808, Joseph Napoleon was made King of Spain, and Spanish Lodges under the Grand Orient of France increased daily. The first of these was established as early as January 22, 1807, at Cadiz

In October, 1809, a Grand Orient of Spain, dependent upon the G.O. at Paris, was erected in the very dungeons of the Inquisition itself at Madrid, under the auspices of King Joseph, to which was attached a Grand Tribunal of the 31.° The Grand Master was Azanza, a former Minister of State. Two years later—July 4, 1811—the Count de

[1] Chap. XXV., p. 393. [2] G.L. Min. [3] Acta Latomorum, vol. i., p. 47. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 229.
[5] Erased in 1843. [6] Laurie, 1859, p. 408. [7] Chap. XXIV., p. 379.

Grasse-Tilly founded a Supreme Council of the A. and A.S.R. 33° in opposition to that of his brother, and in alliance with the last formed Grand Orient, whose G.M., Azanza, also became Sov. G. Com. of the new rite. At this epoch, therefore, we have four Grand Bodies: 1st, The Grand Lodge of 1767, converted in 1780 into a Grand Orient under Montijo: 2d, the Supreme Council of 1808, under the younger Tilly; 3d, the Grand Orient of 1809; and 4th, the Supreme Council of 1811, both under Azanza—who was succeeded as the head of the last two bodies by the celebrated patriot Arguëlles.

The return to power of Ferdinand VII. inaugurated a fresh persecution of the Craft. In 1814—May 4—he abolished the constitution, re-established the Inquisition, and declared Freemasons guilty of treason. This was followed in September by the arrest and imprisonment of twenty-five members of the Craft in Madrid, amongst whom may be mentioned General Alava, Wellington's Aide-de-Camp.[1] Although the plan followed of handing suspected persons over to the barbarous Inquisition is of course indefensible, the attempted suppression of the Craft was only too well justified in those troublous times on account of its unhappy interference with Spanish politics. To this admixture of politics and Freemasonry I am induced to ascribe the obstinacy with which the Fraternity resisted all attempts to stamp it out. Far from succumbing, it consolidated its position, and at its head were always the liberal leaders of the day. Thus in 1818 Arguëlles, Riego, the brothers San Miguel, and others took part in important deliberations in Madrid, resulting in a fusion between the two Supreme Councils, Riego becoming G.M. This was followed by the popular movement in 1820, headed by Riego, which compelled the king—July 9—to regrant the liberal constitution, abolish the Inquisition, and expel the Jesuits.

For three years masonry flourished;[2] then followed a curious state of affairs. Foreign intervention was sought by Ferdinand, and with the assistance of French troops—formerly such enthusiastic propagators of the Craft—the Brotherhood was suppressed. French bayonets re-established Ferdinand in his old prerogatives, Riego was shot, and—August 1, 1824—the king issued a new edict, by which all Freemasons who failed to deliver up their papers and renounce the Society in thirty days, were to be, on discovery, hanged in the ensuing twenty-four hours—without trial of any kind. In pursuance thereof—September 9, 1825—a Lodge having been surprised at Granada, seven of its members were given a short shrift and gibbeted accordingly, whilst the candidate for admission was let off with eight years of forced labor. In 1828 the French troops evacuated Spain, but without having "stamped out" Freemasonry, for in 1829, fresh signs of its existence having been observed in Barcelona, Lieut.-Col. Galvez was hanged, and two other members of the Craft were condemned to the galleys for life.

In spite of all this, however, the Craft continued to consolidate itself, although compelled to exercise the greatest secrecy in all its proceedings.[3] One of the members of the United Supreme Council at this time was no less a personage than Don Francisco de Bour-

[1] Acta Lat., vol. i., p. 265.

[2] A Lodge—No. 750—at Lanzarote, in the Canary Islands, was warranted by the G.L. of England in 1822.

[3] Much which precedes and follows rests on the sole authority of Don Rafael Sunyé, 33°, whose sketch of Spanish Masonry in the Monde Maçonique has been reprinted with more or less exactitude by other journals of the Craft. Either the writer has had access to archives hitherto preserved from public ken, or he has most ingeniously dovetailed his account with the known facts. As I have been unable to find any palpable discrepancies, as these facts—if such they be—were naturally

bon. We may also mention General San Miguel, the minister Lopez, Magnan, and others. In 1829, Don Francisco having been elected G.M. of the Grand Orient, and Sov. Com. of the A. and A.S.R. 33°—the earliest Grand Orient (1767) united with the one under his leadership, and thus for a time formed one sole jurisdiction in Spain, working the English, French, and—so-called—Scottish Rites. The accession of Queen Isabella II. in 1833 did not suffice to relieve the Craft from the necessity of secrecy, but we hear nothing more of active persecution. An *anonymous* Grand Orient of Spain announced its existence to the G.O. of France, and sent in its statutes—signed April 20, 1843[1]—with a list of members all designated by pseudonyms. In 1848 it called itself the Grand Orient of Hesperia. The G.O. of France refused recognition on account of the secrecy in which it had shrouded itself, and even founded a Lodge of its own at Barcelona.[2] At the head of this Grand Lodge was Don Ramon Maria Calatrava.[3]

Meanwhile, in 1848, fresh persecutions had broken out during the administration of Marshal Narvaez. Don Francisco, excommunicated by the Pope, fled the country, delegating his authority to Charles Magnan. Under this administration the Lodges were neither more nor less than secret political associations, until *circa* 1854, when the Craft once more obtained toleration. This is ascribed to the alleged fact that Don Francisco d'Assissi, the queen's consort, was the W.M. of a Lodge held in the palace itself. Of the succeeding period but little is really known, though there are notices on record of Lodges in various cities, and of one founded by France in Minorca (1860), also of a Lodge composed exclusively of Englishmen in Madrid.[4] But the Grand Orients under Magnan and Calatrava respectively, if not absolutely dormant, exhibited few signs of life. It would almost appear as if toleration were only to be attained at the price of a total absence of self-assertion.

The revolution of September 28, 1868, which expelled Queen Isabella, opened the country to the free exercise of the rites of Masonry, but in removing the necessity for union, has had the effect of dividing the Society into more cliques than can be distinctly described. The statements respecting the rise of these parties, their subsequent history, and their present state, are so contradictory and vague that the student loses all feeling of certainty.[5] One fact alone stands out clearly, that the Grand Orient of Lusitania (Por-

kept secret at the time, and as they are well within the memory of the present generation, and therefore susceptible of revelation when secrecy is no longer demanded, I incline to credit them. Moreover, it should not escape our recollection that the position of the writer—33°—would, not improbably, give him access to much valuable evidence, dispersed throughout the documentary waifs and strays preserved in the jealously guarded *Chancelleries* of the (so-called) high degrees. *Cf.* The Freemason, April 3, May 8, and June 19, 1880; and the Freemason's Chronicle, August 30, and September 6, 1884

[1] A Lodge was established at Algesiras under the Grand Lodge of Ireland—No. 347—in the above year, and cancelled in 1858.

[2] October 15, 1848; resumed work 1870; and is shown in the *Annuaire* of the G.O. for 1886. Another Lodge was erected by the same authority, at Carthagena in 1869, but is now extinct.

[3] Findel pp. 654–656; Calatrava—an opponent of Napoleon—lived in exile in London until 1836, was chosen G.M. in 1847, and filled the office until his death, February 28, 1876.

[4] Handbuch, *s.v.* Spanien. A Lodge—No. 1024, "Morality and Philanthrophy"—was formed at Cadiz under the Grand Lodge of England in 1857, the warrant of which was returned in 1875.

[5] As late as July 30, 1879, the United Grand Orient of the sister kingdom (Portugal) declared itself incapable of unravelling the tangled web of Spanish Freemasonry, or of discovering the most legitimate Grand Lodge, or the one likely to prove so in the long run (Boletim Official, 1880, p. 76).

tugal) commenced to warrant Lodges in Spain, and at this day numbers almost as large a following as any other of the rival Grand Bodies.

The first step of importance appears to have been the revival of Calatrava's National Grand Orient of Spain in 1869. Contemporaneous with this was the revival under Magnan of his Grand Orient and Supreme Council. In 1870 he left for Santander, and his office was therefore transferred to Ruiz Zorilla. For this purpose Zorilla had in four days been passed from the humble position of a candidate for initiation through all the 33 degrees, one step—Knight of the East—having been conferred in the Iberian Grand Orient, a body which had been recently established in Spain by the G.O. of Portugal, a rival of the G.O. of Lusitania. G.M. Zorilla was prime minister during the short reign of Amadeus of Savoy, and during his tenure of office a treaty was entered into between the Grand Orients of Spain and Lusitania, granting a reciprocity of jurisdiction to the two contracting parties, February 12, 1872.[1] On the abdication of Amadeus, Ruiz Zorilla voluntarily resigned, and placed his powers at the disposal of the Craft, January 1, 1874. It was then agreed by some of the "Puissant" and "Illustrious" members of the 33° that Zorilla's reign should be considered as *non avenu*, null and void, and that Magnan should resume command as though his rule had never suffered interruption. Magnan appointed Carvajal as Lieut. G. Com., and immediately resigned in his favor. Carvajal was succeeded in turn as Sov. G. Com. by Ferrer, Conder, Avalos, Oriero, and Panzanoy y Almirall.

Some of the brethren, however, objecting to this resumption by Magnan as *ultra vires*, seceded and elected as Sov. G. Com., General La Somera in succession to Zorilla. Somera resigned after a twelvemonth in favor of Sagasta, afterwards Prime Minister, and the latter was followed by Antonio Romero Ortez, Governor of the Bank of Spain, who, dying early in 1884, was succeeded by Don Manuel Becerra. Under Somera, 1874-75, this Grand Lodge (it has dropped the title Orient) absorbed the Iberian Grand Orient mentioned above.

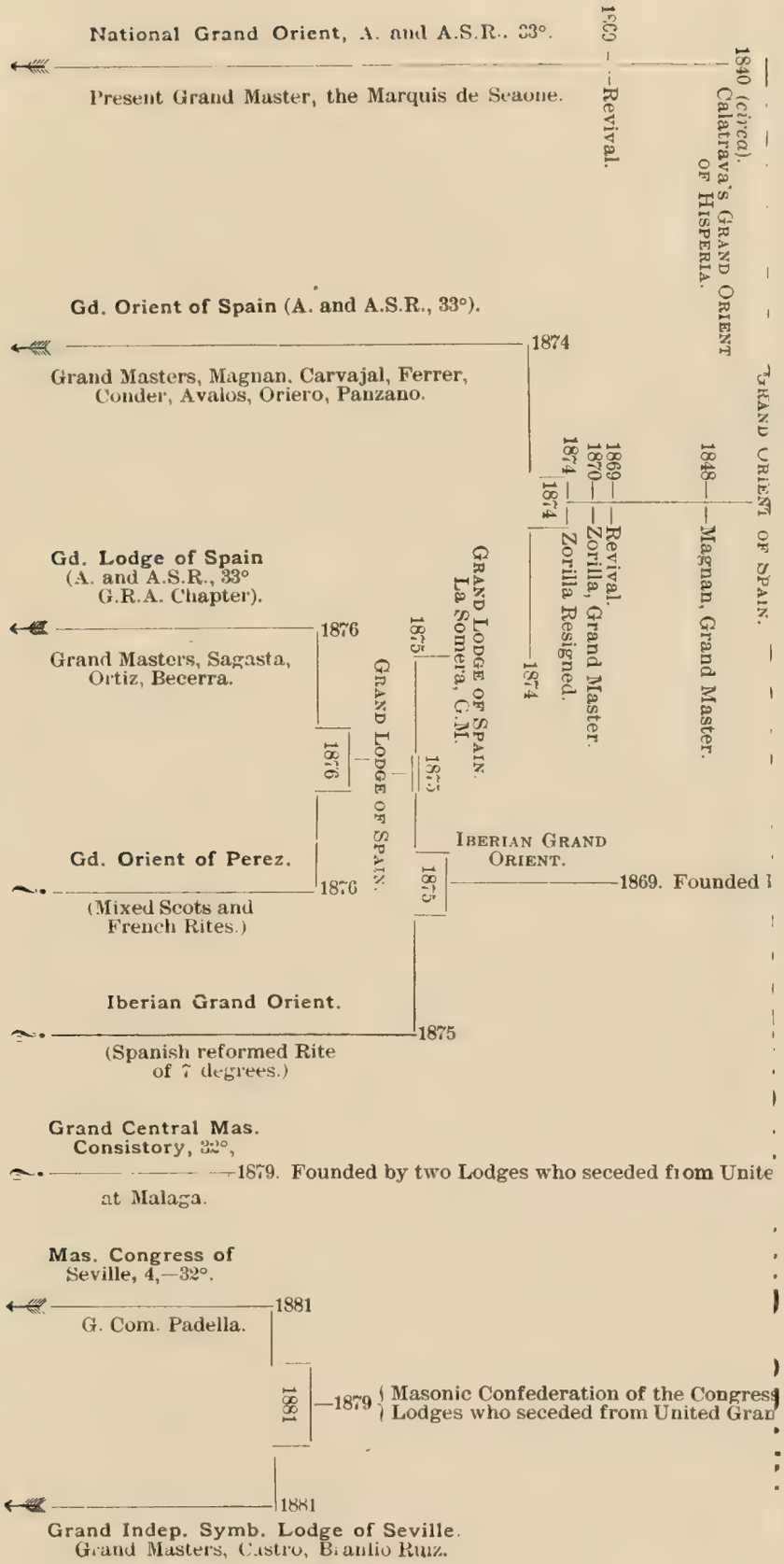
Besides these two Grand Orients there exists at present a National G.O. of Spain under the Marquis de Seoane. This National G.O. is Calatrava's Grand Orient of Hisperia, which is first heard of *circa* 1840-43. Calatrava must have considered himself at that date legitimately descended from the original Grand Lodge and the English Prov. G.L., for the official documents bear the following dates:—Grand Lodge, 1728;[2] Grand Orient, 1780; Supreme Council, 1808. Calatrava continued to be G.M. until his death, February 28, 1876.

But these three bodies not being sufficient for our Spanish brethren, a fresh schism arose in 1875. When Somera resigned—December 27, 1875—a certain Juan Antonio Perez, 30°, disapproving of Sagasta's election, induced a friend to pass him to the 33°, and erected a Grand Orient—comprising a Supreme Council and Grand Lodge—of his own. By dint of self-assertion this Grand Orient would appear to have prospered fairly well, judging from observations in the *Boletim Official* of the U.G. Lusitanian Orient for 1880, and the recognition of its Grand Lodge by several governing Craft bodies in America. I am unable to say whether it still exists, or has submitted to the authority of some other Grand Body in Spain. Perez is left unnoticed by the current Masonic journals, nor does his name appear in any of the numerous Calendars of the Craft—native and foreign—which I have consulted.

[1] Cosmopolitan Calendar, 1875, p. 217.

[2] The year in which the Duke of Wharton founded the first Lodge in Madrid.

CHART No. 6.


National Grand Orient, A. and A.S.R., 33°.
Present Grand Master, the Marquis de Seaone.
1869 — Revival.
1840 (circa). Calatrava's Grand Orient of Hisperia.
Grand Orient of Spain.
Gd. Orient of Spain (A. and A.S.R., 33°).
1874
Grand Masters, Magnan, Carvajal, Ferrer, Conder, Avalos, Oriero, Panzano.
1869 — Revival.
1870 — Zorilla, Grand Master.
1874 — Zorilla Resigned.
1874
1848 — Magnan, Grand Master.
Gd. Lodge of Spain (A. and A.S.R., 33° G.R.A. Chapter).
1876
Grand Masters, Sagasta, Ortiz, Becerra.
Grand Lodge of Spain. La Somera, G.M.
1875
1876
Grand Lodge of Spain.
1875
Iberian Grand Orient.
Gd. Orient of Perez.
1876
(Mixed Scots and French Rites.)
1869. Founded I
Iberian Grand Orient.
1875
(Spanish reformed Rite of 7 degrees.)
Grand Central Mas. Consistory, 32°,
1879. Founded by two Lodges who seceded from Unite
at Malaga.
Mas. Congress of Seville, 4,—32°.
1881
G. Com. Padella.
1881
1879 { Masonic Confederation of the Congress
{ Lodges who seceded from United Gran
1881
Grand Indep. Symb. Lodge of Seville.
Grand Masters, Castro, Brantio Ruiz.

tugal) commenced to warrant Lodges in Spain, and at this day numbers almost as large a following as any other of the rival Grand Bodies.

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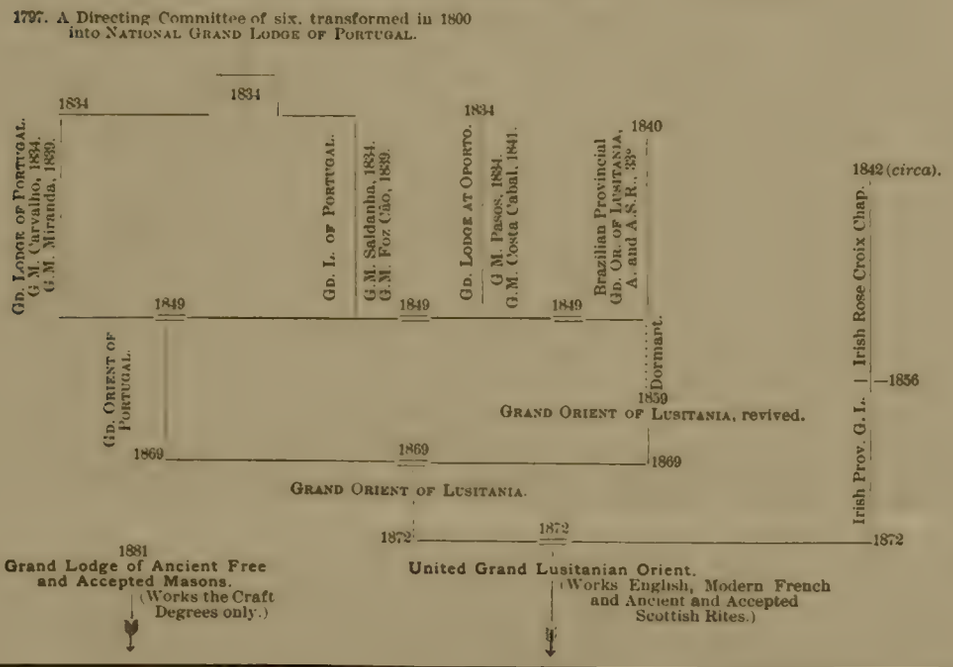
[1] Cosmopolitan Calendar, 1875, p. 217.

[2] The year in which the Duke of Wharton founded the first Lodge in Madrid.

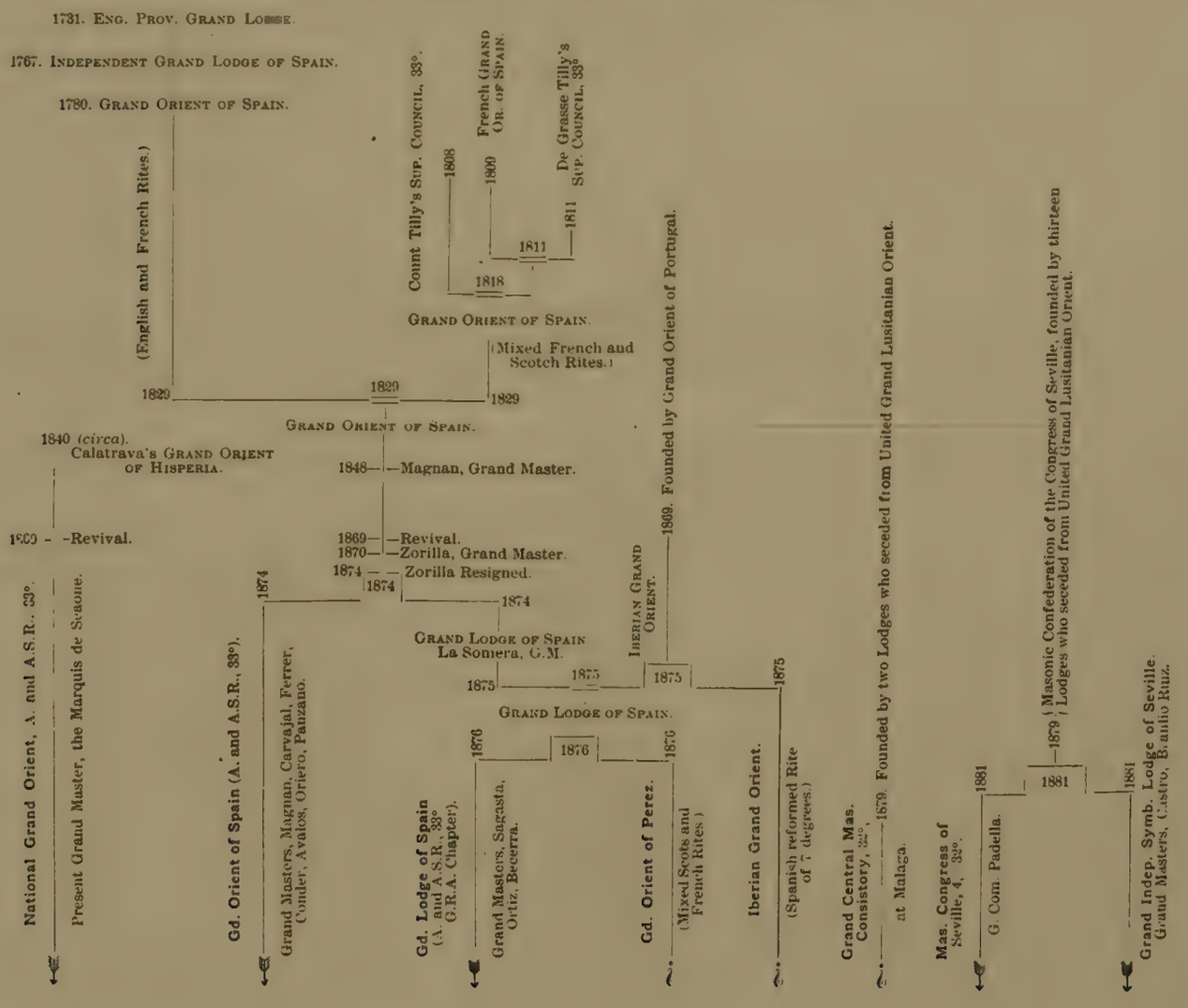
CHART No. 6.

TABLE OF GRAND LODGES OF PORTUGAL AND SPAIN.

PORTUGUESE GRAND LODGES.



SPANISH GRAND LODGES.



On December 28, 1879, two Lodges withdrew from the Grand Lusitanian Orient in a perfectly legal manner, and formed themselves into a Grand Central Masonic Consistory 32° at Malaga, with the professed intention of remaining independent for a time, and eventually joining the Grand Orient, which should ultimately succeed in being universally recognized.

With a similar intention 13 Lodges of this same Grand Orient withdrew from its jurisdiction at about the same time, and formed themselves into a Masonic Confederation of the Congress of Seville, extending their sway also to the 32° only. The modesty with which these two bodies refrain from establishing a Supreme Council 33° proves at least the sincerity of their protestations. At the head of this Confederation is J. L. Padilla, 33°.

A further proof of the good intentions of this Confederation may be hailed with hope and rejoicing, although it has had the effect of still further increasing the number of governing bodies. On February 7, 1881, it divested itself of all control over Freemasonry, and now declares in its very title that it has jurisdiction "over the 4th and 32nd degrees" only. This at least was a wise step, in which it followed the example set in many other countries by bodies assuming the title of Supreme Council, A. and A.S.R. 33°.

As a result, on the same date, February 7, the members of the Craft erected a Grand Spanish Independent Symbolic Lodge, "with jurisdiction over the first three degrees," at Seville, under Grand Master Castro, who has since been succeeded by Branlio Ruiz. In a circular of July 29, 1883, the number of subordinate Lodges under this Grand Body is stated to be twenty-one.

I think it quite possible that one more Grand Lodge exists—for when the Iberian Grand Orient was absorbed in 1874 by Somera, some Lodges, nine in all, increased to twelve by three seceders from Somera's Grand Lodge, were dissatisfied with the arrangement, and dissenting from the majority, revived or continued the Iberian G.O. In 1876 it reduced the 33 degrees to 7, condensing the pith of all the others, thus forming the Spanish reformed rite.[1] On the other hand it may be long since extinct.

All these Grand Bodies, with the exception of the one at Seville, work the A. and A.S.R. 33°; that of Perez superadds the modern French Rite of 7 degrees. Of their strength it is impossible to present any statistics, Spanish Lodges being most ephemeral in their nature. The official lists as given in the various Masonic Calendars of current date are of little avail, for they comprise Lodges which long since became extinct. Thus Becerra's Grand Lodge has an *apparent* following of 299 subordinate Lodges, and according to an official bulletin issued eighty-two new charters in 1882. But the *Freemason* of August 7, 1880, gives a list of the active Lodges under this G.M., and although the last number is 142, the total of Lodges only mounts up to 45, or about a third. If we apply this scale of proportion—where necessary—to the last lists at my disposal, we obtain (approximately) —Grand National Orient, 1885, 60 Lodges; Grand Lodge, 1885, 100; G.O. of Perez, 1881, 60; G.O. of Portugal, 1885, Lodges in Spain, 41; G.O. of France, 1886, 1; Supreme Council 33° of France, 1885, 5; G.O. of Italy, 1885, 1; and the Grand Lodge of Seville, 1885, 25. The accompanying table of Spanish Grand Lodges may help to make the subject a little less confused; but I have omitted as beside the question non-Spanish Grand Lodges which possess daughter Lodges in the Peninsula.

[1] Handbuch, *s.v.* Spanien.

Greece.

Freemasonry was late in obtaining a footing on the mainland of this kingdom, but somewhat earlier accounts come to us from what is now an integral part of the territory of Greece, viz., the Ionian Islands. These islands, in early days the prey of Naples, Genoa, and Venice, were ceded to France in 1797. They were next successively taken possession of by Russia and Turkey in 1800, by France in 1807, and by England in 1809. The G. O. of France founded a Lodge at Corfu—St. Napoleon—in 1809, and a second in 1810. In 1815 the islands were formed into the Ionian Republic under the protection of England, and a Lodge, No. 654, "Pythagoras" (to which a Royal Arch Chapter was subsequently attached), was erected at Corfu in 1837. About 1840 we hear also of a Grand Lodge of Greece at Corfu,[1] with Angelo Calichiopulo as G.M. He died November 13, 1842, and further information respecting this Grand Lodge is altogether wanting. Another English Lodge—No. 1182, Star of the East—was established at Zante in 1861. This and Lodge Pythagoras are still active. The Lodges under the G.O. of France (1809-10) are extinct, but two others were constituted by the same authority at Corfu—Phœnix, 1843—and at Zante—Star, 1859,—the former of which survives at this day.

On the mainland there was in existence in 1866 a Provincial Grand Lodge or Directory under the Grand Orient of Italy, with eight subordinate Lodges—at Syra, Athens, Pirœus, Chalkis, Corfu, Patras, Lamia, and Argos—dating from 1860-1866. In 1867, these eight Lodges, with the consent of the G.O. of Italy, formed themselves into an independent Grand Lodge of Greece. A council of nine members to direct the Grand Lodge was appointed by the representatives of the Lodges, July 9, 1872. By this council—July 11—Prince Rhodocanakis of Scio was elected G.M., and retained the office until 1881, when he was succeeded by Nicholas Damaschino. The Grand Lodge shook off the fetters of the high degrees, but otherwise retains much of an Italian impress. A Supreme Council 33° was, however, formed at a later period for the degrees of the A. and A.S.R., with the same individuals as office-bearers as in the Grand Lodge, but without any control over or influence in the latter. Of the subordinate Lodges, six are in a flourishing condition—at Athens, 3; Pirœus, Corfu, and Zante, 1 each—but the others can hardly be said to exist.

Turkey.

Turkey can hardly be said to enter into the family of Grand Lodges at all, and possesses no independent or National Grand Lodge. Lodges, however, exist at Constantinople, Smyrna, Damascus, Beyrout, and Ephesus, hailing from England, Scotland, France, Italy, and Ireland. A warrant was also *granted* for a Lodge—the Royal Solomon—at Jerusalem, by the Grand Lodge of Canada in 1873! The earliest allusion to Masonry in Turkey that I have met with occurs in the *St. James' Evening Post* of 1738, where, in a letter from Florence, dated May 24 of that year—which has been already referred to[2]—there ap-

[1] Latomia, iv., p. 158.

[2] *Ante*, p. 108, note 5.

pears:—"We hear from Constantinople that the Lodges of Smyrna and Aleppo are greatly increased, and that several Turks of distinction have been admitted into them."

No Lodge, however, seems to have been erected in Turkey by virtue of any warrant or patent from a legitimate governing body until February 3, 1748, when, as related at an earlier page, a Lodge was constituted at Aleppo, either by, or under the auspices of, Alexander Drummond. This worthy, however, before receiving a "provincial commission" from the Grand Lodge of Scotland, "had taken up his residence at Alexandretta in Turkey, and erected several Mason Lodges in that part of the country."[1]

The curious manner in which the grant of an early Scottish charter was sometimes recorded, will be seen in the note below,[2] which evidently refers to a later Lodge established by Drummond at Aleppo, though singular to state—no corresponding entry is to be found in the books of the Grand Lodge.

Dr. Dionysius Manasse was appointed English Prov. G.M. "for all Armenia in the East Indies," by Earl Ferrers, 1762-64, and his name only disappears from the official lists in 1805! Of this personage nothing further is known. Lodges came into existence, as we have already seen, under the Grand Lodge (and G.O.) of Geneva, in 1769 and 1787, at Constantinople and Smyrna respectively.[3]

After this period there is nothing to record until we approach our own times. Lodges were established at Constantinople (Pera) by the Grand Lodge of England—Oriental, No. 988—1856; by the Grand Orient of France—L'Ètoile Du Bosphore—1858; and by the Grand Lodge of Ireland—166—1865. The Grand Lodge of Scotland has been represented in Turkey (Syria) since 1861 by the Palestine Lodge, No. 415, at Beyrout. The Lodges under the G.O. of Italy have been previously referred to.[4]

In 1859—June 1—the Grand Lodge of England was informed by the Board of General Purposes that a communication had been received from the Oriental Lodge, No. 988, at Constantinople, respecting the existence of irregular Lodges at Smyrna. The Board expressed their belief that the Lodges in question—named Ionic, Anatolia, and Benzenzia—were irregular assemblies, and that the so-called Grand Lodge of Turkey, formed of those three Lodges, was also an irregular body until the same date.

At the next meeting of Grand Lodge—June 23—the President of the Board again called attention "to what was called 'The Grand Lodge of Turkey,' and explained that it had been formed by a brother who was at Smyrna at the end of the Crimean war, and who, it was stated—but no proof had been brought forward on the subject—was in possession of an Irish warrant. That this brother made about twenty Masons, and divided them into three Lodges, which afterwards called themselves 'The Grand Lodge of Turkey.' He therefore moved—'That the W. Masters of all regular Lodges be cautioned against receiving persons claiming admission (either as Visitors or joining Members) on the ground of

[1] Chap. XXIII., p. 307; Lawrie, 1804, p. 165.

[2] The following extracts from the Minutes of Lodge Canongate Kilwinning, Edinburgh, have been supplied to me by Mr. A. Mackenzie:—April 8, 1752, "The Lodge being mett according to adjournment .·. .·. at the same time a charter for constituting a lodge at Alleppo was signed by the Most Worshipful Master and the other proper office-bearers of the Grand Lodge, and also by the office-bearers of this Lodge." June 24, 1760, "the R. W. Master Desired leave to resign that office, and having accordingly declared the Chair vacant, he proposed for his successor our R. W. Brother, Alexander Drummond, Esq., late His Majesty's Consul at Aleppo."

[3] *Ante*, p. 96.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 110.

their having been initiated by such irregular Lodges in Smyrna'—which was ordered accordingly."[1]

In 1861 the English Lodges were united in a District Grand Lodge under the British Ambassador, Sir Henry Bulwer, as D.G.M., who was followed in 1869 by John Porter Brown, and in 1873 by Stephen Scouloudi. The number of English Lodges within what for convenience sake may be termed the jurisdiction—for there is at present no District Grand Lodge—is ten—at Smyrna, 6; Constantinople, 3; and Ephesus, 1—an eleventh, composed of Germans, having been unable to maintain its existence. The Grand Orient of France owns 4 Lodges—Constantinople, 3; Beyrout, 1; that of Italy 3—Constantinople, 2; Damascus, 1; and the Grand Lodges of Ireland and Scotland 1 each—at Constantinople and Beyrout respectively.

The Turks, however, are said to have always had secret societies of their own, that of the Begtaschi—it is alleged—numbering many thousands of Mussulmans in its ranks, and in which brotherhood none but a true Moslem can be admitted. The Begtaschi possess certain signs and passwords by which they are enabled to distinguish "true brethren" from vagabond impostors.

The Ancient and Accepted Scots Rite is represented by a Supreme Council 33° of Turkey, founded about 1869, with J. P. Brown as Sovereign Grand Commander. In 1872 he was succeeded by His Highness Prince Halim Pasha, the present head of the Turkish high branch of the rite. The operations of this body are, however, confined to the so-called high degrees, so that Turkey can hardly be said to boast of an independent national Masonry.

Roumania.

Prior to 1859 we hear nothing of Freemasonry in this principality. In that year, however, the G.O. of France warranted a Lodge in Bucharest, and the example was followed by others, so that in 1880 Lodges existed as follows:— Under the G.O. of France, 9; G.O. of Italy, 10; and the Grand Lodge of Hungary, 1. On September 8, 1880, the National Grand Lodge of Roumania was formed, and the official list of 1882 shows 19 Lodges, while that of 1884 presents us with the names of 23. But it may be observed that if Roumania began late, it lost no time in acquiring every possible grade and rite that Masonic inventors could supply. On June 24, 1881, the Supreme Council of the Rite of Memphis 95° was erected; on September 8, 1881, the Supreme Council 33° of the A. and A.S.R.; in 1882 the Supreme Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons; and finally—March 10, 1883—the Supreme Grand Lodge and Temple of the Swedenborgian Rite of Roumania. The Grand Lodge follows the Memphis or Ancient and Primitive Rite, with 23 Lodges as already stated, besides 9 Rose Croix Chapters, 1 Senate of Kadosch, 1 Grand Tribunal, and the Supreme Council. The Supreme R.A. Chapter has only 1 subordinate Chapter. The A. and A.S.R. 33° possesses 4 Lodges and 3 Chapters, and the Swedenborgians, 2 Lodges. The Grand Master of one and all these bodies is C. Moroin, Captain of infantry.

Roumania is a small province, but the wide world itself could scarcely offer a more choice selection of pretended Masonic wares.

[1] Proc. G.L. of England, June 1 and 23, 1859.

Servia.

In Belgrade, the capital, there are two Lodges under the Grand Orient of Italy.

Malta.

This small link in England's chain around the globe has never possessed a Grand Lodge of its own, but deserves mention, because at the time of the revival, and until the close of the last century, it was an independent state governed by the military order of the Knights of Malta. It has been repeated *ad nauseam* by foreign writers that the Knights were inimical to the Craft, but so far from this being the case, it has been clearly shown by a recent writer[1] that as individuals they were in many instances stanch supporters of it, and that only officially, and under papal pressure, did the Grand Masters of the Order reluctantly interfere. Acting under this compulsion the G.M. in "1740 caused the Bull of Clement XII. to be published in that island, and forbade the meetings of the Freemasons." "In 1741 the Inquisition pursued the Freemasons at Malta. The G.M. proscribed their assemblies under severe penalties, and six Knights were banished from the island in perpetuity for having assisted at a meeting."[2]

But shortly afterwards Masonry was practised without any great effort at concealment, for an unchartered (or independent) Lodge which dissolved in 1771, reassembled July 2, 1788, under its old title of Secrecy and Harmony. The Master and Deputy Master were Tommasi and De Lovas, both Grand Crosses of the Order, and all the other officers were Knights. A letter of this Lodge is extant, and has been reprinted.[3] In 1789—March 30—the Lodge was constituted by the Grand Lodge of England as No. 539.

The more recent history of Freemasonry in Malta may be very shortly summed up. In 1815 Waller Rodwell Wright was appointed Prov. G.M., and his district was subsequently enlarged so as to embrace the whole of the Mediterranean. Under his successor, Dr. Burrows, Gibraltar and Malta became a linked province, but each at the present day possesses its own District G.M. Tunis was incorporated with the Malta district in 1869.

In Malta itself there are six Lodges, five English—Nos. 349, 407, 515, 1923, and 1926—and one Irish—No. 287, formed in 1851—whilst at Tunis there are two—Nos. 1717 and 1835—both of which are on the roll of the G.L. of England. In the island itself, or rather at Valetta, the capital, where all the Maltese Lodges assemble, the membership, as a matter of course, shows a large military element.

[1] A. M. Broadley, The History of Freemasonry in Malta, 1880, pp. 3–8.

[2] Political state of Great Britain, vol. lix., 1740, p. 427; Acta Lat., pp. 47–49; and Broadley, *loc. cit.* The authorities quoted record the occurrence in almost, if not quite, identical terms.

[3] Rapp, Freimaurer in Tyrol, pp. 134, 135; see also the "Handbuch," vol. iii., *s.v.* Malta.

CHAPTER XXIX.

FREEMASONRY IN ASIA—AFRICA—WEST INDIES—MEXICO—CENTRAL AMERICA—SOUTH AMERICA—AUSTRAL-ASIA—OCEANIA.

Freemasonry in Asia.

IT has been the practice of Masonic writers to pass very lightly over the history of Freemasonry in non-European countries, and to exclude almost from mention the condition or progress of the Craft in even the largest Colonies or Dependencies within the sovereignty of an Old World power. Thus we are told by Findel that "the Lodges existing in these quarters of the globe were one and all under the Grand Lodges of England, Scotland, Holland, or France, and therefore their history forms an inseparable part of that of the countries in question."[1] With all deference, however, the position here laid down must be respectfully demurred to. In the East and West Indies—and elsewhere—the natives of many countries commingled, Lodges existed under a variety of jurisdictions, and if an intelligent appreciation of Freemasonry is best attained by comparing one Masonic system with another, the brethren at a distance from Europe enjoyed in many cases opportunities denied to those residing in London, Paris, or Berlin. The most popular and extensively diffused of the Masonic Innovations which either claim an equality with, or a superiority over, the Grand Authority of the Craft, was cradled in the Greater Antilles;[2] whilst in the Lesser Antilles—as in the East Indies—British, French, and Dutch Lodges existed side by side. Indeed, in some of these islands, there were, as will shortly appear, Lodges under still other jurisdictions than those already enumerated, and the reader desirous of studying the Masonic history of the West Indies, would, in the absence of any further materials to facilitate his inquiry, be left very much in the position of an astronomer without a telescope, who might seek to compute the path of a planet by conjecture.

I shall therefore do my best, in all cases where there has been a conflict of jurisdictions, to enable those of my readers who are especially interested in the department of inquiry we are now pursuing, to take what I may venture to term "a bird's-eye view" of Freemasonry—both in a general and contemporaneous aspect—as existing at any time in the various portions of the earth's surface which fall within the purview of the present chapter.

According to Rebold, "After Holland had become incorporated with the French Empire (July, 1810), the Grand Orient of France assumed the control of all the Dutch

[1] P. 614.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. III., pp. 313, 378, and *post*, p.

Lodges which then existed, with the exception of those of the Indies, which remained under the obedience which had created them, and which carried on the title of Grand Lodge of the United Provinces of the Low Countries." [1]

Thus, for a time and during the temporary obliteration of Holland as a kingdom, what had been the Colonial Lodges of that monarchy, became, in strictness, the only component members of the Grand Lodge.

In another way, as will be presently narrated, the Provincial Grand Lodge of Bengal, in British India, became, on more than one occasion, in everything but name, a Grand Lodge, independent of the mother country, and unless its proceedings formed the subject of a separate inquiry, the student who in all good faith accepted the assurance of Findel, that the history of Masonry in Hindostan was inseparable from that of England, would vainly search the archives of the Premier Grand Lodge of the World, for the names of Lodges that never appeared on her roll, or for an account of transactions that were never entered in her records.

India.

Bengal.—In 1728 a deputation was granted by the Grand Lodge of England to George Pomfret, Esq., authorizing him "to open a new Lodge in Bengal." Of this personage nothing further is known; but under Captain Ralph Farwinter, who in the following year succeeded him as "Provincial Grand Master of India," a Lodge was duly established in 1730, which in the Engraved Lists is distinguished by the arms of the Company, and is described as No. 72, at Bengal, in the East Indies.

The next P.G.M.s were James Dawson, *temp. incert.*, and Zech. Gee, who held the office in 1740; after whom came the Honorable Roger Drake, appointed April 10, 1755. The last named was Governor of Calcutta at the time of the attack made on the settlement by Surajah Dowlah in 1756. Drake escaped the horrors of the Black Hole by deserting his post and flying to the shipping; but though present at the re-taking of Calcutta in January, 1757, by the forces under Clive and Watson, it is improbable—after the calamity which befell the Settlement—that he resumed the duties of his Masonic office.

The minutes of Grand Lodge inform us that William Mackett, Prov. G.M. of Calcutta, was present at a meeting of that body, November 17, 1760; and we learn on the same authority, that at the request of the Lodges in the East Indies, "Culling Smith, Esq.," was appointed P.G.M. in 1762. At the period in question it was the custom in Bengal "to elect the Prov. G.M. annually, by the majority of the voices of the members then present, from among those who had passed through the different offices of the [Prov.] Grand Lodge, and who had served as Dep. Prov. G.M." This annual election, as soon as notified to the Grand Lodge of England, was confirmed by the G.M. without its being thought an infringement of his prerogative.

In accordance with this practice Samuel Middleton was elected P.G.M. (*circa*) 1767; but in passing I may briefly observe, that a few years previously a kind of roving commission had been granted by Earl Ferrers—1762-64—to "John Bluvitt, commander of the Admiral Watson, Indiaman, for East India, where no other Provincial is to be found."

Middleton's election was confirmed—October 31, 1768—and as the Dispensation for-

[1] His. des Trois Grandes Loges, p. 119. *Cf. ante*, p. 11.

warded by the Grand Secretary was looked upon as abrogating the practice of annual elections, he accordingly held the office of Prov. G.M. until his death in 1775.[1]

The records of the Provincial Grand Lodge only reach back to 1774, and it will therefore be convenient if, before leaning on their authority, I give a preliminary outline of the progress of Masonry in Bengal from the erection of the first Lodge in 1730.

A second Lodge soon after sprang into existence, which, becoming too numerous, seven of its members were constituted—April 16, 1740—by the Prov. Grand Lodge into a new and regular Lodge. Of the former nothing further is known; but the Grand Lodge of England, on the petition of the latter, ordered "the said Lodge to be enrolled (as requested) in the list of regular Lodges, agreeable to the date of their Constitution."[2]

A Lodge—No. 221—was formed at "Chandernagore, ye chief French Settlement," in 1752.[3] Others sprang up at Calcutta, 1761—No. 275, *now* Lodge of Industry and Perseverance, No. 109; and at Patna and Burdwan, 1768—Nos. 354 and 363, erased in 1790. As the last named, however, were styled respectively the 8th, 9th, and 10th Lodges, some others of local constitution must have been erected.

Five Lodges—Nos. 441-445—were warranted in 1772, the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th Lodges of Bengal. These were at Dacca, Calcutta, and with the 1st, 3d, and 2d Brigades respectively. All, however, with the exception of the 6th Lodge, No. 442, Calcutta—afterwards "Unanimity"—were erased in 1790.[4]

The 10th and 11th Lodges of Bengal—Nos. 452 and 453—were added to the roll in 1773, and the 12th—No. 482—in 1775. The former were at Moorshedabad and Calcutta respectively; whilst the latter was "with the 3d Brigade." No. 453, which underwent many vicissitudes, appears later as Lodge Humility with Fortitude; whilst No. 482 is described in 1793 as the Lodge of St. George in the East, and in the following year—having then become No. 316—as the Lodge of True Friendship, with the 3d Brigade.

Returning to the year 1774, there appear, from the records of the Prov. Grand Lodge, to have been at that time only three Lodges in Calcutta, viz., (*local*) Nos. 1, Star in the East—constituted in 1740 as the *third*, but which became the *first*, Lodge of Bengal on its predecessor of 1730 dropping out in 1770; 2, Industry and Perseverance; and, 3 Humility with Fortitude. Besides these, however, there were Lodges at Chandernagore, Patna, Burdwan, Dacca, and Moorshedabad, and also at some of the military stations or with the army brigades. The Provincial Grand Lodge under England seems to have worked in perfect harmony with a similar body under Holland,[5] "The Grand Lodge of Solomon at Chinsura;" and the officers and members of the two Societies exchanged visits and walked together in processions.

In 1775—February 15—the Prov. Grand Lodge, "taking into consideration the propriety of preserving concord and unanimity, recommend it to the Brethren who call themselves 'Scott and Elect,' that they do lay aside the wearing of red ribbons, or any other

[1] According to the terms of the Patent, in the absence of Middleton, Thomas Burdell might act until a new Provincial was appointed. It appears, also, that one John Graham was *elected* P.G.M. in 1769 to succeed in like manner.

[2] G.L. Min., April 3, and December 16, 1747. *Cf.* The Four Old Lodges, p. 53.

[3] Dormant in 1788; erased in 1790.

[4] Became No. 292 in 1792, but lapsing in the following year, its place was assigned to Lodge Anchor and Hope, Calcutta, on the *Provincial* establishment.

[5] Constitutions were granted by the Grand Lodge of Holland to the following Lodges in Bengal:—Solomon, 1759; Perseverance, 1771; and Constancy (Houghly), 1773.

marks of distinction but such as are proper to the Three Degrees, or to the Grand Lodge as such"—a request, we are told, which was cheerfully complied with.

In the same year Middleton died, and in 1776 Charles Stafford Pleydell was elected in his room; but the confirmation of the Grand Lodge of England was withheld until 1778. The latter was succeeded by Philip Milner Dacres, under whose presidency the Prov. Grand Lodge of Bengal had a very brief existence. It assembled for the last time January 25, 1781. Doubtless, the war in the Carnatic, which broke out about that time, had much to do with its dissolution, and Masonry in India was very nearly swept away by it. Every Lodge in Calcutta, where alone in Bengal Masonry may be said to have existed, was extinguished, with the exception of "Industry and Perseverance," and even there the light glimmered feebly. But the members of that Lodge nobly determined that the light should not go out

The Provincial Grand Lodge was reopened July 18, 1785, under the presidency of George Williamson, a former Deputy P.G.M., who, on the same date, produced a patent from England, appointing him Acting P.G.M., and directed that a meeting of the Prov. Grand Lodge should be held a fortnight later for the express purpose of electing a Grand Master.[1]

The election, however, did not take place until November 14, when *four* votes were cast for Williamson, and *six* for Edward Fenwick, a former Grand Warden.

The new Prov. G.M. was installed March 17, 1786, although the patent granted to Williamson clearly indicated that he was to retain his *acting* appointment until the confirmation from London of the person who might be *elected* to the office. This led to serious disagreements, which harassed the Fraternity for some years. Williamson was supported by the Grand Lodge of England, but the Prov. Grand Lodge stoutly refused to yield to its mandate;[2] and in spite of repeated protests by the Prov. G.M. *de jure*, Fenwick continued to exercise all the duties of that office, until his election was confirmed, May 5, 1788.[3]

An interesting account of the state of Masonry in Bengal appears in a letter of February 6, 1788, from the Prov. Grand Lodge to Grand Secretary White, from which I extract the following:—

Country Lodges.

"We earnestly wish to see the whole number of Lodges which existed in 1773 or 1774 re-established. But the Subordinates at Patna, Burdwan, Dacca, and Moorshedabad now consist of such small societies, and these so liable to change, that we must confess it rather to be our wish than our hope to see Lodges established at any of these places.

[1] At this assembly, the Wardens of Lodge "Star in the East" said their meetings had been interrupted, because, in the absence of the Prov. Grand Lodge, no new Master could be installed. Williamson, however, ordered them to proceed with the election of a new Master, and engaged to convene a Prov. Grand Lodge for his installation.

[2] A letter from G. Sec. White, dated March 24, 1787—continuing to Williamson the powers specified in his patent of 1784—was read in the Prov. Grand Lodge on August 27 of that year. In the discussion which ensued, the Master of Lodge Star in the East observed:—" . . . Mr. Williamson, whose affairs have long been in a most anxious situation—who has been obliged, for a long time past, to live under a foreign jurisdiction—who now cannot come to Calcutta, but on a Sunday, or, if he comes on any other day, is obliged to conceal himself during the day time, and to be extremely cautious how he goes out even when it is dark"!

[3] The patent, however, did not arrive in India until March 4, 1789.

"With respect to the Brigades, they have been divided into six of Infantry and three of Artillery. This regulation has lessened the number of officers in each, and they will be more liable to removals than formerly. The first circumstance must be a great discouragement to the formation of Lodges in the Brigades, and the second would sometimes expose such Lodges to the risk of being annihilated. However, we shall give all encouragement to the making of applications, and all the support we possibly can to such Lodges as may be constituted."

Military Lodges.

A grand ball and supper was given by the Prov. Grand Lodge, January 14, 1789. to which invitations were sent, not only to residents in Calcutta, but also to "Bro. Titsingh, Governor of Chinsurah, and other Masons of that Colony; to Bro. Bretel, and the other Masons of Chandernagore; and also to the Masons of Serampore, and to the Sisters of these Colonies, according to what has been customary on such occasions formerly."[1]

In 1790—December 27—Fenwick resigned; and on the same day the Hon. Charles Stuart was elected and installed as his successor. The latter, however—owing to the government of the country devolving upon him in consequence of the absence of Lord Cornwallis from Calcutta—appointed Richard Comyns Birch "Acting Prov. G.M. of Bengal."

The Lodges in the Presidency are thus described in the *Freemasons' Calendar* for 1794:—

Nos.		
70.	Star in the East, Calcutta, 1st L. of Bengal, ...	1740
143.	Lodge of Industry and Perseverance, Calcutta, 2d Lodge of Bengal, .	1761
288.[2]	Lodge of Unanimity, Calcutta, 3d Lodge of Bengal, ...	1772
292.[3]	Anchor and Hope, Calcutta, 6th Lodge of Bengal, ...	1773
293.[4]	Lodge of Humility with Fortitude, Calcutta, 5th Lodge of Bengal, .	1773
316.[5]	Lodge of True Friendship, with the 3d Brigade, 4th Lodge of Bengal,	1775
399[6]	At Futty Ghur, Bengal, . . .	1786
464.	Lodge of the North Star,[7] Fredericksnagore, 7th Lodge of Bengal, .	1789
528.[8]	At Chunar, in the East Indies, 8th Lodge of Bengal, ...	1793
529.	Lodge of Mars, Cawnpore, 9th Lodge of Bengal, ...	1793

There was also in existence about this time the "Marine Lodge,"[9] Calcutta, which, however, only obtained a local number; and a Stewards' Lodge—established June 24, 1786—with privileges akin to those of its prototype under the Grand Lodge of England.

It unfortunately happened, that the officers of the Prov. Grand Lodge had always been

[1] Chinsurah, Chandernagore, and Serampore were Dutch, French, and Danish settlements respectively.

[2] Constituted 1771; revived—then consisting of handicraftsmen in Calcutta—1787.

[3] According to the Grand Lodge Records, the Lodge was placed at this *vacant* No. in 1793.

[4] Constituted 1774, but became dormant. Constituted anew by Acting P.G.M. Williamson as No. 14, and given the local No. 11 in 1787.

[5] 1773, constituted by Middleton; 1787, composed of non-commissioned officers and privates belonging to the 3d Brigade, and called No. 10; 1788, the 3d Brigade moving to Berhampore, a new warrant—No. 12—granted to seven members remaining in Calcutta. Whether Nos. 10 or 12 survived in the Lodge above is uncertain; but the latter supposition is the more probable.

[6] Constituted by Williamson; dormant in 1788; erased 1794.

[7] The Danish Factory in Bengal. Constituted—as Lodge No. 13 of Bengal—by the Prov. G.M., March 8, 1789.

[8] Lodge of Sincere Friendship. Dormant 1796–1812. Erased from the *English* roll 1813, though, according to the records of the Prov. Grand Lodge, "doing well, and their members daily increasing," Nov. 23, 1814.

[9] Originally formed by persons employed in the marine service of the Government.

selected from the first two Lodges on the above list, and this circumstance led to no slight dissatisfaction on the part of the other Lodges, who, feeling themselves aggrieved, were not slow to resent the treatment. This it was which mainly conduced to the almost general defection, about the close of the century, from the Prov. Grand Lodge of Bengal, and consequently from the older or legitimate Grand Lodge of England. A Lodge—No. 146—under the Atholl (or *Ancient*) Grand Lodge, was established at Calcutta in 1767, but it took no root, and it does not appear that any further Lodges were erected by the same authority until the secession I am now about to describe. The Lodges "True Friendship" and "Humility with Fortitude" were the first who transferred their allegiance, the former becoming No. 315,[1] or No. 1 of Bengal—Dec. 27, 1797, and the latter, No. 317,[2] or No. 2 of Bengal—April 11, 1798. The "Marine Lodge" followed their example, and obtained a similar warrant—No. 323[3]—March 4, 1801. Meanwhile, Lodge "Star in the East" fell into abeyance, and "Industry and Perseverance" was on the point of closing also. *One* meeting only was held in each of the years 1802, 1803, and 1804, after which, for a long period, there were no more. Lodge "Anchor and Hope" obtained an Atholl warrant as No. 325[4]—Oct. 1, 1801. Little is known of Lodge "Unanimity," which, though carried forward at the Union (1813), must have died out at least several years before.

During the ten or eleven years that intervened between the obliteration of the Prov. Grand Lodge and its re-establishment in 1813, Masonry in Calcutta was represented almost exclusively by the Lodges which had seceded from the (older) Grand Lodge of England.

On St. John's Day (in Christmas) 1809, the Lodges, True Friendship, Humility with Fortitude, Marine, No. 338 (*Ancients*) in the 14th Foot, and the "Dispensation Lodge," working under a warrant granted by No. 338, walked in procession to St. John's Church, where a Masonic sermon was delivered by the Rev. Dr. James Ward.

Happily, Lodges Star in the East, and Industry and Perseverance, were revived in 1812, and on December 22 of that year, accompanied by the "Officers' Lodge,"[5] No. 347 in the 14th Foot, and Humility with Fortitude, also walked in procession to the same church, and benefited by a like sermon from Dr. Ward.

On October 4, 1813, the Earl of Moira—who had been appointed Acting Grand Master of India—arrived in Calcutta. The first Masonic act of the Governor-General was to constitute a new Lodge in that city—the Moira, Freedom and Fidelity—November 8, and his second, to re-establish the Prov. Grand Lodge of Bengal under the Hon. Archibald Seton.

As soon as the union of the two Grand Lodges of England became known in India, the "Atholl" Lodges at Calcutta tended their allegiance to the Prov. Grand Lodge. These were, True Friendship, Humility with Fortitude, and Marine. The Anchor and Hope—which also seceded from the legitimate Grand Lodge of England—is not mentioned in the records of the Province 1814-40.

At the period of this fusion, there were the following Lodges under the older sanction: The Stewards,[6] Star in the East, Industry and Perseverance, and Sincere Friendship (Chunar). Of these Lodges, the first never held a London warrant, and the last was struck off the roll inadvertently at the Union. There were also then in existence the

[1] Now No. 218. [2] Now No. 229. [3] Now No. 232. [4] Now No. 234.
[5] Possibly the "Dispensation Lodge" before alluded to. [6] Abolished December 27, 1819.

Moira Lodge, and three others, constituted since the revival of the Prov. Grand Lodge, the names of which head the following table of Lodges erected during the period 1813-26:—

1. Moira,[1] Calcutta, November 13, 1813.
2. Oriental Star,[2] Noacollee, April 21, 2814.
3. Aurora,[3] Calcutta, June 23, 1814.
4. Courage with Humanity,[4] Dum Dum, July 12, 1814.
5. Northern Star, Barrackpore, July 18, 1816.
6. Sincerity, Cawnpore, January 8, 1819.
7. Hastings Lodge of Amity and Independence, Allahabad, April 9, 1821.
8. United Lodge of Friendship, Cawnpore, June 13, 1821.
9. Humanity with Courage, Prince of Wales' Island, July, 1822.
10. Amity, St. John's, Poona (Deccan), January 30, 1824.
11. Kilwinning in the West, Nusseerabad, October 20, 1824.
12. Larkins' Lodge of Union and Brotherly Love, Dinapore, October 20 1824.
13. Independence with Philanthropy, Allahabad, October 26, 1825.
14. South-Eastern Star of Light[5] and Victory, Arracan, October 26, 1825.
15. Tuscan, Malacca, October 26, 1825.
16. Royal George, Bombay, December 9, 1825.
17. Union and Perseverance, Agra, October 23, 1826.
18. Kilwinning in the East, Calcutta, December 23, 1826.

Out of these *eighteen* Lodges, however, only *seven*—Nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 13, and 18 above—secured a footing on the roll of the Grand Lodge of England,[6] and it is not a little curious that of the two now alone surviving, Courage with Humanity (1814), and Independence with Philanthropy (1825), which were placed on the general list in the same year (1828) in juxtaposition, the latter bears the earlier *number*, and has the higher precedence!

The sway of Earl Moira extended over the whole of India, and he was empowered by the Duke of Sussex to appoint Provincial Grand Masters for Districts, with rank and authority equal to those appointed by the Grand Master himself.

The Acting Prov. G.M.—Seton—left India in 1817, and the Governor-General—then Marquis of Hastings—intimated to the Prov. Grand Lodge that he had selected the Hon. C. Stuart to succeed him. The latter does not appear, however, to have entered upon the duties of his office; and in the following year—January 17—the Hon. C. R. Lindsay was successively appointed, by warrants of Lord Hastings, Prov. G.M. of Bengal, January 17, 1818, and Deputy G.M. of India, January 13, 1819.

On November 30, 1818, an application was made to the Grand Master of India, by eight brethren residing at Poona, in the Deccan, praying for authority to meet as Lodge "St. Andrew" at that station, and also for "a dispensation for holding a Provincial Lodge, for the purpose of making the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone a Mason, he having expressed

[1] Of this Lodge—the only one in India warranted by Earl Moira—the first Master was Major-General Sir W. G. Keir, and the first Wardens Col. C. J. Doyle and Commodore Hayes. It numbered thirty-eight members within a month of its constitution, but had ceased to work in 1821.

[2] Sent £100 to the English charities, 1816; warrant surrendered 1821.

[3] Amalgamated with Lodge True Friendship, 1830.

[4] Composed for many years of non-commissioned officers of the Bengal Artillery. It threw off a shoot in Penang—Humanity with Courage—in 1822, which took the place of the Neptune Lodge (*Atholl*), No. 344, established in 1809.

[5] Owing to the dispersion of the petitioners, never actually established.

[6] Nos. 685, Oriental Star, 1817; 816, Aurora, 1827; 822, Independence with Philanthropy; and 823, Courage with Humanity, 1828; 824, Sincerity; 825, Hastings; and 845, Kilwinning in the East, 1829.

a wish to that effect." The petitioners further requested "that his name might be inserted in the body of the warrant, authorizing them to install him, after being duly passed and raised, a Deputy G.M. of the Deccan." Of the reply made to this application, no record has been preserved.

Lindsay was succeeded as Deputy G.M. of India, and Prov. G.M. of Bengal, by John Pascal Larkins, December 24, 1819. In 1822—December 20—an address was presented to Lord Hastings on his approaching departure; and a week later, on the Festival of St John, that nobleman was present at the Cathedral Church — whither the Lodges had walked in procession—in his capacity of Grand Master.

Larkins returned to Europe in 1826, from which date until 1840 the Craft in Bengal was (nominally) ruled by a Prov. G.M. in England, with a Deputy at Calcutta. This resulted in the extinction of the Prov. Grand Lodge, and the annihilation of all order and constituted authority for a time. In 1827 — November 22 — Lodge Independence with Philanthropy, at Allahabad, so resented the conduct of the P.G.L. as to return its warrant, intimating that its future meetings would be held under a dispensation obtained from Lodge Union, No. 332 (Irish Register), in the 14th Foot,[1] until a warrant could be obtained from England, for which application had been made direct.[2]

The Lodges in Bengal made their returns regularly, and forwarded their dues punctually, to the Prov. Grand Lodge; but as no steps were taken for the transmission of these returns and dues to their destination, the Grand Lodge of England ceased to notice or regard the tributary Lodges of Bengal. On the submission of a motion for inquiry—March 22, 1828—the Deputy Prov. G.M. "felt himself constrained to resign his chair on the spot, and the Grand Wardens also tendered their resignations."

This led, at the instance of Lodge Aurora, to the formation of a representative body, styled the Lodge of Delegates, who were charged with the duty of preparing a memorial to the Grand Lodge of England, which, bearing date August 28, 1828, was sent to the Duke of Sussex, signed by the Masters and Wardens of the following Lodges:—True Friendship, Humility with Fortitude, Marine, Aurora, Courage with Humanity, and Kilwinning in the East.

To this no reply was vouchsafed. The letters of the Lodges in Bengal remained unanswered, and their requests unheeded. The usual certificates for brethren made in the country were withheld, notwithstanding that the established dues were regularly remitted; and applications for warrants were also unnoticed, though they were accompanied by the

[1] In 1834, some Masons at Delhi applied to their brethren at Meerut for an acting constitution of this kind, which might serve their purpose until the receipt of a warrant from the Grand Lodge of *England*. At the latter station there were two Lodges, one of which, however, was itself working under dispensation, and could not therefore dispense grace to another. The other belonged to the 26th Foot, No. 26, under the Grand Lodge of *Ireland*. This Lodge declined giving a dispensation, for the somewhat Irish reason that the Cameronian Lodge had already granted one to another Lodge, *of the propriety of which act they had great doubt;* and that until an answer had been received from Ireland, they could not commit a second act of doubtful legality! The custom, however, was a very old one. In 1759, Lodge No. 74, I. R., in the 1st Foot (2d Batt.), granted an exact copy of its warrant—dated October 26, 1737—to some brethren at Albany, to work under until they received a separate charter from *Ireland*. This was changed—February 21, 1765—for a warrant from George Harrison, *English* Prov. G.M. of NewYork; and the Lodge—Mount Vernon—is now No. 3 on the roll of the Grand Lodge of that State. *Cf.* Barker, Early Hist. of the G L. of New York, preface, p. xviii.

[2] The request appears to have been granted, as the Lodge was placed on the English roll—as No. 822—in 1828. *Cf. ante*, p. 136, note 6.

proper fees. This state of affairs continued until 1834, when the question of separation from the Grand Lodge of England was gravely and formally mooted in the Lodges. Overtures for a reconciliation at length came in the shape of certificates for brethren who had by this time grown gray in Masonry. Answers to letters written long ago were also received; but the most important concession made by the Grand Lodge of England was the constitution of the first District Grand Lodge of Bengal—under Dr. John Grant—which held its first meeting, February 28, 1840.[1]

During the decade immediately preceding this epoch eight new Lodges had been erected in Bengal; and from 1840 down to the present year there has been an addition of 81 under the English and 11 under the Scottish registers respectively.

Although the Masonic jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Ireland has always been a favorite one with the rank and file of the British army, and the number of military Lodges under it has ever been vastly in excess of those owing allegiance to any other authority, only a single Irish warrant for a stationary Lodge in India appears to have been issued. This was granted in 1837 to some brethren at Kurnaul, but its activity seems not to have outlasted the year of its constitution. An attempt was made in 1862 to establish an Irish Lodge in Bombay, but on the representation of the Grand Secretary of England to the Deputy Grand Secretary of Ireland that it would be objectionable "to create a third Masonic independent jurisdiction in the province, there being already two, viz., English and Scotch," the Grand Lodge of Ireland declined to grant the warrant.[2]

In the decennial periods 1840-50 and 1850-60 there were in each instance 12 additions to the roll. In 1860-70 the new Lodges amounted to 19, and in 1870-85 to 38. These figures are confined to the English Lodges, but extend over the area now occupied in part by the District Grand Lodges of Burmah and the Punjaub, both of which were carved out of the territory previously comprised within the Province of Bengal, in 1868. The following statistics show the number of Lodges existing—January 1, 1886—in the various states and districts which until 1868 were subject to the Masonic government of Bengal: under the Grand Lodge of England—Bengal (D.G.L.), 39; British Burmah (D.G.L.), 7; and Punjaub (D.G.L.), 24. Under the Grand Lodge of Scotland, 11—the earliest of which, St David (originally Kilwinning) in the East, No. 371, Calcutta, was constituted February 5, 1849.

The Dutch Lodges in Hindostan have passed out of existence, but with regard to these, and also to certain other Lodges established by the Grand Lodge of Holland in various places beyond the seas, the materials for an exhaustive list are not available to the historian.

Madras.—The earliest Lodge in Southern India—No. 222—was established at Madras in 1752. Three others Nos. 353-355, were formed at the same station in 1765. Shortly afterwards, about 1766, Captain Edmond Pascal was appointed Provincial Grand Master for Madras and its Dependencies; and in the following year a fifth Lodge, No. 323, was erected

[1] Authorities up to this point:—G. L. Records; Constitutions; Masonic Calendars—England, Scotland, Ireland, Holland, France and Bengal; A. D'Cruz, "Freemasonry in Bengal," 1866; Communications from the Grand Secretaries of Scotland, Ireland and Holland, and from Mr. H. D. Sandeman—Prov. G.M. of Bengal, 1862–75; F. Q. Rev., 1838, p. 465 *et seq.*; 1845, p. 377. For what follows in the text—in addition to the above—I have consulted Laurie, pp. 219, 256, 271, 276, 395; Constitutions, Grand Lodge of Scotland, 1881, pp. 154, 160; Preston, edit. 1821, p. 258; Freemasons' Magazine, 1863, pt. i., p. 442; Freemasons' Chronicle, vol. v., 1877, pp. 274, 290; and am indebted somewhat to my own personal recollections.

[2] Grand Lodge Minutes, June 4, 1862.

at Fort St. George. It is worthy of recollection that for a short period this Presidency was predominant over all the other English settlements in India; and during the latter half of the eighteenth century the continuous wars with the French, and afterwards with Hyder Ali and his son, cause the Carnatic to figure largely in Indian history.

In 1768, a Lodge—No. 152—was established by the Atholl (or *Ancient*) Grand Lodge of England at Fort St. George; and in 1773 one by the Grand Lodge of Holland at Negapatam. The next event of importance was the initiation, in 1776, of Umdat-ul-Umará,[1] eldest son of the Nabob of Arcot, at Trichinopoly, who, in his reply to the congratulations of the Grand Lodge of England, stated "he considered the title of an English Mason as one of the most honorable he possessed."

A Provincial Grand Lodge under the Atholl sanction was established at Fort St. George in 1781, "but the dissensions in the settlements had so rent asunder every link of social life, that even the fraternal bond of Masonry had been annihilated in the general wreck."[2]

In 1786—February 20—Brigadier-General Horne was appointed (by the Duke of Cumberland) "Prov. G.M. for the Coast of Coromandel, the Presidency of Madras, and parts adjacent," and under this able officer a union of the brethren in Southern India was effected.

At this period all the Lodges under the older Grand Lodge of England seem to have been extinct; but in 1786 the Carnatic Military Lodge, No. 488, was established at Arcot; and in the following year the Lodge No. 152 tendered its allegiance to General Horne, and surrendering its warrant, joined one of the Lodges under that officer. Of these, four were *added* to the roll in 1787, Nos 510-513—Perfect Harmony, St. Thomas Mount; Social Friendship, Madras; Trichinopoly; and Social Friendship, St. Thomas Mount—and styled Nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6, Coast of Coromandel.[3] Two other Lodges were also *established* in the same year, the Stewards and Perfect Unanimity, which, according to the loose practice of those days, were given the *places* on the list of the two earliest Madras Lodges, and became (in 1790) Nos. 102 and 233[4] respectively.

A Lodge of happy nomenclature—La Fraternité Cosmopolite—was constituted at Pondicherry in 1786 by the Grand Orient of France, and a second—Les Navigateurs Réunis—in 1790.

In the latter year—July 5—John Chamier received a similar patent—as Prov. G.M.—to that previously held by General Horne, and was succeeded by Terence Gahagan, 1806; and Herbert Compton,[5] 1812. During this period four Lodges were added to the roll—Solid Friendship, Trichinopoly, 1790; Unity, Peace, and Concord, 1798; St. Andrew's Union, 19th Foot, 1802; and Philanthropists, in the Scotch Brigade [94th Foot], 1802, at

[1] The last reigning Nabob of Arcot (1795–1801). The dignity was abolished in 1855, but that of Prince of Arcot was granted by letters patent to Azím Jáh (uncle of the last titular Nabob), in 1865.

[2] Letter from Sir John Day, Advocate-General, Bengal, to Umdat-ul-Umará, 1778, accompanying an Apron and Book of Constitutions, entrusted by the Grand Lodge of England to the former for presentation to the latter (Freemasons' Calendar, 1781, p 43).

[3] Nos. 488, 510 and 512 were "dropped out" at the Union (1813), and 511 and 513 were erased March 5, 1862; 511, however, was subsequently restored to the roll, and is *now* Lodge of the Rock, Trichinopoly, No. 260.

[4] The numbers allotted to the Nos. 222 and 353 of 1752 and 1765 respectively at the closing up of numbers in 1782. Perfect Unanimity still exists (No. 150), but the Stewards Lodge is extinct.

[5] S.G.W. of England, 1809.

Madras. These Lodges were numbered 572, 574, 590, and 591 on the *general*, and 7, 9, 10, and 11 (Coast of Coromandel) on the *local* lists respectively.[1]

After the Union, the province was ruled by Dr Richard Jebb, 1814; George Lys, 1820; and in 1825 by Compton once more. The name of this worthy only disappears from the *Freemasons' Calendar* in 1842, and with it the provincial title, "Coast of Coromandel"—exchanged for "Madras," over which Lord Elphinstone had been appointed Prov. G.M. in 1840.

Within this period—1814-42—numerous Lodges were warranted locally, as in Bengal; but 13 only—of which 7 were in Madras itself—secured places on the London register. Eighteen English Lodges have since been established in the Presidency, and there are at present in existence 20 Lodges on the register of England and two on that of Scotland—both erected in 1875—but the introduction of Scottish Lodges into India will be referred to in the ensuing section.

The French Lodge at Pondicherry—La Fraternité Cosmopolite—was revived (or a new one established under the old title) in 1821. Another—L'Union Indienne—was erected at the same station in 1851. At the present date, however, there exist throughout India and its dependencies no other Lodges than those under the Grand Lodges of England and Scotland respectively.

Bombay.—Two Lodges were established in this Presidency during the last century—Nos. 234, Bombay, in 1758, and 569, Surat, in 1798, both of which were carried on in the lists until 1813, but disappear at the Union. A Provincial Grand Master—James Todd—was appointed in 1763, whose name only drops out of the *Freemasons' Calendar* in 1799. In 1801, an Atholl warrant, No. 322, was granted to the 78th Foot, which regiment was engaged in the Mahratta war under Sir Arthur Wellesley, and took part in the decisive victory of Assaye (1803). In 1818, as we have already seen,[2] Lord Moira was asked to constitute a Lodge at Poona. But none were again established in the Presidency until 1822, in which year the Benevolent Lodge, No. 746, Bombay, was placed on our lists.[3] In 1823, a Military Lodge—Orion in the West—was formed in the Bombay Artillery, and "installed" at Poona as No. 15, Coast of Coromandel, November 15. According to the early proceedings of this Lodge, members "were examined in the Third Degree, and

[1] None were carried forward at the Union (1813) except No. 574, which about 1826–27 was attached to the 1st Foot (the Royal Regiment), and still exists.

[2] *Ante*, p. 136.

[3] Among the Masons about this time in Bombay were thirteen non-commissioned officers who were too poor to establish a Lodge of their own, and too modest to seek admittance in what was considered an aristocratic Lodge. They met, however, monthly in the guard-room over the Apollo Gate, for mutual instruction in Masonry. This coming to the knowledge of the Benevolent Lodge, the thirteen were elected honorary members of No. 746, for which they returned heartfelt thanks. At their first attendance, when the Lodge work was over, and the brethren adjourned to the banquet, the thirteen were informed that refreshments awaited them *downstairs*. Revolting at the distinction thus made among Masons, they one and all left the place. The next morning they were sent for by their commanding officer, who was also one of the officers of the Lodge, and asked to explain their conduct. One of the party—Mr. W. Willis (by whom this anecdote was first related to me), told him that as Masons they were bound to meet on the Level and part on the Square; but as this fundamental principle was not practiced in No. 746, of which they had been elected honorary members, they could not partake of their hospitality. The astonished colonel uttered not a word, but waived his hand for them to retire. Ever after this, the Benevolent Lodge—including the thirteen—met on the Level, both in Lodge and at the banquet-table.

passed into the chair of the Fourth Degree" --for which a fee of three gold mohurs was exacted. In the following year, a second Lodge at Poona was established by the Prov. Grand Lodge of Bengal,[1] which, however, has left no trace of its existence. In 1825, the civilian element of Orion seceded, and formed the Lodge of Hope, also at Poona, No. 802. Here Orion, unrecognized at home, aided in the secession of some of its members, who obtained a warrant, on the recommendation of the parent Lodge, from the Grand Lodge of England. A Lodge was erected at Bombay—Perseverance, No. 818—in 1828. Two years later it was discovered that no notification of the existence of Orion in the West had reached the Grand Lodge of England, nor had any fees been received, though these, including the quarterages, had been regularly paid to the Prov. Grand Lodge of the Coast of Coromandel. It was further ascertained that in granting a warrant for a Bombay Lodge, the Prov. G.M. of the Coast of Coromandel had exceeded his powers. Ultimately, a new warrant, No. 598, was granted from England, July 19, 1833.

Up to this time the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of England had not been invaded; but in 1836 Dr. James Burnes[2] was appointed by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, Provincial G.M. of Western India and its dependencies. No Prov. Grand Lodge, however, was formed until January 1, 1838. A second Scottish Province—of Eastern India—was subsequently erected, which, on the retirement of the Marquis of Tweeddale,[3] was absorbed within the jurisdiction of Dr. Burnes, who, in 1846, became Prov. G.M. for all India (including Aden), but with the proviso, that this appointment was not to act in restraint of any future subdivision of the Presidencies.

Burnes, in 1836, may be best described, in ecclestiastical phrase, as a Prov. G.M. "*in partibus infidelium*," for whatever Lodges then existed throughout the length and breadth of India were strangers to Scottish Masonry. But the times were propitious. There was no English Provincial Grand Lodge of Bombay; and under the Chevalier Burnes, whom nature had bountifully endowed with all the qualities requisite for Masonic administration, Scottish Masonry presented such attractions, that the strange sight was witnessed of English Masons deserting their mother Lodges to such an extent that these fell into abeyance, in order that they might give their support to Lodges newly constituted by the Grand Lodge of Scotland. In one case, indeed, a Lodge—Perseverance—under England went over bodily to the enemy, with its name, jewels, furniture, and belongings, and the charge was accepted by Scotland.

From this period, therefore, Scottish Masonry flourished, and English Masonry declined, the latter finally becoming quite dormant until the year 1848, when a Lodge, St. George--No. 807 on the roll of the Grand Lodge of England—was again formed at Bombay, and for some years was the solitary representative of English Masonry in the Province.

In 1844, Burnes established a Lodge, No. 413, "Rising Star," at Bombay, for the admission of natives—by whom a beautiful medal, cut by Wyon, was struck in con-

[1] *Ante*, p 136.

[2] Chap. XXIII., p. 322; and see Chap. XI., p. 124.

[3] So far Laurie (ed. 1859, p. 395); but I am informed by Lyon (on whose authority is given what follows in the text) that though Lord Tweeddale was Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Madras from April, 1842, to September, 1848, his name does not occur in any records of the Grand Lodge of Scotland of that period, nor indeed of any other, as Prov. G.M. of Eastern India. It may be added that the first Scottish Lodge constituted in any other Presidency than Bombay was No. 353, "Kilwinning (*now* St. David) in the East," Calcutta, erected February 5, 1849.

sequence[1]—and No. 414, St. Andrew in the East, at Poona. These were followed by Nos. 421—Hope, Kurrachee—and 422—Perseverance, Bombay—in 1847.[2]

Scottish Lodges were next erected in Bengal—No. 353, *now* 371, Kilwinning in the East, Calcutta, 1849; and in Arabia—No. 355, Felix, Aden, 1850. At the close of 1885, 33 Lodges in all—or under Bombay, 19; Bengal, 11; Madras, 2; and in Afghanistan, 1—had received Charters from the Grand Lodge of Scotland. With a single exception—which reduces the Bombay Lodges to 18—these are all in existence.

Burnes left India in 1849, and was succeeded by a Prov. G.M. of Western India only. In 1874, however, Captain Henry Morland became Prov. G.M. of Hindostan, and was subsequently commissioned as Grand Master of All Scottish Freemasonry in India.

Returning to the Lodges under the Grand Lodge of England. St. George—No. 807—constituted in 1848, was for ten years the only representative of its class. In 1858, however, Lodges "Concord"—No. 1059—and "Union"—No. 1069—were established at Bombay and Kurrachee respectively. A year later, "Orion in the West" awoke from its dormancy.[3] In 1861, a Provincial Grand Lodge was established, and since that date 18 Lodges have been chartered in the district, 15 ofwhich survive, and, together with Orion, St. George, Concord, and Union, form a grand total of 19 Lodges under the District G.M. of Bombay.

Until of late years, it cannot be said that Freemasonry has taken any real root among the native population of India. Umdat-ul-Umarà, son of the Nabob of Arcot, was admitted a member of the Society, as we have already seen, in 1776. The princes Keyralla Khan (of the Mysore family) and Shadad Khan (ex-Ameer of Scinde) joined, or were made Masons in, the Lodge of "True Friendship" in 1842 and 1850 respectively; and in 1861 the Maharajahs Duleep and Rundeer Sing were initiated in Lodges "Star of the East," and "Hope and Perseverance"—the last-named personage at Lahore, and the other three in Calcutta.

A by-law of the Prov. Grand Lodge of Bengal, forbidding the entry of Asiatics without the permission of the P.G.M., was in force until May 12, 1871; and there was at least a popular belief in existence so late as 1860,[4] that Hindus were ineligible for initiation.

[1] *Cf.* Chap. XXIII., p. 322.

[2] The dates here given merely represent when the charters granted by Burnes were confirmed by the Grand Lodge of Scotland. As Nos. 421 and 422 enjoy precedence from 1842, they were probably locally constituted in that year.

[3] It was at my instance that this Lodge was revived, and I had the pleasure—being then W.M. of No. 1045, attached to the 31st Foot—of installing the Master—Colonel Forster, R.A., an old P.M. of the Lodge—on the occasion.

[4] An assistant military apothecary was initiated in the Meridian Lodge, 31st Foot, in that year. The legality of this act—on the source of the intrant being a Brahmin—was demurred to in the Masonic press; and the 31st Regiment being with the Expeditionary Force in China, Mr. G. W. Ingram, P.M., No. 345, took up the cudgels on behalf of the Lodge, pointing out, in an elaborate argument, "that the very ground-work of the Brahmin faith is the belief in one Grand Superintending Being." The journal in which these letters appeared ultimately reached the Lodge—then at Tien-Tsin—when I addressed to it a final letter, deposing that, having filled the chair on the occasion alluded to, the individual whose admission had been called in question was, "by his own statement, delivered to me in person, a Christian." *Cf.* Freemasons' Magazine, April 21, September 8, and October 13, 1860; and May 18, 1861; and for some startling assertions respecting Freemasonry forming a portion of the Brahminical knowledge, see Higgins, Anacalypsis, 1836, vol. i., p. 767-69; and H. Melville, Revelation of Mysteries, etc., 1876, p. 17.

The Parsees of Western India were the first of the native races who evinced any real interest in the institution, and are to be congratulated on the recent election (1886) of one of their number—Mr. Cama—to the high position of Treasurer of the Grand Lodge of England.

In 1876, a Scottish Lodge, No. 587, "Islam"—presumably for the association of Mohammedans—was erected at Bombay. The extent to which Freemasonry is now practised by the Hindus—who form 73½ per cent. of the total population of India—I am unable to determine. The first of this class of religionists to fill the chair of a Lodge was Mr. Dutt, whose election in 1874 may not have been without influence in the diffusion of Masonic light.

The *Indian Freemasons' Friend*, a publication of rare merit, was set on foot at Calcutta in 1855, but was short-lived. A new or second series was commenced in May, 1861, and lasted to the end of 1867. In Bombay, the *Masonic Record of Western India* enjoys an extensive circulation, and is very ably conducted.

East India Islands.

Ceylon.—Masonry was established in this island—which I here group with all those which in former days were conveniently included in the expression "East Indies"—by the Grand Lodge of Holland. Lodges were erected at Colombo—Fidelity—1771; Point de Galle—Sincerity—1773; and at Colombo again—Union—1794. In 1795 the British took possession of the Dutch settlements on the island, and annexed them to the Presidency of Madras; but six years after, in 1801, Ceylon was formed into a separate Crown colony.

At this period—February 9, 1801—a charter from the Grand Lodge of Scotland was granted to the officers of the 51st Regiment, stationed at Colombo, for the Orange Lodge, No. 274. Lodges under the Atholl (or *Ancient*) sanction were also formed on the island—Nos. 329—in the 6th Battalion R.A.—1802; and 340—in the 34th Foot—1807.

Under the older Grand Lodge of England, a Provincial Grand Master—Sir Alexander Johnston—was appointed in 1810, whose name, however, disappears from the lists before the establishment of the first stationary English Lodge—St. John's, No. 665—in 1838. But in the meantime greater activity was displayed under other jurisdictions. An Irish Lodge—No. 62—sprang up at Colombo in 1821, and a French one—Union, under the G.O.—in 1822. The latter of these was revived, or a new Lodge formed with the same name, in 1832.

At the present time there are six Lodges on the island, four Irish—Nos. 107, 112, 115, and 298, dating from 1861, 1863, 1868, and 1874, respectively; one English—St. John's above, *now* No. 454; and one Scottish—No. 611, dating from 1877; an earlier Lodge—No. 446, erected at Kandy in 1865—having ceased to exist. The Irish Lodges are subject to a Prov. G.M. appointed in 1877, and No. 611 to the G.M. of all Scottish Freemasonry in India.

The Dutch Lodges, though now extinct, evinced great tenacity of existence. The two named above survived until within recent memory, and others were constituted, not only in Ceylon, but also in the East and West Indies, of which a very imperfect record has been preserved.[1]

[1] An exhaustive list of the Lodges chartered *out of Holland* by the Grand Lodge of that country is a *desideratum* in Masonic literature. The accounts of the *earliest* Dutch Lodges in the East and

Sumatra.—An English Lodge—No. 356—was established at Bencoolen in 1765, and two others—Nos. 424 and 559—at Fort Marlborough in 1772 and 1796 respectively. These continued to appear in the lists until 1813; but only one, the "Marlboro" (afterwards "Rising Sun") Lodge (1772), was carried forward at the Union, which ultimately became No. 242, and having omitted to make any returns for several years, was erased March 5, 1862.

Sumatra was erected into an English province in 1793 under John Macdonald, who was succeeded as Prov. G.M.—December 10, 1821—by H. R. Lewis, and the latter continued to hold office until his death in 1877, there having been *one* Lodge in existence at the time of his original appointment, and none at all for fifteen years preceding his decease.

At the present date there are two Lodges on the island, one—No. 41, Mata Hari, at Padang; the other—No. 75, Prince Frederick, at Kotta Raja (Atchin). These were constituted by the Grand Lodge of Holland in 1858 and 1880 respectively.

Java.—Masonry was introduced into this island in 1769, and a Lodge—Star in the East—constituted by the Grand Lodge of Holland at Batavia, which still exists. Others soon after sprang up in the capital and the larger towns, of which, however, no precise record is obtainable. A second Lodge was erected at Batavia in 1771, and charters were granted to brethren at Samarang in 1801, and at Sourabaya in 1809. At the present time (1886) there are eight Lodges in Java—at Batavia, Samarang, Sourabaya, Djokdjokarta, Rambang, Surakarta, Salatiga, and Problingo. These are governed by Mr. T. H. Dei Kinderen, Deputy National Grand Master for the East Indies of the Netherlands.

Celebes.—A Lodge—Arbeid Adelt (*Labour ennobles,*) No. 79—under the Grand Lodge of Holland, was erected at Macassar in 1883.

Borneo.—On this, the largest island of the world—if we regard Australia as continental—an English Lodge was established in 1885, No. 2106, Elopura, at the station of the same name in North Borneo.

The Philippines.—Masonry in these islands is of recent introduction, but at Manilla, the capital, there are now (1886) four Lodges in existence; one—No. 39—under the National Grand Orient, and three—Nos. 179, 204, and 208—under the Grand Lodge of Spain. The latter form a Province, and are subject to a Provincial Superintendent.

Persia.

Thory informs us that Askeri-Khan, ambassador of the Shah at Paris, and who was himself admitted into Masonry in that city—November 24, 1808—took counsel with his French brethren respecting the foundation of a Lodge at Ispahan.[1] Whether this project was ever carried into effect it is impossible to say, but two years later we find another Persian—also an ambassador—figuring in Masonic history. On June 15, 1810, "His Excellency Mirza Abul Hassan Khan" was granted the rank of Past Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England.[2] This personage—the Minister accredited from the Court of Persia to that of Great Britain—in addition to having been a great traveller both in Hindostan and Arabia, had also performed his devotions at Mecca. In the course of his journey from Teheran he passed through Georgia, Armenia, and Anatolia. At Constanti-

West Indies are derived from the (English) "Freemasons' Calendar," 1776 and 1778, and the (German) "Handbuch," which are substantially in accord. For a list of the Dutch Colonial Lodges at the present date, I am indebted to Mr. J. P. Vaillant.

[1] Acta Lat., Vol. I., p. 387; *cf. ante*, p. 119.

[2] Grand Lodge Records.

nople he embarked in a British man-of-war, and reached England in December, 1809. Sir Gore Ousely, Bart., who was selected to attend upon the Mirza "as Mehmander—an officer of distinction, whose duty it is to receive and entertain foreign princes and other illustrious personages"[1]—in the following year (1810) received the appointment of ambassador to the Shah of Persia, and was also granted an English patent as Provincial G.M. for that country. No Lodges, however, were established in Persia at any time by the Grand Lodge of England, nor—so far as the evidence extends—by any other external authority. The Mirza Abul Hassan Khan was made a Mason by Lord Moira in 1810.[2] The extent of his services to the Craft we must leave undecided; but it was stated somewhat recently in the Masonic journals, on the authority of a Persian military officer[3] then pursuing his studies in Berlin, that nearly all the members of the Court of Teheran are brethren of our Society.

The Straits Settlements.

The Neptune Lodge, No. 344, was established at Penang (or Prince of Wales Island) by warrant of the Duke of Atholl, September 6, 1809, but became extinct in 1819. Three years later, a Military Lodge—Humanity with Courage—was warranted from Bengal.[4] The proceedings of this body, however, becoming irregular by the initiation of civilians, the Duke of Sussex renewed the charter of the Atholl Lodge, which flourished for a time, but eventually fell into decay, and was erased, together with another Lodge, "Neptune"—also at Penang, erected in 1850—No. 846 on the English roll, March 5, 1862. The only Lodge now existing in this settlement is No. 1555, warranted by the Grand Lodge of England in 1875.[5]

Passing over Malacca—where a Lodge was formed under the Prov. Grand Lodge of Bengal in 1825, but which never secured a place on the general list—we next come to Singapore, where English Lodges were established in 1845, 1858, and 1867, named Zetland in the East, Fidelity, and St. George, Nos. 748, 1042, and 1152 respectively. Of these the first and last survive, and, together with the Lodge at Penang, compose the province of the Eastern Archipelago, of which Mr. W. H. Read was appointed the first Prov. G.M. in 1858.

Cochin-China.

In this French dependency, a Lodge—Le Réveil de l'Orient—was established by warrant of the Grand Orient of France, October 22, 1868.

China.

During the last century, two Lodges of foreign origin were constituted in the Celestial Empire—the Lodge of "Amity," No. 407, under an English, and "Elizabeth" under a Swedish, warrant. The former was erected in 1767, the latter in 1788; and in each case the place of assembly was Canton. The English Lodge was not carried forward at the Union (1813), and "Elizabeth," as I am informed by the Grand Secretary of Sweden, came to an end in 1812.

The next Lodge erected on Chinese soil was the Royal Sussex, No. 735, at Canton,

[1] European Magazine, vol. lvii., 1810, p. 403. [2] Freemasons' Magazine, Jan. 2, 1864.

[3] A Mussulman, admitted (after examination) into a Berlin Lodge. *Cf.* Freemason, June 28, 1873.

[4] *Ante*, p. 136. [5] *Cf.* F. Q. Rev., 1835, p. 460; 1846, p. 375; and Atholl Lodges, p. 62.

for which a warrant was granted by the United G.L. of England in 1844. A second—Zetland, No. 768—was established at Hong-Kong under the same sanction, in 1846; and a third—Northern Lodge of China—at Shanghai, in 1849. No further increase of Lodges took place until 1864, in which year two were added to the English roll, at Hong-Kong and Shanghai respectively; and one each at the latter port under the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Massachusetts.[1] The progress of the Craft in the "Middle Kingdom" has since been marked, but uneventful, though as yet Freemasonry has failed to diffuse its light beyond the British colony of Hong-Kong, and the various ports on the mainland opened up by treaty to the merchants of foreign powers. Mr. Samuel Rawson was appointed by Lord Zetland Prov. G.M. for China in 1847; and a second Province was carved out of the old one in 1877, by the appointment of Mr. Cornelius Thorne as District G.M. for Northern China.

At the present time (1886) there are in existence at Victoria (Hong-Kong), and the Chinese treaty-ports, 13 English, 1 American, and 4 Scottish Lodges; and with a solitary exception—No. 1217, at Ningpo, formed in 1868, under the Grand Lodge of England, but now extinct—all the Lodges erected in China or Hong-Kong since the revival of Masonry in the Far East (1844), are still active, and can therefore be traced in the calendars of current date, by those desirous of further information respecting them.

Many secret societies exist in China, which, under slightly varied names (and spellings), will be found alluded to in the note below.[2]

The best known of these is the Triad Society, which has its headquarters in the Straits Settlements, no longer daring to show itself as an institution within the limits of the Middle Kingdom, though not a few of its members are to be found at and about Amoy. It took its rise some hundred and fifty years ago. The term "Triad" here alludes to a conjunction of the three great powers in nature—Heaven, Earth, and Man; hence it is sometimes called the Heaven and Earth Society. It admits members with ceremonies very similar to our own.[3]

JAPAN.

English Lodges bearing the following numbers were erected at Yokohama—1092 and 1263—in 1866 and 1869; at Yedo (now extinct)—1344—in 1870; at Kobe—1401—in 1872; and at Tôkiô—2015—in 1883. These are subject to a Prov. G.M., who was appointed in 1873.

There are also three Lodges under the Grand Lodge of Scotland—Nos. 498, 640, and 710—at Kobe, Yokohama, and Nagasaki, established in 1870, 1879, and 1884 respectively.

There are numerous stories by the Japanese, during the latter part of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century, of mysterious documents carefully preserved

[1] At the time this occurred, I was W.M. of the Northern Lodge of China, *now* No. 570, and can therefore bear witness to the unity and concord which pervaded all the Lodges in Shanghai at that period. In the following year (1865), a few days before my departure from the settlement, by desire of the associated Lodges—English, Scottish and American—I laid the foundation-stone of a Masonic Hall, which is not the least of the pleasing recollections connected with my sojourn in the East.

[2] Thory, Ann. Or., 1813, pp. 233, 235; Gustave Schlegel, Thian ti hwi, the Hung-League, or Heaven-Earth-League, a Secret Society with the Chinese in China and India, Batavia, 1866; L. de Rosny, La Franc-Maçonnerie chez les Chinois, 1844; K. R. H. Mackenzie, Royal Mas. Cycl., p. 679, and Mas. Mag., vol. ix., 1881, pp. 89, 133; Notes and Queries, 1st ser., vol. xii., p. 233; and H. A. Giles, Freemasonry in China, 1880.

[3] Giles *op. cit.*, p. 27, *ut supra.*

in secret by the natives—precious heirlooms. Several of these are matters of history; and a theory has been advanced that the documents in question were the more important vouchers of Masonic Lodges, warrants, lists of affiliated brethren, etc., and in some instances the certificates of ancestors.[1] A noted Secret Society of Japan, that of the *Komosô*, now extinct or in abeyance, has been referred to at a previous page.[2]

North Africa.

Egypt.—Masonry, according to the "Official Bulletin" of the National Grand Orient at present existing in the valley of the Nile—in form of a Memphis Lodge—was introduced into the country by Napoleon, Kleber, and other French officers in 1798 (?). Lodges of the Craft, however, practising pure and ancient Freemasonry, are not heard of until 1802, when *La Bienfaisance* was established at Alexandria; which was followed by a second, *Les Amis de Napoleon le Grand*, at the same city, in 1806. Both Lodges were under the Grand Orient of France. Others have since been constituted by the same authority, at Alexandria, 1847 and 1863; Cairo, 1868; and Mansourah, 1882; the first and last of these are still active. Under the rival French jurisdiction—Supreme Council 33°—a Lodge was constituted at Alexandria in 1862, and others at Ismailia, Port Said, and Suez in 1867—all of which (except the last named) are on the roll for 1886. Still another Lodge of French ancestry—under the newly formed Grand Independent Symbolic Lodge[3]—appears to have been in existence in 1879. Under the Grand Lodge of England Lodges have been formed at Alexandria, Nos. 1221 in 1862, 1082 in 1865, 1154 and 1157 in 1867; at Cairo, Nos. 1068 in 1865, 1105 in 1866, 1156 in 1867, 1226 in 1868, and 1855 in 1871; and at Ramleh, No. 1419 in 1872. Of these No. 1157, at Alexandria, and all the Cairo Lodges, with the solitary exception of No. 1156, are still active. Two Lodges—Nos. 472 and 707—were erected by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, at Suez and Alexandria, in 1867 and 1884 respectively. Under the G.O. of Italy there are now four Lodges each at Cairo and Alexandria, besides one at Mansourah, but the dates of their introduction I am unable to give.

The Rite of Memphis has been referred to in previous chapters,[4] and it again at this point crosses the path of Freemasonry. It will be recollected that in 1862 J. E. Marconis abdicated his position as Grand Universal Hierophant in favor of the Grand Orient of France. According, however, to the "Official Bulletin" already quoted, "long before Marconis treated for the transmission of the Rite to the G.O. of France, he constituted in Cairo the Lodge Menes, and in Alexandria founded a Supreme Council of the Order, with the distinctive title of Grand Orient of Egypt, with authority to confer from the *first* to the *ninetieth* degree, and to found Lodges, Chapters, Areopagi, Senates, and Consistories."

Upon these (and other) premises, therefore, it is laid down in the same publication, that the course adopted by Marconis was illegal, that he could not cede a Rite which was entrusted to him only as a sacred deposit to be preserved, etc. We next learn that the Grand Orient of Egypt, in accordance with powers which are duly set forth, convoked all the Patriarchs—of whom 95, created such by Marconis, resided in Egypt—and founded the first Sanctuary of Memphis in Eygpt, in substitution of the demolished Sanctuary in Paris.

[1] Outlines of a Lecture on Masonry in Japan in the Seventeenth Century (Mas. Mag., vol. vii., 1880, p. 318).

[2] Chap. I., p. 30. [3] Chap. XXV., p. 448. [4] *Ibid.*, pp. 388, 444, 449.

This occurred in 1867, and Prince Halim Pasha, son of the famous Mehemet Ali, was elected Grand Master of the Order, which prospered greatly until 1868, when the G.M. was exiled, and the Lodges and Councils ceased to work. In 1869 the Sanctuary, which worked for a time in secret with a limited number of Patriarchs, also fell into abeyance; but the Rite of Memphis—which at that time had not resigned its pretensions to control the three degrees of the Craft—revived December 21, 1872, when, with the sanction of the Khedive, S. A. Zola was elected and proclaimed G.M. of the Sanctuary of Memphis—Grand National Orient of Egypt; and in 1874 was further authorized to assume the title of Grand Hierophant—97°—the supreme office of the Rite. In the following year two treaties were concluded between the Grand Orient of Egypt—*i.e.*, the Rite of Memphis working 96 degrees—and the A. and A.S.R., working the 33d and some other (so-called) lower degrees. By these treaties, which recited that the A. and A.S.R. (in Egypt) was established in 1864 by charter from the G.O. of Naples—which in like manner had derived its authority from a Spanish source—and that the Order of Memphis (in Egypt) held under a charter from Paris, dated 1864, it was agreed:—That a Body should be formed like the Grand Council of Rites in Ireland; that the jurisdiction "of the G.O. of Egypt should be limited to the first three symbolic grades, and that the Rites of Memphis, and of the A. and A.S.R., should work the remainder."

In 1876—May 8—the Grand Orient was reorganized, and constituted a Federal Diet of Egyptian Masonry. It was resolved that there should be three Grand Masonic Bodies in the Valley of the Nile, each of which should be different, distinct, and separate from the others:—I. The National Grand Lodge of Egypt; II. The Supreme Council of the A. and A.S.R. 33°; and III. The Sov. Grand Council of the 96° of the Memphis Rite. The two latter bodies were to work from the 4° and upwards, never interfering with the three first or symbolical degrees, which were to wholly belong to the National Grand Lodge of Egypt.

It has been asserted that, in the formation of an Independent Grand Lodge, the initiative was taken some years previously by a few French and Italian Lodges, but even if this was the case, the earlier movement certainly merged into the proceedings of 1876. At this period the number of subordinate Lodges had risen from 8 to 15. In 1878 the Grand Lodge of Egypt was included in the family of European Grand Lodges noticed in the official calendar of the Grand Lodge of England.

Down to 1879 Zola was at the head of each of the three divisions of the Diet; but in that year, in order if possible to bring the English Lodges within the fold, Ralph Borg was elected to the chair of the Grand Lodge, which soon after separated from the other divisions, and proclaimed itself free, sovereign, and wholly independent of the Federal Diet. In the same year the National Grand Lodge entered into a concordat with the National Grand Orient—under Zola—whereby the Memphis Rite, "out of courtesy and goodwill towards its offspring, the Grand Lodge of Egypt," agreed to waive its right to work the three first degrees of Masonry.

Zola resigned the position of Grand Hierophant—97°—April 6, 1883, in favor of Professor Oddi.

Under the National Grand Lodge of Egypt there are now (1886) 25 Lodges, with a total membership of about 400. The G.M. is Dr. Iconomopulo.[1]

[1] Authorities:—Masonic Calendars; Bolletino Officiale del Grande Oriente Nazionale Egiziano, April, 1883, and December, 1875; the Kneph; and Letters from Professor F. F. Oddi and Mr. John Yarker.

Tunis.—In this Regency, as in many other parts of the world where the exercise of "concurrent jurisdiction" by competing Grand Bodies is indulged in, the Craft is represented by a variety of Lodges, which reflect pretty clearly the national instincts of the brethren who compose them. The French Lodges are three in number, the English two, and there is one under the G.O. of Italy. Of the French Lodges, two hail from the Grand Orient—Perseverance (1860) and New Carthage (1885), and one from the S.C. 33° —Secrecy (1862.) The dates of formation of the English Lodges have been already given;[1] that of the Italian Lodge—Resurrection—I am unable to supply

Besides the above, a Grand Lodge of Tunis held its first session July 17, 1879, under a Signor Cassanello as G.M., and claimed at that date to have eight Lodges under its jurisdiction. Two years later—May 2, 1881—this apparently became a Grand *Orient* under an authority from the Supreme Council—A. and A.S.R. 33°—of Italy

It remains to be stated that according to the leading journal of this country there is in existence a widely spread system of "Moslem Political Freemasonry." This has five subdivisions, one of which—the powerful confraternity of Sidi Abdel Kader el Chiliani—possesses a college at Kairwan.[2]

Algeria.—In this French province there are at the present time ten Lodges under the G.O. and five under the S.C. 33° of France. The earliest—Belisarius—which still exists, was founded by the former, January 1, 1832. It may be added that throughout Africa the native race taking the most intelligent interest in Freemasonry are the Arabs of Algeria, of whom the late heroic Emir, Abd-el-Kadr, may be cited as the most prominent example.

Morocco.—A Lodge was formed at Tangier—Union, No. 194,—under the S.C. of France in 1867, and one also exists—or at least did so, until quite recently—under the G.O. of Spain at Ceuta.

In 1882, the number of competing jurisdictions in the Sultanate was increased by the action of the Grand Lodge of Manitoba, which in that year proceeded to throw off a shoot in Morocco. This, however, was effected in a somewhat singular manner, as the "Special Deputy" entrusted with a warrant for the establishment of a Lodge at Tangier, granted the founders permission to assemble temporarily at Gibraltar—and subsequently at St. Roque, in Andalusia. The course thus pursued was disavowed, and the commission of the Special Deputy revoked, but the Lodge—Al-Moghreb-Al-Aksa—is now at work in Tangier, which is the seat of government of the "Masonic District of Morocco," under the Grand Lodge of Manitoba.

West Coast of Africa.

Richard Hull was appointed Provincial G.M. for Gambay, West Africa, in 1735; David Creighton, M.D., was similarly commissioned for Cape Coast in 1736; and William Douglas for the African Coast and American Islands in 1737. Notwithstanding these appointments by the (older) Grand Lodge of England, the earliest Lodge in the western portion of the Continent established by that body, seems to have been No. 586, at Bulam, constituted in 1792. After this came the Torridzonian Lodge, No. 621, at Cape Coast Castle, in 1810. The former of these disappeared at the Union (1813) but the latter was only

[1] *Ante*, p. 129.

[2] *The Times*, September 27, 1881. Kairwan, long the capital of Moslem Africa, and formerly a place of great literary eminence, is still considered a sacred town.

erased March 5, 1862, though doubtless inactive for a long time previously, as three Lodges of much later constitution—Nos. 721, Sierra Leone, 1820: 599, Cape Coast, 1833; and 867, Bathurst, River Gambia, 1851—were likewise struck off the roll on the same occasion. Two further English Lodges were established in the district—Nos. 1075, Cape Coast Castle, 1859; and 1171, Lagos, West Coast, 1867—both of which are still shown in the list.

At Senegal, the name given to the French possessions in Senegambia, there are two Lodges, one—Union, 1874—under the G.O. of France; the other—Misa—under that of Italy.

Liberia.—This remarkable State, colonized in 1821 by a handful of freed slaves from the United States, recruited ever since by emigrants of the same class and by the wretched cargoes of captured slave-vessels, acknowledged in 1847 as an independent Republic, governed, and well governed too, on the American model, by the elsewhere despised negro race, with a navy of one vessel (a present from England), a college with professorial chairs all filled by negroes,—this successful outcome of a daringly humane experiment, which has partly civilized countless hordes of natives on its borders, possesses an independent Grand Lodge of its own, with a seat at Monrovia, the capital. I can well imagine that its Masonic history, properly told, would prove both interesting and instructive, but unfortunately nothing beyond the barest statistics are at my command. A Grand Lodge was established in 1867, of which the first G.M. was Amos, an ex-Pennsylvanian slave. In 1870 he died, and was followed by Joseph Roberts, an ex-President of the Republic. According to the Masonic Calendars, in 1876 C. B. Dunbar was the Grand Master, with five Lodges; in 1877, Reginald A. Sherman; and in 1881, William M. Davis, with six Lodges and 125 members. No enlargement of the jurisdiction has since occurred, the same G.M. is in office, and the Rite practised is the pure one of the English Craft.

The Azores.—In these, which form a province, and not a dependency, of Portugal, there is a Lodge under the United Grand Lusitanian Orient. That jurisdiction is a favorite one in the islands of the North Atlantic, as we find in Madeira three, and in the Canaries [1] nine Lodges, holding warrants from the same G.O.

St. Helena.—An (Atholl) Lodge—No. 132—was established in this island in 1764, and another—No. 568—under the (older) Grand Lodge of England in 1798. The former became extinct in 1766, but the latter was carried forward at the Union (1813), though it did not survive the renumbering of 1832. Lieut.-Colonel Francis Robson was appointed Prov. G.M. in 1801, and David Kay, M.D., in 1803, both holding office under the senior of the two Grand Lodges. The latter continued for several years to preside over a Province in which there was no Lodge; but a revival took place in 1843, when No. 718 was erected, and a second Lodge—No. 1214—came into existence in 1862. Both of these meet at James Town, and are still active.

The 20th Foot—to which the famous "Minden Lodge," No. 63, was attached by the Grand Lodge of Ireland in 1748—formed the guard over Napoleon in 1819–21; but the historian of the Lodge informs us, "the political and peculiar state of the island during our station at St. Helena, the severity of duty, the want of a building, all operated to prevent the best intentions ∴ ∴ to assemble for Masonic purposes." [2]

In the only other British island on the coast of Africa lying south of the Equator—Ascension—a Lodge, No. 1029 on the English roll, was erected in 1864, but has ceased to exist.

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 121.

[2] Sergeant-Major J. Clarke, Hist. of the Minden Lodge, 1849, p. 18.

South Africa.

The Cape Settlement was taken by a British naval force in 1795, restored to Holland in 1802, retaken in 1806, and permanently ceded to Britain at the Congress of Vienna.

Dutch Lodges—"Of Good Hope," and "Of Good Trust"—were erected at Cape Town in 1772 and 1802 respectively. These, happily, survive; but several Lodges, at least, in South Africa under the same jurisdiction appear to have passed away without leaving any trace of their existence.

After the final cession of the colony, Lodges under the rival Grand Lodges of England were established at the capital in 1811 and 1812 respectively—in the former year, the "British," No. 629, under the older sanction; and in the latter, No. 354, the "Cape of Good Hope" Lodge, in the 10th Battalion of the Royal Artillery, under an Atholl warrant.

The first band of English settlers arrived in 1820, and in the following year a second stationary Lodge, under the United Grand Lodge of England—Hope, No. 727—was erected at Cape Town—where, also, a Lodge bearing the same name, under the G.O. of France, sprang up, November 10, 1824. A third English Lodge—Albany, No. 817—was established at Grahamstown in 1828. "The Dutch Lodges received the English brethren with open arms, and with great satisfaction. When English Masonry had increased, and it was considered right to form a Provincial Grand Lodge, the brother selected for the office of Prov. G.M. was the Deputy G.M. of the Netherlands, who continued till his death to hold the two appointments."[1] This must have been Sir John Truter, who received an English patent in 1829; for although an earlier Prov. G.M. under England—Richard Blake—had been appointed in 1801, the words quoted above will not apply to the latter. Between 1828 and 1850 there was no augmentation of the Lodges; but in the latter year a revival set in, and during the decade immediately ensuing—1851-60—six[2] were warranted by the Grand Lodge of England.

In 1860, to the jurisdictions already existing (those of Holland and England) was added that of Scotland, under the Grand Lodge of which country a Lodge—Southern Cross, No. 398—was erected at Cape Town. Shortly afterwards, in a single year (1863) two Dutch Lodges were established in Cape Colony, and one at Bloemfontein, in the Orange Free State. This period coincides with the appointment—after an *interregnum*—of the Hon. Richard Southey as Prov. G.M. under the G.L. of England; and it will be convenient if I here proceed to describe *seriatim* the progress of Masonry under the three competing jurisdictions. Commencing with that of England, between the date to which the statistics were last given (1860) down to the close of 1885, 62 Lodges were added to the roll. The number at present existing in South Africa, as shown by the official calendar of current date, is 54, viz.: Eastern Division, 24; Western Division, 8; Natal, 11; and 11 not subject to any provincial authority, some of which were formerly under the District Grand Lodge of Griqualand (*now* abolished), and two—Nos. 1022, at Bloemfontein (Orange Free State), and 1747, at Pretoria (Transvaal)—are situate in foreign territory. Within the same period—1860-85—12 Lodges have been established under the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and now compose a Masonic District (or Province). The Dutch Masonic Calendar for 1886 shows 23 Lodges as existing in South Africa. Of these, as already related, two were

[1] Proceedings, Grand Lodge of England, June 5, 1867.

[2] Nos. 871, 884, 987, 1013, 1040, and 1130—in the Sovereignty, Fort Beaufort, King William's Town, Port Elizabeth, Durban, and Grahamstown respectively.

erected before 1803, and three in 1863. The latest on the present list dates from 1884. These Lodges are distributed throughout the British possessions and the different Boer Republics as follows, viz.: In British South Africa, 16;[1] in the Orange Free State, 4; and in the Transvaal, 4; and at the head of all is a Deputy National G.M.—Mr. J. H. Hofmeijr —at Cape Town.

The relations between the English and Dutch Masons at the Cape have always been of the most friendly character. When the D.G.L. under England was re-erected (1863), the Deputy G.M. under the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands assisted at its re-inauguration, and placed at the disposal of the English brethren the Masonic Hall belonging to the Dutch Fraternity. At the celebration of the festival of St. John, it has long been customary for the English and Dutch Masons to assemble at different hours of the day, in order that the brethren under each jurisdiction might be present at both meetings.

At a quarterly communication of the Grand Lodge of England, held June 5, 1867, it was stated, "recently an objection has been raised by some of the younger English Masons against the establishment of some new Lodges lately formed by the Dutch, on the ground that the Convention of 1770[2] prohibits their doing so, the Cape now being an English possession, and having been so since the early part of the present century. In this view, the District Grand Lodge does not seem to participate. That body is anxious that the amicable relations that have so long subsisted between the English and Dutch Masons should continue. ∴ ∴ After setting the foregoing facts before the Grand Lodge, the Grand Registrar expressed an opinion that whatever might have been the intention of the Convention of 1770, it had not been acted on in the Cape Colony, but that the G.M. of England, by appointing the Deputy G.M. of the Netherlands to be his Prov. G.M. over English Lodges, virtually recognized the Dutch Lodges. It must be taken for granted that both the contracting parties have tacitly consented that it should not apply to the Cape. ∴ He was of opinion that as both parties seem to have considered that the Cape was neutral ground, and the existence of two Grand Lodges having been allowed to continue side by side, it would be for the benefit of the Brethren in that Colony, that as they have gone on working as friends and brothers, they should still continue to do so."[3] A resolution embodying the foregoing was then put and unanimously adopted.

South African Islands.

Réunion, or Bourbon.—Masonry appears to have been established with some success in this island, under the sanction of the Grand Orient of France. Lodges "Perfect Harmony," "Happy Reunion," and "Triple Union" were erected in 1775, 1777, and 1784; the second in order at St. Pierre, and the others at St. Denis, the capital—where also there was a Provincial Grand Lodge (taking rank from 1781), presided over in 1787 by De Beurnonville,[4] afterwards Marshal of France. Other Lodges sprang into existence—under the same authority—"Friendship" 1816 (revived 1859); "Happy Union," 1819; and "Beneficence," 1862. With the exception of Lodge "Friendship," however—which is also a Chapter and Areopagus—all the bodies enumerated above have ceased to exist.

[1] The date of constitution of one of these—the "Union," No. 50, at Graaf Reinet—is given as $\frac{5834}{5866}$ in the Official Calendar. From this may be inferred, that it was originally formed in 1834, and revived in 1866; also, that other Dutch Lodges were constituted in South Africa between 1802 and 1860, which have ceased to exist?

[2] Chaps. XX., p. 226; XXVI., p. 10.

[3] Proceedings G.L. of England.

[4] Chap. XXV., pp. 424, 429.

Mauritius, or Isle of France.—Lodges—under the G.O. of France—were established at Port Louis, "Triple Hope," 1778; "The Twenty-One," 1785; "The Fifteen Articles," 1786; and "Peace," 1790. In 1810 the island was captured by Britain, to whom the seizure was confirmed at the peace of 1814. The Earl of Moira, on his way to India, stayed a short time at the Mauritius, and—August 19, 1813—"at the head of all the Masons of the island, laid in Masonic form the first stone of the (Catholic) Cathedral of Port Louis."[1] Lodge "Peace," after a slumber, resumed its labors in 1857, but is again dormant or extinct, and the only Lodges at present active under the Grand Orient of France are "Triple Hope" (1778), and "Beneficence"—constituted in 1881.

In 1811 R. T. Farquhar was appointed Prov. G.M. "of the Isle of France" under the Grand Lodge of England, but no Lodge was formed in the jurisdiction until 1816, when No. 676—Faith and Loyalty—came into existence. This was short-lived, becoming extinct before 1832, and the next English Lodge on the island was the British—No. 1038—erected in 1858. After which came the Lodge of Harmony—No. 1143—in 1860 (*now* extinct), followed by one bearing the same title—No. 1555—(possibly a revival), in 1875; and Friendship—No. 1696—in 1877.

An Irish Lodge—No. 235—was established at Port Louis in 1858, the warrant of which was surrendered in 1873, but a later one—Independent, No. 236—erected in 1878, still holds its ground.

Scotland is represented by a single Lodge, the "Friendship"—No. 439—chartered in 1864. The fifth and last Masonic jurisdiction which remains to be noticed is that of the Supreme Council of France, under which *L'Amitie*, No. 245, was added to the roll of Lodges on the island, March 30, 1877.[2]

A resolution, expressing sympathy with the brethren in the Mauritius under the persecutions they had experienced at the hands of the Roman Catholic authorities in that island, was adopted unanimously by the Grand Lodge of England, December 5, 1855.

Seychelles.—In these dependencies of the Mauritius a Lodge—Sincere Reunion—was erected at Mahé, the largest island of the group, under the G.O. of France in 1869.

Mozambique.—This island and town forms the capital of the Portuguese possessions in S.E. Africa. It possesses two Lodges, both of which hold their warrants from the United Grand Lusitanian Orient.

The West Indies.

By the expression "West Indies," is understood the large group of islands lying east of Central, and north of South America. Of these the northernmost are the Bahamas or Lucayos—a long archipelago. South-west of them stretches the vast island of Cuba, the most important of the whole group, as well as the principal member of the Greater Antilles, within which are also comprised Jamaica, Hayti, Porto Rico, and several smaller islands.

East of Porto Rico begin the Lesser Antilles, also known as the Caribbee Islands, by navigators again sub-divided into the two groups of the Windward and Leeward Islands, so-called in accordance with the direction in which they lie with regard to the prevailing

[1] Daruty, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

[2] Throughout this Chapter the Lodges under the G.O. and S.C. of France are taken from the calendars of those bodies, and from the lists given by Rebold (Hist. des Trois G.L.), and Daruty (Recherches, etc.).

easterly trade wind. With a single important exception all these islands belong to European nations, being shared between Great Britain, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, France, and Spain. The solitary exception is Hayti, which is divided into two independent native states. Some few also of the Leeward group belong to the South American republic of Venezuela.

Much confusion has arisen from the same name being given to different islands, and from the same island having different names. Thus, there is Barbadoes and Barbudo, whilst the Saintes[1] were at one time called Barbata. St. Christopher is commonly termed St. Kitts, Porto Rico was formerly known as San Juan—the proximity of the latter to St. John naturally introducing a new element of uncertainty. Then we have Cariacou, one of the Grenadines, and Curaçoa. The Bahamas, as observed above, were likewise the Lucayos. Hispaniola, St. Domingo, and Hayti are all appellations for one island, and St. Domingo is also the name of the principal city in the Spanish part of it. Two islands are called Anguila; there is a *New* as well as an *Old* Providence—and the latter was also known as St. Catherine. The *island* of Samana occasionally comes in conflict with the peninsula of the same name in Hispaniola. Three islands in the West Indies were called Santa Cruz, and the same name is borne by a group in the South Pacific, and by the capital of the Canaries. There is Tortuga and the Tortugas, and the following very puzzling names of towns:—Basseterre, the capital both of Guadaloupe and St. Kitts; St. Pierre, a town in Martinique, and also in Réunion (or Bourbon); St. Louis, common to Guadaloupe and Senegal; St. Denis, a town in France, as well as the capital of Réunion; Port Louis, a seaport of France, and the capital of the Mauritius; St. George, the name of towns in Grenada and Bermuda; and lastly, Santiago, the most familiar title of all, which occurs not only in Old and New Spain (Hispaniola,) the Cape Verde islands, Cuba, and Jamaica, but is also met with both in Central and South America.

It will be seen, therefore, that a study of the Masonic history of the West Indies is beset with a new class of difficulties, differing materially from those which have been already encountered in our previous researches. A great part of the information upon which I am obliged to rely, is contained in old calendars where the name of a town or an island is, as often as not, given without any real approach to exactitude. Less uncertainty prevails as we gradually sail down the river of time, but even when approaching our own times, the reference to Lodges in foreign parts (*en pays étrangers*) under continental jurisdictions, by the most discursive of writers, are in too many instances both vague and misleading. In every case, however, I have carefully compared all the authorities at my disposal, and to the extent that the particulars I am about to give fall short of being absolutely exhaustive, I hope some readers may be found who, with greater opportunities than myself, will be able to supply the deficiency.

I. The Greater Antilles.

Cuba.—*Le Temple des Vertus Theologales*, No. 103—with the notorious Joseph Cerneau as first Master—was chartered at Havana by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, December 17, 1804.[2] Other Lodges were erected under the same sanction—Nos. 157, 161 in 1818;

[1] This denotes three of the Caribbee Islands, and is also the name of a town in France.

[2] During the progress of the negro revolution, three Lodges originally constituted in Hispaniola —Réunion des Cœurs (*French*), Concorde, and Persévérance (*Pennsylvanian*)—were re-organized at Santiago de Cuba, in 1805-6. Again dispersed in 1808, many of the members removed to New

166, 167, in 1819; and (at Santiago de Cuba) 175 in 1820, and 181 in 1822. All, however, but the last two had died out by 1822, and in 1826 the charters of Nos 175 and 181 were revoked, because the Lodges had failed to meet for more than a year. The privilege of warranting Lodges on the island was next assumed by the Grand Lodges of Louisiana and South Carolina, under the former of which bodies sprang up Nos. 7, 1815, 11 and 14, 1818; and under the latter Nos. 50—*La Constancia,* 1818, and 52—*La Amenidad,* 1819. Then followed the Grand Orient of France with a Lodge and consistory (32°), 1819; and two further Lodges—*La Constante Sophie* and *L'Humanité,*[1] 1821. In the year last named a circular was received by the G. L. of South Carolina from the G. L. of Ancient Freemasons in Havana, stating that a Grand Lodge had been organized there, to which the Lodge *La Amenidad* requested permission to transfer its allegiance. A favorable answer was of course returned, but the G. L. of South Carolina retained on its roll *La Constancia* for a few years, when the warrant was surrendered by the members "in consequence of the religious and political persecutions to which they were subjected."

For many years Masonry languished in the "Pearl of the Antilles," its votaries practising their rites in secret, but not daring to indulge in any overt acts, which might entail not only expulsion from the country, but also confiscation of their property. At length, however, a faint revival set in, and a warrant was granted, November 17, 1859, by the Grand Lodge of South Carolina to St Andrew's Lodge, No. 93, "for the purpose of establishing, with two other Lodges[2] already existing on the island, a Grand Lodge," which was accomplished on December 5 of the same year.

An independent "Grand Lodge of Colon" was thus established at Santiago de Cuba, and—December 27, 1859—a supreme Council of the A. and A.S.R. 33° was founded in the same city by Andres Cassard.[3]

At this time, it must be recollected, the practice of assembling as Freemasons was forbidden by the Spanish laws, which laws, moreover, though destined to become—after the dethronement of Queen Isabella (1868)—innocuous in the Peninsula, remained for a long time in full force in Cuba.

Several, indeed, of the Captains General and other officers who ruled the island were Masons, and therefore from time to time the Craft was tolerated, but its members being always compelled to work to a great extent in the dark, found it necessary to observe the most inviolable secrecy, and even to shield themselves under "Masonic names,"[4] lest by the discovery of their own, they might incur the most grevious penalties.

Orleans in 1809, where—October 7, 1810—the two Lodges first named amalgamated, as No. 117 (Concord), under the G.L. of Pennsylvania, by which body a Charter—No. 118, Perseverance—was also granted the same day to certain petitioners, "chiefly refugees from San Domingo and Cuba."

[1] At *Saint-Yago,* which I take to be *Santiago de Cuba?*

[2] Two excellent authorities, Messrs. Albert Pike and Josiah H. Drummond, concur in the belief that these were *Spanish* Lodges—*i.e.*, holding warrants from some Peninsular authority. The state of Masonic anarchy, however, at that time prevailing in Spain, wholly forbids an investigation of this interesting point. *Cf. ante,* p. 121.

[3] Under the sanction of the S.C. 33° for the Southern Jurisdiction (Charleston) U.S.A., for the Masonic jurisdiction of Cuba, and other "unoccupied" West India Islands.

[4] *Cf. ante,* pp. 113, 121. Among the names given in an official report dated August 6, 1873, of the officers of the S.C. of Colon are "Bismark" and "Josaphat," but a paragraph states—"the real names of the officers you will find in the enclosed slip, and are not stated here, to prevent their being divulged should this communication come to print"(New England Freemason, February, 1874, p. 80).

For the same reason the Supreme Council and the Grand Lodge, which soon after united in forming a Grand Orient, found a convenient title for the amalgamated body in the name of Colon—the Spanish for Columbus—it being desired above all things to conceal from the public ken the seat of the "Grand East" of the Society.

At the formation of the Grand Orient of Colon, a constitution published at Naples in 1820,[1] was adopted as that of the new organization. By this the Supreme Council necessarily became a section of the Grand Orient. In 1865 a new constitution was promulgated. The Sov. G. Com. of the Supreme Council became—*ex officio*—G.M. of the Grand Orient, but the G.M. of the Grand Lodge was still required to submit himself for election. All charters for Lodges were issued by the Grand Lodge, but had to be confirmed and *viséd* by the Supreme Council.

In 1867 the Grand Lodge promulgated a constitution of its own, in which, while recognizing its continued membership of the Grand Orient, it claimed the *exclusive* power to enact its own by-laws, issue charters, constitute and regulate Lodges. Their right to do this was denied by the Supreme Council. In 1868, September 30, the Grand Lodge *suspended*[2] its constitution until a meeting took place of the Grand Orient, convoked for November 30. But before that time the revolution broke out, and Freemasons being regarded by the Spanish government as revolutionists,[3] the G.O. could not meet. The Grand Lodge, so far as it was possible, resumed labor. But the times were unpropitious. In the winter of 1869, at Santiago de Cuba, by order of Gonzales Bret, an officer of the government, eighteen persons were seized without warrant, and immediately shot, without a trial, for being Freemasons—one of them the M.W.G.M. of Colon—and many others were arrested and committed to prison for the same offence.

The number of Cuban Lodges, which in 1868 amounted to about thirty, had fallen in 1870 to about seven, and in the latter year the S.C. organized a Provincial Mother Lodge at Havana, against which the Grand Lodge very naturally protested. The warrant to this "Mother Lodge" was soon after recalled, but the dispute between the S.C. and the Grand Lodge continued. In 1873—April 11—the Grand Lodge resumed work openly, and in the following year entered into a compact with the Supreme Council, whereby it was agreed that the former should have exclusive jurisdiction over Symbolic Masonry, with the sole right of chartering Lodges, and that it should establish a Provincial Mother Lodge[4] in the western section of the island to govern the Lodges there, but in submission

[1] According to M. Lecerff, however—"in Naples a Grand Orient was founded, which in 1830 [*not* 1820] enacted its constitution and by-laws, entitling the book '*General Statutes of the Scottish Rite*;' these came to America, and happened to come to hand of (*sic*) Brother Andres Cassard, the propagator of Masonry in South and Central America; in establishing Masonry in those countries, he gave the *General Statutes* as the universal laws of Masonry, and the Grand Orient system with the allegiance of all to the thirty-third degree was provided for therein" (Proc. Grand Lodge of *Cuba*, 1879).

[2] This, by the rival Grand Lodge of *Cuba*, the proceedings of which will shortly enter into the narrative, was most erroneously styled a *dissolution* of the Grand Lodge of *Colon*. The Lodges under the latter were in consequence deemed to have become "orphaned" by the former, who straightway constituted itself the foster-parent of a number of them!

[3] I am told by Mr. G. W. Speth, who resided on the island at the time, that the sympathies of the Freemasons were undoubtedly ranged on what the government regarded—not unnaturally—as the *wrong side*.

[4] Instituted in April and dissolved in July, 1875.

to the laws of the Grand Lodge. After this compact it is contended that the Grand Lodge, though still nominally a section in the Grand Orient, had full jurisdiction over Symbolical Masonry. Nevertheless, it is quite clear that there was a divided authority, and apparently great Masonic confusion on the island.

The Grand Lodge of Colon held five meetings in August, 1876, on the last of which—August 26—it declared itself free from all other authority, a sovereign body, with full and unlimited powers over its subordinates.

This action, however, was accelerated by an event which had taken place on August 1, when the representatives of nine chartered Lodges, and of four under dispensation,[1] met at Havana, and formed the Grand Lodge of Cuba. This body from the very first kept itself free from the blighting influence of the (so-called) high degrees,[2] which it willingly consented—December 31, 1876—should be ruled in Cuba by the Grand Orient of Spain. In a circular of September 4, 1876, the Grand Lodge of Colon claimed to have on its register 36 Lodges and 8000 members; whilst its newly-formed rival, the Grand Lodge of Cuba, in 1877, possessed an apparent following of 17 Lodges. In the latter year—June 3—a second Grand Lodge of Colon (or Columbus) at Havana was added to the two existing Craft Grand bodies.

Thus we find three organizations, each claiming to be the regular Grand Lodge. From a circular of the Grand Lodge of Cuba, we learn that in 1879 the three Lodges which formed the Grand Lodge of Colon at Santiago de Cuba in 1859, and four others, adhered to that body; but that the remaining Lodges—excepting those under the Grand Lodge of Cuba—were subject to the control of the Grand Lodge of Colon at Havana. To local jealousies must be attributed this multiplication of Grand Lodges. The representatives of some of the Havana Lodges seceded from the old (or *original*) Grand Lodge of Colon at Santiago de Cuba, met *as the Grand Lodge*, and decreed its removal to Havana.

Eventually, however, the Grand Lodges of Colon (at Havana) and Cuba formally united, and—March 28, 1880—the G.M. of one body became Grand Master, and the G.M. of the other body Deputy Grand Master. The title assumed by the new organization was the United Grand Lodge of Colon and the Island of Cuba, and it entered upon its career with a roll of 57 Lodges, and between 5000 and 6000 Masons. The Lodges under the original Grand Lodge of Colon at Santiago de Cuba, I believe, remained true to their allegiance.[3]

In 1885, the number of Lodges under the "United Grand Lodge" had apparently increased to 82, with Provincial Grand Lodges at Santiago de Cuba and Porto Rico; but from the official List,[4] which has just reached me, I find there are now only 58 Lodges in all upon the roll. Of these, 30 are in the capital, or in its vicinity, and 28 in other parts. It is possible that further schisms may have disturbed the peace of Cuban Masonry; and it strikes me as somewhat remarkable, that the Provincial Grand Lodge of Porto Rico—

[1] Of these Lodges, six were chartered by the Grand Lodge of Colon *before*, and three *after*, 1868. The remaining four acted under dispensations from the *two* Provincial Mother Lodges.

[2] In a printed circular of the Grand Lodge of Cuba, dated April 30, 1879, the following is assigned as one of the reasons for the formation of that body :—"IX.—The majority of the Lodges working in the western part of the Island (then the full majority of the Lodges in the whole country) now resolved not to suffer any more the arbitrary and irregular authority of the Supreme Council and its subordinates, the 'Grand Symbolical Lodge' and the 'Provincial Mother-Lodge of the West.'"

[3] *Cf. post*, pp. 176, 177. [4] In a letter from Sr. Manuel N. Ocego, of Havana, dated May 8, 1886.

with the fourteen subordinate Lodges on that island, shown in sundry Calendars for 1886—have wholly disappeared in the official list of current date.[1]

It only remains to be stated, that from the statistics before me, there would appear to be in existence on the island 13 Lodges under the National Grand Orient, and 27 under the Grand Lodge of Spain. The latter are subject to a Prov. G.M., whose jurisdiction also extends to Porto Rico.[2]

Hispaniola.—This island is divided into the republics of Hayti in the west, and St. (*or* Santo) Domingo in the east. It was originally a Spanish possession, but the western portion was ceded in 1697 to the French, under whom it prospered rapidly, and in 1789 contained 793 sugar plantations, 3117 coffee plantations, 789 cotton plantations, and 182 establishments for making rum, besides other minor factories and workshops.

But the conflicting diversity of race, and monopoly of political power by the whites, led to a rupture on the outbreak of the revolution in the mother country. After fierce revolts of the mulattoes and negroes, and inroads of the English and Spanish, all the inhabitants of the colony were declared free and equal in 1793, and the command of the army was given to Toussaint l'Ouverture, who expelled the hostile intruders, and restored peace to the island.

English troops arrived in Hayti from Jamaica in 1793, and afterwards were poured into the country; but they came to die. The 82d Foot, numbering 880 men, lost all but 50 in ten weeks. Another regiment, in the same time, lost 700 men out of 1000; and it is stated that the 96th Foot perished to a man.[3] Major-General Sir Adam Williamson,[4] who succeeded the Earl of Effingham[5] as Governor of Jamaica, ultimately followed the troops sent from that island, with the title of Governor-General of St Domingo. At the close of 1798, however, when the colony was evacuated, millions of treasure had been wasted, twenty thousand soldiers and sailors had perished, whilst there never had been any reasonable prospect of conquering the island.[6]

The Spanish territory was ceded to France in 1795, but Napoleon attempted to re-establish slavery in 1801, and the inhabitants shook off the French yoke in 1803, St. Domingo in that year declaring itself an independent republic. A period of confusion then ensued, there being no less than five distinctive governments upon the island in 1810. The whole of it passed again under a single republic, that of Hayti, in 1822, but in 1844 the Dominicans reasserted their independency, and the two districts have since remained separate. The territory comprised within the republic of St. Domingo was ceded to Spain in 1861, but again declared free by an act of the Cortes, March 3, 1865.

[1] *Cf. post*, p. 164.

[2] Authorities: J. B. Scot, Freemasonry in Louisiana, 1873; Early Hist. G.L. of Pennsylvania, vol. i., 1877–84; New England Freemason, Feb. 1874, p. 75; Proceedings, Committees on Correspondence, Grand Lodges of Indiana, 1870; Canada, 1871; New Brunswick, 1877, 1878, 1880; *Cuba*, 1879 [by E. E. Lecerff, *now* Ch. Com. For. Cor. United Grand Lodge of Colon and Cuba]; Maine [containing the masterly report of Josiah H. Drummond, presented May, 1879]; and Connecticut, 1880; Letters from Mr. Ch. Inglesby and Sr. D. José F. Pellón, G. Secretaries, South Carolina, and Cuba (*United* Grand Lodge), dated April 6 and May 25, 1886, respectively.

[3] Bryan Edwards, Hist. of the West Indies, vol. iii., p. 411.

[4] Prov. G.M. of Jamaica under the original Grand Lodge of England, 1793–98.

[5] Acting Grand Master of England—under the Duke of Cumberland, G.M.—1782–89.

[6] The loss of the English has been estimated by a recent writer at 45,000 men, and twenty millions sterling. *Cf.* Hazard, p. 131.

Of the present condition of St Domingo, Mr. Hazard, a recent traveller, gives a deplorable account. The fertile plains lie untilled; the rich mines are unworked. There is not a plough in the whole island; and the only steam engine ever set up was destroyed by the Spaniards in 1865.

In the republic of Hayti, on the western side of this beautiful island, the state of things is even worse than in the eastern or Dominican part. All traces of the old French civilization have vanished. There are no manufactures, and the government is bankrupt; the towns are in ruins, and the men spend their time in idleness, living on the industry of the women.[1]

Two Lodges—*St Jean de Jérusalem Écossaise* and *Concorde*—were formed on the island, under the *Grande Loge Anglaise de France*[2] in 1749. Others soon followed—*Frères Réunis*, 1763; *Amitié Indissoluble*, 1765; *Verité*, 1767; *Frères Choisis*, 1772;[3] and a Provincial Grand Lodge—under the Grand Orient—October 1, 1778. These were doubtless established on French territory, in the district now known as "Hayti," though the term "St Domingo" is alone used in the lists.

The remaining Lodges, constituted under French authority prior to the Revolution were—*L'Unanimité*, Petit Goave,[4] 1774; *Les Frères Zélés*, Cavaillon, 1775; *Raison Perfectionnée*, Petit Tron, 1779; *Réunion désirée*,[5] Port au Prince, 1783; *Choix des Hommes*, Jacmel, 1784; and *Frères Discrets*, Cayes, 1785 (Nos. 292, 291, 456, 466, 521, and 591).

Besides the degrees of the Craft, the rite of Perfection, as we have already seen,[6] had been introduced into the island by Stephen Morin in 1761, and doubtless continued to be worked until swept away—like all other vestiges of French domination—by the great political cataclysm, in which that remarkable personage is himself believed to have perished. We have seen that during the closing years of the eighteenth century Hispaniola had become the headquarters of the newly invented American rite, called—but without any valid reason—the A. and A. S. R. 33°, and that on the expulsion of the French colonists the rite in question had been introduced into France.[7]

The Dominican, or to speak with precision, the Haytian Lodges, which had served as the basis of the rite, in most cases closed their doors during the political troubles, and

[1] Bates, pp. 170, 172.

[2] Chap. XXV., p. 397. Down to 1787, where the *numbers* of French Lodges are given, these are taken from Daruty's lists, two of which are shown in his work, and begin at pp. 90 and 142 respectively. As a rule, Lodges constituted down to the year 1772, will be found in the earlier, and those erected after the formation of the Grand Orient, in the later lists. The numbers attached to Lodges under the S.C. 33° are the official ones.

[3] Nos. 39, 41, 107, 144, 187, and 255.

[4] A Lodge—*L'Humanité*, No. 27—was constituted at this place by the "Mother Lodge of the Scots Philosophic Rite" or "Social Contract," April 26, 1784. Several of the Lodges named above were also *re*-constituted by the same authority, but I am unable to record each transfer of allegiance—and shall content myself with naming the Lodges in the order of their first appearance. Chap. XXIV., p. 371.

[5] Removed to New Orleans for the second time, 1803. Duplicate Charter granted 1806. Lapsed, 1808.

[6] Chaps. XXIII., p. 313; XXIV., p. 380.

[7] Chaps. XXIV., p. 378; XXV., p. 419. Both De Grasse-Tilly and Hacquet—who so far anticipated him as to be first in the field with the revived Rite of Perfection—the former a planter and the latter a notary, were residents in the French (or western) side of St. Domingo, *i.e.*, the part *now* known as Hayti.

Freemasonry, which was strictly confined to the white inhabitants, became almost, if not quite, extinct.

A warrant was granted from Pennsylvania, in 1786, on the application of "a *Lodge* held at Cape François, directed to General Washington as Grand Master of all America." A second Lodge, under the same jurisdiction, was established at Port au Prince in 1789, which continued to meet regularly throughout the political convulsions of 1791, and at the close of 1798 (as related in the Proceedings of the G.L. of Pennsylvania), "after having been obliged by reason of the disturbances in the island, their Lodge being burnt, etc., to suspend their Masonic operations, had again begun, and were carrying on their works."

In 1793—December 4—sundry French brethren, "driven from the island of St. Domingo," were granted a dispensation by the Grand Lodge of New York to meet as a Lodge in that city for the period of six months. This, which was named La Tendre Amitié Franco-Americaine, surrendered its acting warrant, June 4, 1794; but the money and papers of the Lodge were delivered—by order of the Grand Lodge—to L'Unité Americaine, which took its place, May 19, 1795. The latter received a regular charter in 1797, becoming No. 12 on the roll, and in the same year was concerned in a series of irregularities which are not without interest in our present inquiry. From internal bickerings dissensions had arisen in the Lodge, and it decided to return the New York warrant, and revert "to the authority of their natural Grand Lodge of France." Accordingly, a French Lodge, L'Union Française, was established in New York, December 6, by Huet Lachelle, a deputy G. M. under the jurisdiction of the G. O. of France, and Prov. G. M. for St. Domingo. L'Unité Americaine after this made submission, was accorded grace, but split into two parts, one remaining the old Lodge, and the other becoming L'Union Française, No. 14 on the roll of New York. With the subsequent history of these bodies, we are not concerned; it will suffice to have learned from the authority upon which I have relied for the foregoing details, that a large number of Haytian brethren found an asylum in New York; also, that the Prov. G. M. of "St Domingo" and four of his Grand Officers were included in the number of these refugees.[1]

In 1802, owing to the arrival of 30,000 veteran French troops, the negro forces of Toussaint l'Ouverture were compelled to retire to the mountains, and the survivors of the colonists who had fled to different countries returned in great numbers, but in 1803 were for the second time expelled. Meanwhile, however, the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania had extended its jurisdiction in Hayti. Several Lodges were erected, a list of which will be found below;[2] and a Provincial Grand Lodge of St Domingo was established January

[1] Barker, p. 227. L'Union Française, No. 14, consisted of twenty-eight charter (or *original*) members. The proceedings of these brethren are highly commended in one of the communications addressed to the G.L. of New York (1797) by Chalon Dayral, De Olior, Verdier, Courbe, and Huet Lachelle—who subscribe as "the administrator and officers of the R.W. Provincial Grand Lodge of San Domingo."

[2] Nos. 46 [ ], Cape François, February 3, 1786; 47, Union of Franco-American Hearts, Port au Prince, December 18, 1789; 87, Frères Ré-unis, the Cape, December 15, 1800; 88, Concorde, St. Marc, May 4, 1801—reinstated September 15, 1806—surrendered September 4, 1809; 89, Freres Sincèrement Réunis, Cayes, May 4, 1801; 95, Humilité, Lusé à Veau, December 6, 1802; 97, Parfaite Harmonie, St. Domingo, September 5, 1803; 98, Persévérance, Abricots, September 5, 1803—reinstated March 21, 1808—finally vacated October 27, 1810; 99, Temple du Bonheur, Arcapaye, December 5, 1803. *All* the above, except No. 46 (extinct in 1790), were erased (or "vacated") April 7, 1806,

9, 1802. This was vacated (apparently in error) April 7, but reinstated September 15, 1806, and the jurisdiction extended to the island of Cuba—whither, with two of his Lodges, the Prov. G. M. had retired.

In 1806, in the portion of Hayti ruled by President Pèthion, some of the French Lodges revived, and negotiations were set on foot by one Trichet, which resulted in the erection of two Lodges under the (older) Grand Lodge of England in 1809.[1] This was followed up by the appointment of a Prov. G.M.—John Goff—in 1811,[2] and by the formation of two further English Lodges in 1817.[3] Meanwhile the efforts of the G.O. of France to obtain the upper hand were frustrated by the action of the Government.

About the same time—1810—in that part of the island under the sway of the Emperor Henry I., there was also a revival, and a vast number of so-called degrees, with pompous and unmeaning titles, were introduced by a charlatan named D'Obernay, which were accepted with avidity at the Imperial Court. After this came a pause, owing to the political convulsions which disturbed the peace of the island. In both of the existing Republics—mulatto and black—one revolution seems to have followed another, the only variation being the wars that from time to time broke out between the two States. But after the establishment of a single Government (1822) the English Prov. Grand Lodge was transformed—May 23, 1823—into an independent Grand Lodge of Hayti, with President Boyer as patron, and his Prime Minister, General Ingignac, as G.M. The constitutions were settled January 24, 1824, and the Grand Lodge was established on precisely the same basis as the United Grand Lodge of England. For many years the Craft prospered and pursued the even tenor of its way, until about 1830, when a certain St. Lambert, an envoy of the Supreme Council of France (or A. and A.S.R. 33°), began to stir up strife by again attempting to propagate the high degrees.

Five Lodges in all, the two earliest of which are still in existence, were erected under the authority of the A. and A.S.R.;[4] whilst the rival French jurisdiction, that of the Grand Orient, has only warranted a single Lodge on the island during the present century. This, "Les Mages du Tropique," was established at Cayes in 1831, and has long since disappeared from the roll of the G.O., though as an *Areopagus* distinguished by an identical title, and meeting at the same place, is shown in the *Tableau Des Ateliers*, Supreme Council of France, from which an extract will be found below,[5] it is natural to suppose that there must have been a transfer of allegiance.

and those only "reinstated" which are specifically mentioned. Nos. 95 and 97–99 were established in the first instance by the Prov. G.L. of St. Domingo.

[1] Nos. 603 and 604—L'Amitié des Frères Réunis, Port au Prince, and L'Heureuse Réunion, Aux Cayes.

[2] A Royal Arch Chapter—Philanthropy—was established by the Grand Chapter of England (Moderns) in 1810.

[3] Nos. 699 and 700—Réunion des Cœurs réunis, Jeremie; and Parfaite Sincerité des Cœurs réunis, Jacmel.

[4] Nos. 10, Élèves de la Nature, Cayes, 1822; 59, Philadelphes, Jacmel, 1837; 62, Vraie Gloire, St. Marc, 1837; 97, Philalèthes, Port au Prince, 1845; 105, Constante Union, St. Domingo, 1846.

[5] AREOPAGUS (30°)—No. 52, Les Mages du Tropique, Cayes, 1834. CHAPTERS (18°)—Nos. 49, La Constance Eprouvée, Cayes, 1822; 69, *Les Elus de la Vérité*, St. Marc, 1839; 73, La Croix du Sud, Jacmel, 1840; and 106, *Les Croisés Dominicains*, St. Domingo, 1846. LODGES—Nos. 10, Les Élèves de la Nature, Cayes, 1832; 59, Les Philadelphes, Jacmel, 1837; 62, *La Vraie Gloire*, St. Marc, 1837; 97, *Les Philalèthes*, Port au Prince, 1845; and 105, *La Constante Union*, St. Domingo, 1846. The italics denote bodies which are dormant or extinct.

In 1836 the Grand Lodge, with a view to terminating the confusion which prevailed, transformed itself into a Grand Orient. This alteration, of course, involved the institution of a Supreme Council 33°, which duly claimed the allegiance of all fluctuating bodies under the obedience of any branch of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite.

In 1843, owing to an insurrection of the blacks, Boyer—the mulatto President—was displaced. A few years of turmoil then ensued, and the Craft once more languished. In 1845 a new envoy of the French Supreme Council, Fresnel, having obtained the protection of President Santana, almost overthrew the National G.O., but was himself ultimately expelled for political intrigue. After his departure the G.O. of Hayti revived, entered into a compact with the G.O. of France, and in 1851 ruled over no less than 31 Lodges, besides 49 associations of Masons which met under varied titles for the communication of the so-called high degrees.

The seat of the G.O. is at Port au Prince, and the Grand Masters, as far as I have been able to trace them, were (*circa*) 1860, J. de Paul, President of the Council; 1865, Dubois, Ambassador at London; 1871–80, A. T. Bouchereau, Senator; and since 1881, F. F. Duplessis, President of the Council of Instruction.

In 1844—February 27—total separation from Hayti was declared by the Dominicans, and the eastern (or Spanish) portion of the island formed itself into the republic of Santo Domingo. In 1861, as already related, it once more placed itself under the government of Spain. A revolt, however, broke out in 1863, and Spain finally relinquished its changeful child.

A Grand Orient of St Domingo was organized at the capital of the same name December 11, 1858. The Lodges taking part in this proceeding were originally warranted, 1830-34, by the G.O. of Hayti (Port au Prince,) at the time when the whole island was under an undivided rule. Falling, however, into a state of somnolency during the wars, 1844-47, they were suppressed (or erased) in 1849. The G.O. of St Domingo, thus formed by these resuscitated Lodges, appears never to have had more than some half dozen daughters on its roll.

During the reunion with Spain, 1861-65, Masonry either died out or was practised in secret, but a Grand Lodge of the Dominican republic was organized—January 26, 1865—under Benito Perez as G.M. This was followed—October 22—by a Supreme Council for the High Degrees, and the two bodies united—January 1, 1866—in re-establishing a National Grand Orient.

In January, 1867, Thomas Bobadilla presided over the G.O., with Castro as D.G.M.; whilst the Lodges were ten in number, with a total membership of about 2000.

The sequence of Grand Masters of the Grand *Lodge* has been as follows:—1858-59, Bobadilla; 1860, Antonio Abad Alfan; 1861, Jacinto de Castro; 1861-64, Grand Lodge *dormant;* 1865, Benito Perez; 1866, Manuel Echenique; 1867, Peter A. Delgado; 1869, Noël Henriquez; 1870, Sully du Breil. From 1871 the presidents of Grand Lodge are no longer given in the official lists, and whilst Bobadilla has ever since been G.M. of the G.O., the Grand Lodge and Supreme Council have evidently been relegated to the position of subordinate chambers, as indeed is generally more or less the custom in all Grand Orient systems.

In bringing this sketch to a close, it is only necessary to add that a solitary Lodge—Alianza, No. 251—appears to have been erected at "Santo Domingo" by the Grand Lodge



Fraternally Yours.

Fred H. Waldron. 33°

P. G. M. Grand Lodge and G. Com. of the Gd. Commandary
of Connecticut

of Spain, or in other words, by the governing Masonic body of which Don Manuel Becerra is the G.M.[1]

JAMAICA.—Lodges owning fealty to the Mother Grand Lodge of the world were of early introduction in this British dependency. The first was established at Kingston in 1739, and the second at Port Royal in 1742. But it is probable that the number of Masons in Jamaica at that period was much larger than would be inferred from these statistics, as there were ten thousand resident whites on the island in 1741; and in the same year the harbor of Port Royal was crowded with twenty-nine line-of-battle ships, and a large number of frigates, sloops, and transports, containing in all, fifteen thousand sailors and twelve thousand soldiers.[2]

Ballard Beckford, George Hynde, and Alexander Crawford were appointed Provincial Grand Masters for Jamaica by Lord Ward in 1742-44,[3] but the exact dates of their respective appointments there are no means of determining.

A third Lodge was erected on the island in 1746, but as we now approach a conflict of jurisdictions, it will be convenient if the statistics first in order are separately grouped, so that the proceedings of the *two* Grand Lodges of England in this distant possession may be distinguishable.[4] Before, however, passing away from our immediate subject, the appointments of Thomas Marriot Perkins,[5] 1762-64; William Winter, 1768-69; Jasper Hall, 1772; Sir Peter Parker,[6] 1778; and Major-Gen. (afterwards Sir Adam) Williamson,[7] 1793, as Prov. G. M.'s under the older Grand Lodge, may be briefly recorded.

Although Lodges under the Schismatic (or *Ancient*) sanction were established at Old Harbor and Green Island in 1763 and 1772 respectively, the two Grand Lodges of England appear to have kept out of collision—at least in the Greater Antilles—until 1775, by warranting Lodges in different parts of the island. In the year named, however, a Lodge was erected at Green Island by the older of these bodies. This, being viewed as an invasion of jurisdiction, led to reprisals, which in the first instance took the form of a counter demonstration at Kingston—hitherto a virgin fortress of the original Grand Lodge—where an "Atholl" Lodge was established in 1786.[8]

[1] Authorities :—S. Hazard, Santo Domingo, with a glance at Hayti, 1873; Dr. J. R. Beard, Life of Toussaint l'Ouverture, 1853; H. W. Bates, Central America, the West Indies and South America, 1878; Masonic Calendars; Rebold, Histoire des trois Grandes Loges, pp. 150, 452; Daruty, p. 168; Findel, p. 698; Latomia, vol. xxvi., pp. 118, 119; Barker, Early History Grand Lodge of New York, pp. 144, 166, 215, 229; and Early History Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. For some interesting remarks on the characteristics of a Grand *Orient* as contrasted with those of a Grand *Lodge* system, the curious reader is referred to the report on Foreign Correspondence already cited (*ante*, p. 352, note 1) of Mr. Josiah H. Drummond, of Maine.

[2] Of a previous expedition sent out under Admiral Hozier—it is related that in a couple of years two admirals, ten captains, fifty lieutenants, and four thousand men had perished.

[3] Constitutions, 1756, p. 333.

[4] The following Lodges were constituted by the original Grand Lodge of England :—Nos. 182, Kingston, 1739; 193, Port Royal, 1742; 208, Spanish Town, 1746; 219, St. Mary's Parish, 1757; 418, 419, Kingston,—420, Montego Bay, and 421, St. James' Parish, 1771; 446, 447, Kingston, 1773; 483, Green Island,—485, Hanover Parish,—486, Spanish Town, and 487, Savannah la Mer, 1775; and 638 (La Loge, Frères Réunis), Kingston, 1812. Of these fifteen Lodges, all but five—Nos. 193, 208, 446, 447 and 486 above—were carried forward in the lists until the Union, when they disappear, with the solitary exception of No. 638—which survived for a few years longer.

[5] Prov. G.M. for the Mosquito Shore, 1758-62. [6] Chap. XX., pp. 232, 242. [7] *Ante*, p. 156.

[8] The under-mentioned Lodges were constituted by the Atholl Grand Lodge:—Nos. 121, Old

After 1775 no further Lodges under the original Grand Lodge of England came into existence on the island until 1812, when a warrant—No. 638—was granted to some French refugees from Hayti. This Lodge, however, soon died out.

In 1806 Dr. (afterwards Sir) Michael Benignus Clare was appointed (Atholl) Prov. G.M. The formation of this Prov. Grand Lodge sealed the fate of the Lodges under the rival sanction. Many of them ceased to work, whilst others accepted provincial numbers at the hands of the enemy. But besides absorbing Lodges already in being, the new Prov. Grand Lodge was instrumental in ushering into existence many others, some of which obtained places on the London roll. Nineteen Lodges, and probably more, if we could trace them, were ranged under the Provincial banner a few years after 1806.

A Lodge, St Andrew, No. 102, was established on the island by the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1760, which remained on the roll, though probably inactive for many years, until 1816. Jamaica has also been the seat of a Scottish province from at least 1771, in which year it is first alluded to in the records of the G.L. of Scotland.

Three Jamaica Lodges were constituted by the Grand Lodge of Ireland during the last century, and a fourth sprang into existence in 1814.[1] At the present time, however, that jurisdiction is unrepresented on the island.

In 1782, of all our former possessions in the West Indies, Jamaica, Barbadoes, and Antigua only remained. Jamaica would have next fallen—in which case its later Masonic history might have formed a part of that of the Grand Orient of France—had it not been for the victory of Lord Rodney over the Count de Grasse on April 12 of that year. The whole of the battering cannon and artillery intended for the attack on the island was on board the ships then captured.

The Earl of Effingham, who only resigned the office of Acting G.M. of the (older) Grand Lodge of England, on his appointment as Governor of Jamaica, arrived in the colony in 1790, but died November 19 of the same year.[2]

As we have already seen, six British Lodges, which, with a single exception,[3] worked under Atholl warrants, were brought forward at the Union (1813) on the roll of the United Grand Lodge of England. In 1816 Sir Michael Clare—former Prov. G.M. under the junior society—received what may be termed a patent of confirmation, and until the departure of this worthy for England, June 9, 1831,[4] when the Prov. Grand Lodge came to an untimely end, Freemasonry on the whole made satisfactory progress on the island.

Harbor, 1763; 177, Green Island, 1772; 233, Kingston, 1786; 257 [ ], 1789; 262, Royal Artillery, Port Royal, 1790; 281, Port Royal, 1793; 283, Kingston, 1794; 288, Kingston, 1795; 301, Kingston, 1796—became the Prov. Grand Lodge, 1806; and 342, Kingston, 1809. Of these Lodges, Nos. 121, 177, 233, 262, and 301 were *not* carried forward at the Union; Nos. 257, 281, and 288 died out before 1832; whilst Nos. 283 and 342 survive as the "Royal" and "Friendly" Lodges, *present* Nos. 207 and 239.

[1] Nos. 456, Kingston, 1767; 699, Kingston, 1789; 738 [ ], 1790–99; and 35, Kingston, 1814.

[2] The mortality among all ranks was most frightful. From Commissary Sayers' regimental returns, we learn that of 19,676 European soldiers sent by England to the West Indies in 1796, before March, 1802, 17,173 died of complaints incidental to the climate.

[3] No. 645—*former* No. 638. The others were Nos. 324, 355, 357, 364 and 438—*former* Nos. 257, 281, 283, 288 and 342.

[4] During this period nine new Lodges, Nos. 686, Phœnix, Port Royal; 691–97, Sussex, Kingston—Clare, Spanish Town—Atholl, Lucca Bay—Seville, St. Ann's Bay—Duke of York, Falmouth—Concord, Spanish Town—and Cornwall, Montego Bay—all in 1817; and 810, Montego Bay, 1826, were added to the English roll.

During the period last reviewed, 1813-31, some Lodges under other jurisdictions were formed in the colony, to which it becomes necessary to refer. One—as we have seen—sprang up under an Irish warrant in 1814,[1] and two years later the first of a series of Lodges was established by the Grand Orient of France.[2]

According to a local historian,[3] the G.O. in 1817 issued charters to some French refugees at Kingston, empowering them to erect three several chapters or consistories—the Sublime Lodge, for conferring the so-called "Ineffable Degrees"—the second, for a Council of Princes of Jerusalem—and the third, for a Grand Council of thirty-three degrees. The same writer adds, that becoming "wearied of these diversions, and desirous of working legitimate Masonry," the members of the bodies aforesaid applied in 1818 to the Grand Lodge of England for a warrant to open the Lodge *La Bénignité*, which, however, drew its last breath in 1829. Here there is manifest confusion with regard to dates, which is heightened by some evidence from another source, which informs us, that in 1811, a charter for Lodge *Bienfaisance*, No. 1, was granted by the Grand Consistory of Jamaica, to a number of St. Domingo Masons at New Orleans—late residents on the island. Also, unless *Bénignité* was held at Kingston, none of the French Lodges met at the capital. The Lodge in question, moreover, never obtained an English warrant, *one* alone having been issued to Jamaica between 1817 and 1840, *viz.*, to the Friendly Lodge, Montego Bay, No. 810, in 1826—which at the present time is still in existence. Nevertheless there is no reason to doubt that the various French rites were extensively worked in the colony. This was apparently the case from very early times, and if those writers are correct by whom Stephen Morin is alleged to have been a Jew,[4] the fact that there has always been a large Hebrew element in Jamaica, coupled with the circumstance that in no other island of the group under examination were either Jews or Freemasons so safe from persecution, will in a great measure account for the causes which have led to its figuring so largely in the history of the A. and A.S.R. 33°.[5]

On the passing of the act for the abolition of slavery—1833—many Lodges closed their doors, nor did any general reaction set in until about the end of 1844, when two new Lodges were erected, one a representative of the Scottish jurisdiction, whilst the other was opened under a charter from the Grand Lodge of Carthagena by a number of Columbian patriots who had taken refuge in Kingston. The latter ultimately became No. 754—Union et Concordia—under the Grand Lodge of England[6] in 1845.

[1] Dec. 9, 1818:—The Board of General Purposes (Grand Lodge of England) having received letters from the Grand Lodge of Ireland and the Prov. G.M. of Jamaica relative to some proceedings in that island, recommend that a deputation from the two Grand Lodges should be appointed to confer on the subject [that certain regulations common to the Grand Lodge of England and Ireland should be established for the government of the Lodges abroad and in military corps], and that the Grand Lodge of Scotland should be invited to join in the conference. March 3, 1819.—The Board report the receipt of a letter from the Grand Lodge of Ireland, and the matter was left in the hands of the Duke of Sussex, G.M. (Proceedings, Grand Lodge of England).

[2] Lodges erected by this body:—Fidélité, Port Royal, 1816; Réunion des Arts (Lodge and Chapter), Port Royal; and Bénignité, "*Ile de la Jamaique*," 1819; Trigonométrie, 1831; and Les Anciens Frères Réunis, 1832, both at Port Royal (Rebold, Histoire des trois Grandes Loges, pp. 127, 132, 150).

[3] Burger, *op. cit.* [4] Ragon, Thory, Clavel, Rebold, etc.

[5] Chap. XXIII., pp. 313, 314; and Chap. XXIV., p. 382.

[6] English Lodges warranted *after* 1826:—Nos. 686, Falmouth, 1840; 746, Savanna La Mar, and 747, Lucia, 1844; 754, Kingston, 1845; 1107, Spanish Town, 1860; 1216, Port Royal, 1862; 1377, Savanna La Mar, 1871; 1440, Spanish Town, 1873; 1771, 1836, 1873, 1933, all at Kingston, in the years 1878, 1879, 1880, and 1881 respectively.

The Rev. W. P. Burton had been appointed Prov. G.M. for Jamaica by the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1843, who, however, as in the parallel cases of Colonel Young in the West and Dr. Burnes in the East Indies, at first held office *in partibus infidelium*.[1] But Scottish Masonry soon secured a firm footing on the island, where there are now ten Lodges, which with No. 357, Greytown, Mosquito, form the present province of Jamaica and Greytown, No. 33°.[2]

This resolute action on the part of Scotland threatened to be fraught with the same evil consequences to the English Lodges in the colony as befell those in the Bombay Presidency on the appointment as Scottish Prov. G.M. of Dr. Burnes. It was soon felt that the brethren under the Grand Lodge of Scotland enjoyed a precedence over the others, and the English Lodges at last mustered up courage to petition for the appointment of Dr. Robert Hamilton as their Provincial ruler. Their request was granted, and the Doctor commissioned in the first instance—November 5, 1858—as Prov. G.M. for East Jamaica, a jurisdiction which was subsequently extended over the whole island. Dr. Hamilton died in 1880, and no successor was appointed until 1886. The English Lodges in Jamaica are now eleven in number. Seven of these meet at Kingston, and one each at Port Royal, Savanna La Mar, Spanish Town, and Montego Bay.[3]

Porto Rico.—The last of the Greater Antilles is this Spanish possession, which alone of the group is entirely colonized, cultivated, and peopled. The climate is healthy, and more favorable for Europeans than that of any other of the West Indian islands. The number of inhabitants (1877) is 635,000, rather more than half of whom are whites; yet though twelve times smaller in extent than Cuba, it contains half the population of that island. Under the numerous Spanish and Cuban Grand Bodies, Porto Rico has generally occupied the position of a separate district under a Provincial Superintendent. Upon its early Masonic history, however, I shall not dwell, inasmuch as it would be only pursuing still further the vein of conjecture in which it has been necessary to indulge whilst attempting to deal with the difficult problem of Spanish Masonry. A Lodge—Le Restauracion—under the G.O. of Colon, was in existence at Mayaguez in 1860, and the fluctuations of which Cuba was the scene during the struggle for existence of the Grand Lodges there, made their influence felt throughout the Spanish Antilles.

In the lists before me Don Manuel Romeno is shown as the Provincial Superintendent of Cuba and Porto Rico under the Grand Lodge of Spain (of which Becerra is the G.M.) No Lodges are enumerated, but we find five on the roll of the Grand Orient of Spain, though in this case without a Provincial Superintendent. The S.C. of France is represented by a single Lodge—Le Phénix, No. 230, constituted 1874. Until quite recently there were fourteen Lodges on the island in subjection to the United Grand Lodge of Colon and Cuba. These, however, formed themselves into an independent Grand Lodge, September 20, 1885. The ports of San Juan, Ponce, and Mayaguez are the greatest cen-

[1] Chap. XXIII., pp. 313, 312; Chap. XXIX., p. 139.

[2] Scottish Lodges erected *after* 1760:—Nos. 415, Kingston, 1844; 417, Kingston, 1845, 359, Black River, 1851; 367, Falmouth, 1853; 369, St. Andrew, 1855; 402, Spanish Town, 1860; 530, St. Anne's Bay, 1873; 550, Spanish Town, 1874; 554, Port Maria, 1874; and 623, Kingston, 1878.

[3] Authorities:—W. J. Gardner, Hist. of Jamaica, 1873, pp. 123, 214, 222; Bryan Edwards, Hist. of the West Indies, 3d. edit., 1801, vol. iii., p. 411; T. Southey, Chron. Hist. of the West Indies, 1827, vol. ii., p. 284, vol. iii., p. 227; H. J. Burger, Hist. of Freemasonry in Jamaica—printed in the Handbook for the Colony, 1881; Freemason, August 6, 1881; Laurie, 1859, p. 403; Scot, 1873, p. 14; and lists kindly supplied by D. M. Lyon, G. Sec., Scotland, and S. B. Oldham, Dep. G. Sec., Ireland.

tres of Masonic activity; and the last named town, besides supporting two Lodges, possesses a Consistory 32°, a Council 30°, and a Chapter 18°. It is a little singular that whilst the *Lodges* at Porto Rico have severed their connection with the "*United Grand Lodge* of Colon and the Island of Cuba," the *Chapters* and other associations of Masons in the lesser Spanish dependency are still dutiful in their allegiance to the *Supreme Council* of the same title.

Upon this a little light is thrown by the action of Don Antonio Romero Ortiz (at the time presiding over the Grand Lodge of Spain), who, in a decree, dated March 13, 1883, "denounced the Grand Lodge of Colon and Cuba and the Masons of its obedience as traitors to the Government and to the Mother Country," simply because they declined to recognize his authority to govern or interfere in the affairs of "Symbolical Masonry" in Cuba. In the same year the United Grand Lodge of Colon and Cuba announced by circular that there being in all three Supreme Councils and three Grand Lodges in Spain, it had recognized the Grand Lodge of Seville as being "the only really independent organization of Craft Masonry" then existing in that country. This, of course, was dealing very summarily with the pretensions of the Grand Lodge (or Orient) under Ortiz, which Mr. Albert Pike pronounced to be the only Grand Body in Spain legitimately entitled to recognition as a regular Masonic body. The name I have last quoted being, as many will be aware, that of the Sov. G. Com. of the S.C. 33° for the U.S.A., Southern Jurisdiction—the body of which he is the head being to other Supreme Councils what the Grand Lodge of England is to other Grand Lodges, and his own personal authority perhaps ranking higher than that of any other Mason either in the Old World or the New.

The Grand Lodge and Supreme Council of Colon and Cuba have therefore followed different roads, the latter treading in the beaten track traversed by Supreme Councils in amity with that presided over by the patriarch and law-giver of the rite,[1] and the former boldly striking out a path of its own.

Owing to the state of political affairs in the island, and from the influential position held by Ortiz in Spain,[2] the charges he made were calculated to subject the Cuban Masons both to surveillance and persecution on the part of the authorities. At Porto Rico the circumstances were somewhat different. Out of Cuba itself the S.C. of Colon was long regarded—and not alone by votaries of the A. and A.S.R. 33°—as a more stable institution than any other of the numerous Grand Bodies which sprang up like mushrooms in the island. When, therefore, the two governing Masonic bodies at Havannah, each in its own way, attempted to solve the problem of Craft sovereignty in Spain, it is not to be wondered at that the confusion existing in the Peninsula was reproduced with more or less fidelity in the Spanish Antilles. In Porto Rico there are no less than five Chapters 18°, besides a Council 30°, and a Consistory 32°. These, as already related, adhered to their allegiance; but the *Lodges* on the island set up a Grand Lodge of Porto Rico at the city of Mayaguez in 1885, and it is satisfactory to state that the Grand Lodge of Colon and Cuba has since established fraternal relations with the new body.

II. The Virgin Islands.

This name is given to an extensive group of small islands lying between Porto Rico and the Lesser Antilles. The islands are divided between Great Britain, Denmark, and Spain;

[1] The Rose-Croix Chapter, No. 25 on the roll of the S.C. of Colon, is named after Mr. Pike.

[2] *Ante*, p. 122.

Tortola and Virgin Gorda (or Spanish Town) being the most important of those under British rule; St. Thomas, St. John, and Santa Cruz (or Sainte Croix), of those belonging to Denmark; whilst the largest of the Spanish islets—Culebra—has an area of only ten square miles. The islands changed hands very frequently up to 1815, when their present political position was defined. The British islands are under the governor of St. Kitts, the Spanish are dependencies of Porto Rico, and the Danish governor has his seat at Christianstadt, the capital of Santa Cruz. This island, which, though politically united with the Virgin group, is geographically distinct, has attained to a higher degree of prosperity than any other in the archipelago. English is generally spoken throughout the entire group, with the exception of St. Thomas and St. John, in which the language of their first possessors—Dutch—has been retained.[1]

Tortola and Virgin Gorda.—Lodges were established in these islands by the Schismatics or "Ancients" in 1760 and 1763, and by the rival organization—the original or legitimate Grand Lodge of England—in 1765. Each of the three Lodges was continued in the lists until the Union (1813,) when they one and all disappear.[2]

Santa Cruz, or St. Croix.—A Lodge at this island, dating from 1756, obtained a temporary footing on the English roll in the Engraved List for 1758, as No. 224, and ten years *later* was advanced to a higher niche corresponding with its actual seniority, as No. 216. This was afterwards described as the Lodge of St. George, and is shown in our lists until 1814, but it apparently became subject to Danish jurisdiction in 1776, and died out in 1788. John Ryan was appointed Prov. G.M. under England in 1777, but no English charter has since been granted to the Masons in Santa Cruz, though a Scottish Lodge—Eureka, No. 605—was erected at Christianstadt in 1877.

St. Thomas.—A dispensation "to hold a Lodge for six months" was granted for this island, by the G.M. of Pennsylvania, in 1792. Next comes "La Concorde," borne on the register of the Grand Lodge of Denmark, 1798-1823, but whether of "Danish or English origin" there is no evidence to show. The Harmonic Lodge, No. 708, which still exists, was founded by the Grand Lodge of England in 1818. After this, in the year 1855, came Les Cœurs Sincères, No. 141, under the S.C. for France. Not content, however, with these two jurisdictions, some Masons on the island requested Andrew Cassard of New York to procure them a warrant from the S.C. for the United States S.J., but at his suggestion they eventually applied to the Grand Lodge of Colon—at Santiago de Cuba—and were constituted as a Lodge—Star in the East—under the authority of that body by Cassard in 1871. But the S.C. for Colon claimed that as the Grand *Orient* had not met, the Grand *Lodge* was still "in recess,"[3] and in 1872 passed a formal decree censuring Cassard for his action at St. Thomas. In the same year the members of Star in the East applied, though without success, to the G.M. of South Carolina for a *Dispensation* to enable them to continue their labors, alleging that the other Lodges on the island would not recognize them, on the pretext that the Grand Lodge of Colon was not known to be in existence. In 1873, however, they were more fortunate, as a charter and not merely a temporary dispensation was granted them by the Grand Lodge of Louisiana—from which

[1] The works and references cited in connection with the Greater Antilles are also to a great extent my authorities for the remaining sections relating to the West Indies.

[2] Lodges constituted :—*Ancients*—Nos. 82, Virgin Gorda, 1760 ; 108, Road Island of Tortola, 1763. *Grand Lodge of England*—No. 351, Tortola and Beef Island, 1765.

[3] *Cf. ante*, p. 154.

body the circumstance of a prior application having been made to the G.M. of South Carolina had been carefully withheld. But the petitioners were in no better position than before, for they were neither recognized nor allowed to visit by the other Lodges of St. Thomas, and the warrant which had been so imprudently granted by the Grand Lodge of Louisiana was at once withdrawn when the actual circumstances of the case were brought to the notice of that body.[1]

III. The Lesser Antilles or Caribbee Islands.

Antigua.—The earliest Lodges in the West Indies were established in this island, which is the most important of the Leeward group, and the residence of the British Governor-in-Chief. No less than three holding English warrants were in existence in 1739, and a fourth is said to have been established in the previous year by the authority of the Prov. G.M. of New England. A little later the Freemasons in the colony built a large hall for their meetings, and applied to the Grand Lodge of England for permission to style one of their Lodges (No. 192,) "the Great Lodge at St. John's in Antigua," which favor was granted to them in April, 1744.[2]

The Leeward Islands were constituted a Province under England[3] in 1738, and under Scotland in 1769. The first Scottish Lodge in the Lesser Antilles was erected in the latter year at St. Kitts, by which name the province was designated in 1786. But in 1792 the old title—Leeward Caribbee Islands—was restored, and again altered in 1837 on the appointment of Dr. Stephenson of Grenada, to be "Provincial G.M. of the Province *comprehending* the Caribbee Islands." Lieut.-General James Adolphus Oughton[4] was appointed Lieut.-Governor of Antigua, December 18, 1772, but the presence on the island of a former Grand Master of Scotland was destitute of any Masonic result, as the earliest Scottish Lodge in the colony was not established until 1787.[5] The only Lodges[6] since erected are the two now existing, both of which are on the roll of the Grand Lodge of England.[7]

The following extract from a long-forgotten work will show the exceptional difficulties against which the European residents in the West Indies had to contend, and may serve to excite our surprise—not that more Lodges were not constituted, but that any survived at all in the pestilential climate where the Lodge work had to be carried on. According

[1] Authorities (Santa Cruz and St. Thomas):—Proceedings, Grand Lodges of South Carolina, 1872; Louisiana, 1874; [according to the Grand Master's address, the Grand Orient of Colon was in full communication with other Masonic bodies, and actively engaged in creating and organizing Masonic bodies throughout its jurisdiction, which was claimed to extend over Cuba, St. Thomas, Porto Rico, St. John, St. Croix, and a portion of St. Domingo]; Maine, 1879; and Letter from Mr. Rasmus Neilsen, Grand Secretary, Denmark, dated May 10, 1886.

[2] Lodges (Grand Lodge of England):—Nos. 191, Parham, 1737; 192, Courthouse, 1738; 193, Baker's, 1739; 233, Evangelists, 1753—removed to Montserrat, 1781, or earlier; 435, 1772; and 447, 1782. All the above were continued in the lists until the Union, when they disappear. *Cf.* Chap. XX., p. 219.

[3] Prov. G.M.'s:—Leeward Islands, Governor Matthew, 1738; Antigua, Rev. F. Bryan, D.D., 1754-55; Antigua and Leeward Islands, W. Jarvis, 1758-62—succeeded provisionally by Captain J. Dunbar, 1764-67, but name again shown in Calendar, 1783, and only disappears in 1808.

[4] Chap. XXIII., p. 317, and Chap. XIX., p. 199. [5] No. 225, St. John, "cut off" in 1816.

[6] Nos. 723, 1843; and 967, 1856.

[7] Authorities:—Southey, vol. ii., p. 411; Preston, 1792, p. 291; Lawrie, 1804, p. 183; Laurie, 1859, p. 404.

to my authority, "the 68th regiment was sent to Antigua in 1805, with its ranks sadly reduced by the climate. It had arrived in the West Indies about five years before, with two battalions, each 1200 strong; and I have understood from their officers that they had buried in those five years 2400 men and 68 officers—the regiment had, of course, received repeated drafts of men from England during that period."[1]

BARBADOES.—Masonry was early established in this the chief of the Windward Islands, and the residence of the Governor-General of the group. It was constituted a Masonic province in 1740,[2] and in the same year the first of a long series of Lodges under the Grand Lodge of England[3] came into existence. None of these, however, were carried forward on the Union roll in 1814, though one—No. 186, St. Michael's Lodge—was a few years later restored to the list, but again left out at the next change of numbers (1832), to be a second time restored (1841), and finally erased, March 5, 1862. It is a little singular that the first five Lodges established in Barbadoes bore saintly appellatives.

Three Lodges were warranted in the colony by the Grand Lodge of Ireland in the last century, and there was a Prov. Grand Lodge in existence in 1804, but this having now become a lapsed jurisdiction, its further consideration may be dispensed with. Though for the information of local antiquaries, the Lodges formerly existing are specified in a note.[4]

The Atholl or Ancient Masons obtained a footing on the island in 1790, and a Lodge constituted in that year still exists. Three others were afterwards erected, but though carried forward at the Union, were dropped out at the change of numbers in 1832.[5]

The Grand Lodge of Scotland has never been represented in the colony by more than a single Lodge, the first—Scotia, No. 267—having been chartered in 1799; and a second (of the same name) in 1844. At the present time there are only two Lodges in Barbadoes—the Scottish one last referred to, and the original "Atholl" Lodge of 1790; for although three others have been constituted since the Union by the United Grand Lodge of England,[6] all these have passed out of existence.

CURAÇOA.—Lodges under the Grand Lodge of Holland appear to have been established on the island in 1757, 1773, and 1787—L'Amitié, L'Union, and De Vergenoeging. In 1807 it was taken by the English, but restored to the Dutch in 1815. During the British occupation, Nos. 346, Union, and 627, Content and British Union, were warranted in 1810 and 1811 by the Atholl and Original Grand Lodges of England respectively. Both were carried forward at the Union, but are now extinct, the latter not surviving the closing up of numbers in 1832, and the former being struck off the roll, March 5, 1862. Curaçoa is the seat of the Dutch Masonic province of the West Indies, and there are at the present time only two Lodges on the island, one under the Grand Lodge of Holland—

[1] Lieut.-Colonel J. Leach, Rough Sketches of the Life of an Old Soldier, 1831, p. 18.

[2] Prov. G.M.'s:—Barbadoes and Windward Islands, Thomas Baxter, 1740; W. Maynard, 1754-55; Caribbee and Windward Islands, Governor Robert Melville, 1764; Barbadoes, John Stone, 1765-67; Samuel Rous, 1768-69; Benjamin Gettins, 1780; W. Bishop, 1791; John Straker, 1801; J. A. Beccles, 1818; and Sir R. B. Clarke, 1841.

[3] Nos. 186, 1740; 260-61, 1752; 262, 1754; 238, 1758; 434, 1772; and 585, 1791. *Cf.* Chap. XX., p. 219.

[4] Nos. 622, 1783-1858; 649 [granted but never issued]; 653, 1786-1856; 222, 1822-47; 259, 1822-30; 277, 1822-41; 282, 1842-45. The dates last given are those of removal from the roll.

[5] Nos. 263, 1790; 286, 1794; 308, 1797; and 331, 1804.

[6] Nos. 848, 1829; 713, 1842; and 1499, 1874.

De Vergenoeging (*Contentment*)—established in 1787, but apparently revived after a period of abeyance in 1854;[1] the other under the Grand Lodge of England, No. 939, erected 1855. The close resemblance between the names of the early Dutch and English Lodges might almost suggest that in some instances there was a divided or dual allegiance.

Dominica.—The Lodge of Good Friends was formed at Roseau by the Grand Lodge of England in 1773.[2] In the same year a warrant was granted (though not issued) for the colony by the Atholl Masons, and in 1785 a second,[3] under which a Lodge was constituted, also at the capital, Roseau. But neither of the bodies thus established survived the union of the two societies, which is not to be wondered at when we take into consideration that the island was captured by the French in 1778, restored to England in 1783, again surrendered to France in 1802, and finally received back as a British possession in 1814. A revival took place in 1823, when the Lodge of Chosen Friends, No. 777, was established, which remained on the roll until swept away—in company with eighty-eight other foreign or colonial Lodges—by order of the Grand Lodge of England, March 5, 1862. The only Lodge at present on the island is No. 1742, under the same jurisdiction, erected in 1878.

Grenada.—In 1763—October 8—Brigadier General Robert Melville was appointed Governor of Dominica. Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent, and Tobago were included in his government—a new one—which was styled that of Grenada. This officer received three patents as Prov. G.M.—(1) for Guadeloupe—when Lieutenant-Governor of Fort Royal on that island, and Lieutenant-Colonel 38th Foot, 1759-62;[4] (2) for the Caribbee and Windward Islands, 1764; and (3) for Grenada, 1780. The year following Melville's appointment to this new government, Lodges were formed on the island by the Grand Lodges of England and France. Three in all were constituted under the former,[5] and two under the latter jurisdiction[6] in the last century; whilst the Atholl Masons, who were five years later in obtaining a footing in the colony, chartered one military and two stationary Lodges within the same period.[7]

None of the English Lodges were carried forward at the Union, and the next evidence of Masonic activity is presented by the erection of an Irish Lodge—No. 252—in 1819, which, however, surrendered its warrant in 1825, and another of later constitution—No. 224, formed 1848—has also ceased to work.

Scotland was next in the field (1820), and four Lodges[8] have been warranted under that jurisdiction, the three latest of which are in existence at this day. A year later (1821) the Masonry of England was again represented, and shortly afterwards by a second Lodge,[9]

[1] *Cf. ante*, pp. 141, note 1; and 149, note 3. [2] No. 460. [3] No. 229.

[4] The dates of these early Patents can rarely be given with precision, as the Deputations and Provincial Commissions granted down to about 1770 are ordinarily cited—without distinction of dates—in connection with the particular G.M. during whose administration they were issued. Subsequently there is less vagueness, as the names of Prov. G.M.'s were annually published with the lists of Lodges. The official calendars, however, were very carelessly edited, some names not finding places for many years, whilst others were continued long after the appointments had lapsed, and in not a few cases for long periods after the decease of the former holders.

[5] Nos. 347, La Sagesse, 1764; 425, Lodge of Vigilance; and 426, Lodge of Discretion, 1772.

[6] La Tendre Fraternité, 1764; and Les Frères Choisis, 1781.

[7] Nos. 163, 1769; 271, 1792; and 272, 45th Foot, 1792.

[8] Nos. 356, St. George, 1820; 395, Caledonia, 1827; 603, St. Andrew, 1877; and 650, St. George, 1880.

[9] Nos. 732, St. George, 1821; and 797, Harmony, 1825.

but both the bodies thus constituted are now extinct. G. G. Munro was appointed Prov. G.M. under the same sanction in 1825, and Felix Palmer in 1831.

The latest foreign jurisdiction by which the colony was invaded would appear to have been that of the Grand Orient of France, if by "Grenade" we are to understand Grenada, where a Lodge—"La Bienfaisance"—was established December 21, 1828.

GUADELOUPE.—In this, the chief West Indian possession of France, and its dependency Marie-Galante, the following Lodges are shown in the lists as having been constituted by the Grand Lodge or Grand Orient of France:—Antigue, 1766; La Vraie Fraternité (Marie-Galante) and St. Jean d'Ecosse, 1768 ; La Bonne Amitié and L'Humanité, 1770; St. Louis de la Concorde, 1772; *La Paix*, 1784; Les Philalèthes [under a warrant from the Mother Lodge of the Scots Philosophic Rite], 1806; L'Amenité, 1807; La Fraternité (Marie-Galante), 1829; *Les Desciples d'Hiram*, 1835; and *Les Elus D'Occident*, 1862. The Lodges still existing are shown in italics, the two of earliest date being at Pointe-à-Pitre, and the remaining one at Basse-Terre.

Although Guadeloupe was in the hands of the English, 1759-63, and again occupied by them in 1813 and 1815, this—as already related—was attended by no other Masonic result than the grant of a Provincial Patent to Lieutenant-Colonel Melville, one of the officers of the British garrison, 1759-62.

MARTINIQUE.—Masonry, in this magnificent island, appears to have been introduced almost as early as in France itself. Thus, by the Grand Orient, or by the several Grand Bodies which preceded it, we find there were chartered—La Parfaite Union, 1738; St. Pierre des Frères Unis, 1760; La Tendre Fraternité,[1] 1765; La Sincérité des Cœurs, 1777; Les Frères Choisis, 1781; Le Zèle et la Bienfaisance, La Parfaite Amitié, and La Paix (*au Marin*), 1786.

From 1794 to 1802, and again, 1809-15, the island was in the possession of the English. During the first period a Lodge was established under the Grand Lodge of Ireland—No. 690, in 1801; and during the second another under the (Atholl) Grand Lodge of England—No. 359, Lodge of Chosen Friends, 1813. The former of these was transferred to Trinidad, 1811, and cancelled 1858. The latter, which bore the last *number* issued by the so-called "Ancients," was carried forward on the Union roll, but died out before the year 1832.

The later Lodges constituted by the G.O. of France were L'Harmonie, 1803; Les Frères Choisis, 1814; La Concorde, 1820; and La Bienfaisance, 1821. At the present time, however, according to the various calendars, there is but a single Lodge at work on the island—L'Union, St. Pierre—established by warrant of the (French) S.C. 33° in 1848.[2]

MONTSERRAT AND NEVIS.—Although the earliest Lodges in the West Indies sprang up with a luxuriant growth in Antigua, to Montserrat belongs the distinction of having been constituted the first Masonic Province either in the Greater or the Lesser Antilles.

[1] Amalgamated with the first Lodge on this list under the title La Parfaite Union et la Tendre Fraternité Réunies.

[2] Leon Hyneman (World Wide Register, p. 533) locates two Lodges—Réunion des Artes and Trigonométrie—at Martinique, which, from having been established at *Port* (not *Fort*) Royal, I have assigned to Jamaica. He also gives the name of "Sante Trinité" among those of the Lodges at Martinique. This, however, I have altogether failed to trace in the lists of Lodges warranted by the G.O. or S.C. of France.

This occurred in 1737 during the administration of the Earl of Darnley;[1] and thirty years later, December 2, 1767, a Prov. Grand Lodge for Montserrat and Nevis—No. 151—was set up by the Atholl (or Ancient) Masons. Up to this time, however, there appears to have been no Lodge on either island; but in 1777 one was erected—No. 507—at Nevis by the original Grand Lodge of England; whilst the Evangelists' Lodge established at Antigua in 1753, shifted its place of meeting to Montserrat shortly before 1780. These two Lodges were continued in the lists of the older Society until the Union, when they disappear, and so far as my research extends, no others have since been in existence in either island.

St. Bartholomew.—A Lodge—Sudermania—under the Grand Lodge of Sweden, existed on this island from 1797 to 1820.

St. Christopher, or St. Kitts.—Four Lodges were warranted in this colony by the Grand Lodge of England in the last century. The first in 1739, and the last in 1768.[2] The latter did not survive the change of numbers in 1770, but all the other Lodges were carried forward until the Union, and one—the Clarence, originally No. 206—only disappeared at the renumbering in 1832, though a Lodge of the same name was warranted on the island in the following year—which lived until 1865—and may have been a revival. A Prov. G.M. was appointed, January 27, 1798,[3] and a second, the Hon. John Garnett, November 23, 1808.

A Scottish Lodge was erected on the island in 1769, and others in 1786 and 1791.[4] These are now extinct; but a fourth, No. 407, Mount of Olives, 1835, still exists, and is the only Lodge in St. Christopher. During the years 1786-92 the island was the seat of the Scottish West Indian Province,[5] but is now included with some others in Province No. 32.

St Eustatius.—Masonry in this island appears to have increased *pari passu* with its material prosperity. Three English[6] and four Dutch[7] Lodges were at work during the last century, the earliest of the former having been erected in 1747, and of the latter in 1757. Edward Galliard was appointed Prov. G.M. of St. Eustatius and the Dutch Caribbee islands by the Grand Lodge of England in 1754-55; and R. H. de Piessis held a similar commission—extending over St. Eustatius, Saba, and St. Martin—under the Grand Lodge of Holland in 1777.

The settlement was taken by the British, February 3, 1781. All the merchandise and stores were confiscated, the naval and military commanders—Admiral Rodney and General Vaughan—considering it their duty "to seize for the public use, all the effects of an island inhabited by rebellious Americans and their agents, disaffected British factors, who, for base and lucrative motives, were the great supporters of the American rebellion." At this time, except for warlike stores, St. Eustatius had become one of the greatest auctions that ever was opened in the universe. "Invitation was given," says Southey, "and protection offered to purchasers of all nations, and of all sorts."[8]

[1] Prov. G.M.'s :—*Montserrat*—James Watson, 1737; Edward Daniel, 1764-67; William Ryan, 1777. *St. Christopher and Nevis*—R. Wilkes, 1798.

[2] Nos. 194, Basseterre, 1739; 123, Old Road, 1742; 206, Sandy Point, 1750, and 428, 1768.

[3] See the last note but one.

[4] Nos. 151, St. Andrew, 1769; 217, Union, 1786; and 241, Mount of Olives, 1791.

[5] *Ante*, p. 167. [6] Nos. 268, New Lodge, 1747; 269, No. 2, 1754; 428, Union, 1768.

[7] St. Pierre and La Parfaite Union, 1757; La Parfaits Maçons, 1758; and St. Jean Baptiste, 1760 (Freemason's Calendar, 1776 and 1778).

[8] Hist. of the West Indies, vol. ii., pp. 484, 492. It is related by the same authority "that the

The English Lodges continued to appear in the lists until the Union, but were probably extinct for many years before that period. In 1813, it must be added, a Lodge—No. 30—was established in the settlement by the Atholl Grand Lodge, but this, like the others, failed to secure a place on the Union roll.

At the general peace the island was finally ceded to Holland, and some of the Dutch Lodges survived until within recent memory. It is possible, also, that others may have been established, of which no record has been preserved.[1] At present there are no Lodges on the island.

St Lucia.—Two Lodges, Le Choix Réuni and L'Harmonie Fraternelle, were established by the Grand Orient of France in 1784. In 1814 the island was ceded to England, under whose sanction a Lodge—No. 762—was formed in 1845, and erased in 1862.

St. Martin.—There are at present no Lodges either in the settlements of the French or the Dutch, between whom the island is divided; but one was formerly in existence—Unie, No. 3, under the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands—constituted in 1800.[2]

St. Vincent.—An Irish warrant—No. 733—was granted to some brethren in this dependency in 1806, which was surrendered in 1824. Two Lodges were afterwards established by the Grand Lodge of England, but are now extinct.[3]

Tobago.—A Scottish Lodge—No. 488—was erected at Scarborough, the capital, in 1868.

Trinidad.—A charter was granted—No. 77, Les Frères Unis—by the G.L. of Pennsylvania in 1798, to some brethren at Port D'Espagne, who had formerly been members of a Lodge at St. Lucia, under a warrant from France. After this, in 1811, No. 690, under the Grand Lodge of Ireland, was transferred from Martinique to Trinidad, but passed out of existence in 1858. Scottish Masonry obtained a footing in 1812, and there are now four Lodges[4] in all under that jurisdiction, which form the present province, No. 44. The first English Lodge on the island had its origin in 1831. This was followed by four other warrants from the oldest of Grand Bodies, and all five Lodges are in existence at this day.[5] Trinidad became a province under the Grand Lodge of England in 1860, but ceased to be one in 1876.

IV. The Lucayas, or Bahama Islands.

The Masonic history of this group begins with the appointment of Governor John Tinkler[6] as Prov. G.M. in 1752, who was succeeded by James Bradford in 1759. But they had apparently no Lodges to control, neither do we hear of any having been established either before or after the jurisdiction[7] of which they were the representatives.

greater part of the inhabitants of our Leeward Islands wished the expedition in 1759 against Martinique to miscarry (1.) because it interrupted their iniquitous trade with St. Eustatia, of transferring French sugars, their property, in Dutch bottoms; (2.) because very many of them had plantations of their own in Martinico" (*Ibid.*, p. 329).

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 141, note 1; and the World's Masonic Register, p. 546.

[2] The World's Masonic Register, p. 540, shows a *second* Dutch Lodge, which is incorrect.

[3] Nos. 730, Sussex, 1821; and 755, Victoria, 1845.

[4] Nos. 322, United Brothers, 1813; 368, Eastern Star, 1854; 438, Athole, 1864; and 596, Rosslyn, 1876.

[5] Nos. 856, Philanthropic, 1831; 837, Trinity, 1850; 1169, Prince of Wales, 1861; 1213, Phœnix, 1862; and 1788, Hervey, 1878.

[6] Cf. Chap. XVII., p. 137, note 3.

[7] The original Grand Lodge of England.

In 1785, however, a warrant for the Bahamas –No. 228—was issued by the "Atholl" Grand Lodge of England. The Lodge thus established died out before the Union, but a second—No. 242 –under the same jurisdiction, established at Nassau, New Providence, in 1787, survived the closing up of numbers in 1814, though its vitality was exhausted before the repetition of that process in 1832.

A Scottish Lodge was erected at Turk's Island in 1803, which is now extinct, but others formed in New Providence and Inagua in 1809 and 1856 respectively, still exist, and constitute Province No. 39,[1] under the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

Lodges under the United Grand Lodge of England were established at Nassau, 1837; Grand Turk, 1855; and Harbor Island, 1869.[2] These are still active, and the first and last together constitute the existing Province of the Bahamas, which (under this jurisdiction) dates from 1843.

V. The Bermudas, or Somer's Islands.

This group, like the Bahamas, was provided with a Prov. G.M. long before there were Lodges for him to supervise. Alured Popple received a patent as such from Lord Strathmore in 1744, and William Popple was similarly commissioned during the administration of the Earl of Aberdour (1758-62). The first Lodge under the older (English) sanction was formed in 1761, and the second in 1792.[3] Five years later (1797) the titular "Ancients'" gained a footing, and in 1801 possessed, like their rivals, two Lodges.[4] At the Union, however, the former succumbed to destiny, whilst the latter were carried forward, and still survive.

Further English Lodges were constituted in 1819 and 1880—Nos. 712 and 1890—thus making a total of four, which report direct to the Grand Lodge of England, as the succession of Prov. G.M.'s ceased with the appointment of William Popple in 1758-62.

Lodge St. George—No. 266 –under the Grand Lodge of Scotland, was erected in 1797, and the Bermudas became a Scottish Province in 1803. This was followed, however, by no increase of Lodges until 1885, when a warrant was issued to No. 726,[5] which, with "St. George," forms the thirty-fourth Province on the roll of Scotland.

Three Irish Lodges have been established at St. George's Island, Nos. 220, 1856 (warrant surrendered 1860); 224, 1867; and 209, 1881. The last two are, singularly enough, the only Lodges now at work under the Grand Lodge of Ireland in any of the West India islands.

Under the Grand Lodge of Ireland there is no West Indian Province, but under those of England and Scotland, there is in the former case two, and in the latter five. Jamaica, with ten (exclusive of Montego Bay), and the Bahamas with two Lodges, constitute the English Provinces (or Districts), though the first named, from the death of Dr. Hamilton in 1880, down to the appointment of his successor, Mr. J. C. Macglashan, in 1886, might be said to have been in a condition of suspended animation. The remaining West Indian Lodges (17) under this jurisdiction are in direct communication with London.

[1] Nos. 275, Turk's Island; 298, Union, Nassau; and 372, St. John, Inagua. The first Prov. G. M. was J. F. Cooke, appointed November 7, 1842.

[2] Nos. 649, Royal Victoria; 930, Forth; and 1277, Britannia.

[3] Nos. 266 and 507, Union and Bermuda Lodges.

[4] Nos. 307 and 324—*now* 224 and 233—St. George's and Somerset Lodges.

[5] With regard to the formation of this Lodge, see the *Freemason*, March 20, 1886 (p. 171).

The Scottish Provinces are five in number, Nos. 32, West India Islands—Grenada, 3; St. Kitts, Barbadoes, and Tobago, 1 Lodge each; 33, Jamaica—Greytown, 1; Jamaica, 10 Lodges; 34, Bermudas, 2 Lodges; 39, Bahamas, 2 Lodges; and 44, Trinidad, 4 Lodges.

Mexico.

The so-called "Scottish Rite" was introduced into Mexico—then the principal colony of Spain—by civil and military officers of the Monarchy about the year 1810. After this, Lodges were erected by the Grand Lodge of Louisiana at Vera Cruz and Campeachy in 1816 and 1817 respectively,[1] and the example thus set was followed by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, under which body a Lodge was established at Alvarado in 1824.[2] A period of confusion next ensued, during which Masonry and politics were so closely interwoven as to render quite hopeless any attempt at their separate treatment.

Soon the entire population of the country became divided into two factions, the *Escoceses* and the *Yorkinos*. The former were in favor of moderate measures, under a central government, or a constitutional monarchy. The latter were the advocates of republican institutions, and the expulsion of the "old" or native Spaniards.

The Escoceses—originally the "Scots Masons"—numbered among their members all who, under the ancient *régime*, had titles of nobility; the Catholic clergy, without exception; many military officers; together with all the native Spaniards of every class.

The republican party, according to one set of writers, viewing with dismay the progress of their opponents, resolved "to fight the devil with his own fire," and therefore organized a rival faction, on which they bestowed the name of Yorkinos, the members of which were supposed to be adherents of the York Rite.

The authorities, however, by whom the movement is described as purely Masonic in its inception, are probably right, though at this point the facts do not stand out with the clearness that might be wished, and therefore deductions are of slight value.

Mackey informs us that authority was obtained in 1825 from the Grand Lodge of New York for the establishment of three Lodges in the city of Mexico. These Lodges, according to the same writer, were formed into a Grand Lodge of the York Rite by Mr. Joel R. Poinsett (American Minister), a former G.M. of South Carolina. Here there is a little confusion, as Mr. E. M. L. Ehlers,[3] in kindly replying to my inquiries, expressly states that since the year 1815, no foreign Lodges have been warranted by the Grand Lodge of New York. But however established, the so-called York Rite, or, in other words, pure English Masonry, flourished, and towards the end of 1826 there were 25 Lodges, with a membership of about 700. The Escoceses, or "Scots Masons," finding their Lodges deserted, regarded the Yorkinos as renegades and traitors, and with a view to counterbalance the fast increasing power of the latter, they formed the *Novenarios*, a kind of militia, which derived its name from a regulation requiring each member to enlist nine additional adherents. These ingratiated themselves with the clergy, who, after having been the most embittered enemies of the Craft in past years, now joined the Escoceses almost in a body.

The Yorkinos, becoming aware of these proceedings, tried to outdo their rivals by recruiting their own Lodges upon the plan of receiving all applicants without distinction,

[1] Nos. 8, Los Amigos Reunidos; and 9, Reunion a la Virtud.

[2] No. 191, Hermanos legitimos de la luz del Papaloapan.

[3] Grand Secretary, New York, in a letter dated March 30, 1886.

provided they belonged to the *federal, i.e.*, the patriotic party. Thus, the system of Masonry very soon degenerated into a mere party question, and at last all the adherents of one side styled themselves Escoceses, and of the other side, Yorkinos. In 1828, the two parties resorted to open warfare, with a view to deciding the question at issue by the sword, and the civil war then commenced, lasted for more than a generation.

Somewhere about this time, whilst Dr. Vincente Guerrero—G.M. under the York Rite—was President of the Republic, a law was enacted by which all Masonic Lodges were closed. The Yorkinos obeyed their Grand Master, and discontinued their meetings. The Escoceses went on working, but some of their most influential Lodges were suppressed, and the members banished. Subsequently, all native Spaniards were expelled from Mexican territory.

This internecine strife seriously affected the Fraternity in general, and gave birth, during the darkest hours of the struggle for supremacy, to an organization called the National Mexican Rite, formed by Masons, and composed of distinguished men, but containing innovations and principles so antagonistic to Masonic usage and doctrine, that it was never accorded recognition, even in Mexico, by any Masonic body of acknowledged legality.

This new school of Masonry was established by nine brethren of both rites, and who had belonged to the highest grade of either system, in 1830. To guard against the intrusion of unworthy members and the revival of political antagonism, they resolved to create a rite which should be national, in the sense of not depending upon any foreign Grand Lodge for its constitution, and to obviate by safeguards and precautions of an elaborate character, the dangers to be apprehended from the reception of either Escoceses or Yorkinos.

The National Mexican Rite consisted of nine degrees, which, omitting the first three, were—4°, Approved Master (equal to the 15° "Scots,"); 5° Knight of the Secret (equal to the 18° "Scots"); 6°, Knight of the Mexican Eagle; 7°, Perfect Architect (or Templar); 8°, Grand Judge; and 9°, Grand Inspector General. All these degrees had their equivalents in the grades of the A. and A. S. R. 33°. With the "St. John's" (or purely Craft) degrees certain special signs were associated, which, however, were not required from foreigners unless they had acted as auxiliaries in any of the party contests.

A Grand Orient, composed of members of the 9°, was supreme in matters of dogma or ritual. There was also an administrative body or National Grand Lodge, whose members were elective and met in the metropolis. The Provincial Grand Lodges had their seats in the State capitals and were formed by the "three lights" of at least five St. John's Lodges.

But although still preserving a nominal existence, the several Grand Bodies, owing to political convulsions, were virtually dormant for many years after 1833. A Lodge—St. Jean d'Ulloa—was constituted at Vera Cruz, by the Supreme Council of France, in 1843; and another—Les Ecossais des Deux Mondes—at the city of Mexico, by the Grand Orient of the same country, in 1845.

The National Mexican Rite appears to have somewhat recovered from its torpor in 1863. At that date we find in the metropolis, a National Grand Lodge with six working Lodges, though of these one—belonging to the A. and A.S.R.—was constituted by the Grand Lodge of New Granada, and consisted chiefly of foreigners; in Toluca a Prov. Grand Lodge with five Lodges; in Vera Cruz and Guadalajara two Lodges each; and in five other cities single Lodges.

"In the year 1858 or 1859," according to an official report,[1] "Bro. Lafon de Ladebat went to Mexico with authority from Bro. Albert Pike [of Washington, D.C.] to organize and establish Masonry on a sound basis in that country. Unfortunately Bro. Ladebat did not organize a Grand Lodge of Symbolic Masonry first, as instructed, but constituted the Supreme Council with jurisdiction over the three degrees of E.A., F.C. and M.M."

After this came the invasion of Mexican territory by a foreign foe, the establishment of the Maximilian Empire, its overthrow, and finally the war of reform. Meanwhile the Grand Lodge of the Yorkinos had ceased to exist, and the "Scots Rite," which by this time had become divested of its political coloring, had erected—December 27, 1865—a Supreme Council 33°. This, in 1868, joined, or was absorbed by, the Supreme Council of 1858-59, and in the same year the amalgamated body effected a fusion with the National Grand Lodge—one of whose highest officials at the time was Benito Juarez, President of the Republic. The latter union, however, was not of a thorough nature, but rather assumed the features of a friendly pact, as it left each rite independent of the other with regard to ritual and internal government. In 1870 the National Rite numbered thirty-two Lodges, and the A. and A.S.R. twenty-four.

It would seem as if the authority of Juarez alone held these rites together, since at his death in 1872—although he was succeeded as President by his chief follower, Sebastian Lerdo de Tejeda, also a prominent Freemason—dissensions arose, and they fell asunder, Alfredo Chavero becoming G.M. of the Grand Orient, and José Maria Mateos of the National Grand Lodge. In 1876 a Lodge of Germans left the G.O. and joined the National Grand Lodge, but in the following year, with the consent of the latter, affiliated with the Grand Lodge of Hamburg—under which body there is also (1886) another Lodge at work in Vera Cruz.

From the scanty information at my disposal it seems probable—more cannot be said—that the two rites again formed a junction about 1882; while, on the other hand, it is quite possible that the National Mexican Rite may still exist, though its proceedings are unrecorded. So far, indeed, as evidence is forthcoming, upon the re-establishment of peace and order in Mexico, the Lodges under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Council throughout the Republic organized State Grand Lodges. A Central Grand Lodge was established in the capital, with jurisdiction over them, and though the Supreme Council made no formal abdication of its authority over Symbolism, this was interfered with very little, save by the Central Grand Lodge. In 1883 there were the following State Grand Lodges:—Vera Cruz and Jalisco, each with seven Lodges; Puebla, Yucatan, and Guanajuato, with six; and Morelos and Tlaxcala, with five; thus making a total of seven Grand and forty-two subordinate Lodges, exclusive of the Central Grand Lodge and the metropolitan Lodges.

It will be seen that at this period there existed at Vera Cruz a State Grand Lodge, but from the fact that it was subordinate to the Central Grand Lodge, it was not deemed by the Grand Lodge of Colon to exercise legitimate authority over Symbolism in that State. Indeed, the whole of Mexico was regarded by the last-named body as "unoccupied territory," and it therefore proceeded to charter three Lodges, which in January, 1883, formed themselves, at the city of Vera Cruz, into the "Mexican Independent Symbolic Grand Lodge."

Two of the Lodges taking part in this movement had originally held Mexican warrants,

[1] Proc. Grand Lodge of Louisiana, 1884, Appendix, p. 5.

but having quarrelled with their superiors, solicited and obtained charters from the G. L. of Colon (*now* Colon and Cuba), shortly after which the third Lodge was formed, and then, finally, the Grand Lodge, although the Supreme Council of Mexico had formally protested against the invasion of its territory. Indeed the step thus taken by their former superiors appears rather to have accelerated the action of the three Lodges, as in the record of their proceedings it is stated, "that they hasten to constitute themselves into an Independent Grand Lodge, pending the protest of the Supreme Council of Mexico, to relieve their friend and mother, the Grand Lodge of Colon, from any further unpleasant complications!"

The Supreme Council of Mexico, in a Balustre numbered XXX., and dated April 25, 1883, renounced its jurisdiction over the symbolical degrees, and promulgated a variety of regulations with regard to Grand and subordinate Lodges. This threw the Craft into the utmost confusion, and might have ended in the destruction of the greater number of Mexican Lodges, or at least in the establishment of some half dozen Grand Bodies, all claiming supremacy, had it not been for the skill and address of Carlos Pacheco, who succeeded Alfredo Chavero as Sov. G. Com. 33°.

The former Balustre was revoked, and by a new one (XXXII.), dated May 27, 1883, the Supreme Council renounced, in favor of the State Grand Lodges then existing or which might afterwards be formed, the jurisdiction over Symbolism conferred upon it by the Constitutions of the A. and A.S R. 33°. The transmission of powers was to take effect from June 24 then ensuing. The Lodges having no Grand Lodge were to remain under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge nearest to them, or the oldest if two were equidistant, until they organized their own in accordance with Masonic usage and precedent. The Lodges of the Federal District, however, were directed to form and inaugurate their Grand Lodge on June 15 then following. Balustre XXXII was signed (*inter alios*) by Carlos Pacheco, Mariano Escobedo, Alfredo Chavero, and Porfirio Diaz.

On June 25, 1883, twelve Lodges at the capital met and established the Grand Lodge of the Federal District (or city) of Mexico, with Porfirio Diaz as the first G.M. The event was announced to the Masonic world in two circulars, the first of which is in Spanish—an immense document of 180 pages! The second is in English, and its only noticeable feature is a declaration that the American system of State Grand Lodges, each with exclusive jurisdiction, has been adopted. Grand Lodges have since been established on the same plan —*i.e.*, in conformity with the edict of the Supreme Council, as promulgated in Balustre XXXII.—in the States of Vera Cruz, Tlaxcala, Morelos, Puebla, Campeachy, and Lower California. The complications, however, already existing in the Republic, were still further increased in 1883 by the action of the Grand Lodge of Missouri, in granting a charter to the Toltec Lodge, in the city of Mexico, which had been provisionally established at the close of the previous year under a dispensation from the Grand Master.

As these sheets are passing through the press, I learn that the recognition of the Grand Lodge of which Porfirio Diaz became the head, by the Grand Lodges of Louisiana and Florida, was duly protested against by Carlos Pacheco, Sov. G. Com. 33°, and Carlos K. Ruiz, the latter of whom claimed to be himself the legitimate G.M. It would appear from *La Gran Logia*, a bulletin published by some members of the Ruiz Grand Lodge, and denominated their official organ, that on the same day, at the same hour, and in the same hall, when and where the Diaz Grand Lodge was organized and installed, the other body was organized also. There was this difference, however, that whereas the Diaz party

transacted *their* affairs within the body of the Lodge, the supporters of Ruiz were reduced to the necessity of attending to *theirs* in the ante room—the latter brethren having withdrawn from the original convention whilst it was being organized, but not leaving the building, in the vestibule of which they afterwards conducted their own proceedings.[1]

Central America.

Nicaragua.—The Lodge of Regularity—No. 300—St. John's Hall, Black River, Mosquito Shore, was established under the Grand Lodge of England in 1763, and remained on the roll until 1813. The Mosquito Coast, or Mosquitia, is an ill-defined territory of Central America, which was under British protection from 1660 to 1859, when it was ceded to Honduras. In 1860 it was handed over to Nicaragua, and in 1877 appears to have been claimed by New Granada. Lodges at "Greytown, Mosquito," were erected by the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1851 and 1882. These are included in the Jamaica Province, a practice first carried out under the Grand Lodge of England, by the authority of which body Thomas Marriot Perkins, who was appointed Prov. G.M. of the Mosquito Shore by Lord Aberdour *circa* 1762, had his authority extended over Jamaica in the same or following year by Earl Ferrers.

British Honduras.—The Lodge of Amity—No. 309—St. George's Quay, Bay of Honduras, was also warranted in 1763 by the Grand Lodge of England, and, like the earlier Lodge on the Mosquito Shore, continued to appear on the lists until the Union. Subsequent English warrants were granted in 1820 to the British Constitutional Lodge No. 723, Bay of Honduras; and in 1831 to the Royal Sussex, No. 860, Belize. Both these Lodges, however, were erased, June 4, 1862.

Costa Rica.—A Lodge was chartered at San José by the Grand Orient of New Granada, about the year 1867; and, according to the Masonic Calendars, a Grand Orient and Supreme Council 33° for Central America was established at the same town in 1870. Dr. Francisco Calvo was at the head of both bodies, and appears to have been succeeded in 1879, or shortly before, by Carlos Urien. The present G.M. and Sov. G. Com. is Manuel B. Bonilla, and there are twenty-three Lodges under the jurisdiction of the Grand Orient.

Guatemala.—A Lodge—Constance—was established in this republic in 1881, by the Grand Orient of Colombia at Carthagena. In 1886 the members divided themselves among three new Lodges, Igualdad, Libertad, and Fraternidad—Nos. 21-23 on the roll of the Grand Orient of Central America (Costa Rica), "installed" May 22, 1886, which adhere to the A. and A.S.R.—and Union—of uncertain parentage—which is alleged to work in accordance with the "York Rite." The last-named Lodge has probably received an American or German charter, as a large number of its members are composed of these nationalities. At the present time there are about 200 Masons in the Republic of Guatemala, of whom about a moiety reside at the capital, and the remainder are distributed throughout the departments.

San Salvador.—Masonry obtained a footing and the Craft flourished for a time in this State, but in 1882 the Lodges were closed and the members dispersed. In that year,

[1] Authorities:—Masonic Calendars; Freimaurer Zeitung, No. 25, 1886; Freemason's Magazine, 1865, pt. i., pp. 62, 183; Handbuch, vols. ii., p. 318; iii, p. 600; iv., p. 115; Latomia, vol. xxv., p. 120; Mitchell, p. 645; Scot, p. 25; Mackey, p. 500; Proc. G.L. Louisiana, 1884, p. 4; 1885, p. 15; Illinois, 1884, pp. 103, 106; 1885, p. 48; 1886, p. 93; Maine, 1884, p. 724; Vermont, 1886, p. 86; and Early Hist. G.L. Pennsyl., List of Lodges, p. 17.

however, some zealous Masons, supported by the then President of the Republic—Rafael Zaldivar—succeeded in reuniting the scattered brethren, and founding a Lodge. Excelsior, No. 17, was established by charter of the G.O. of Central America (Costa Rica), at San Salvador, the capital, March 5, 1882, and a little later, another Lodge—No. 18, Caridad y Constancia—under the same sanction, at Tecla, a neighboring town.

With regard to HONDURAS, I have no information, beyond the bare fact that in 1885 the G.M. of New York declined to grant a dispensation for a Lodge in the republic. Should, however, any Lodges exist there, or in the other territories of the isthmus previously referred to (beyond those that have been enumerated), they will, in all probability, prove to be offshoots of the Grand Orient of Central America at COSTA RICA.

The latest details in the preceding sketch are derived from the *Chaine D'Union.*[1] From the same source I transcribe the following remarks on the conditions under which the Craft exists in SAN SALVADOR, though it may be assumed that these are generally applicable throughout the several States of Central America:—"The Masonry of this land has to contend against ignorance, superstition, and fanaticism, fostered by an all-powerful priesthood, allied with men in authority, and assisted by the women—whom they keep under their influence and their control, to a far greater extent than prevails in any country of Europe."

SOUTH AMERICA.

The minutes of the Grand Lodge of England inform us, that Randolph Tooke, Provincial Grand Master of South America, was present at a meeting of that body held April 17, 1735. Of this worthy nothing further is known beyond the bare fact that, in 1731, his name appears on the roll of Lodge No. 19, at the Queen's Arms, Newgate Street, London, of which two persons holding similar appointments[2]—Richard Hull and Ralph Farwinter—together with Sir William Keith, Ex-Governor of Pennsylvania, and Benjamin Cole, afterwards Engraver to the Society, were also members.

The next Prov. G.M., who received an English patent empowering him to exercise Masonic jurisdiction over any part of South America, was Colonel James Hamilton, who was placed at the head of the Province of Colombia in 1824. But as the political changes of subsequent years have left their mark on the nomenclature of the existing States of the Continent, a few preliminary words are essential, before passing in review the Masonry of the Spanish-American Republics, of the Brazilian Empire, and finally, of the European settlements in Guiana, which have politically nothing in common with the other divisions of South America.

New Granada, like all the adjacent portions of the New World, was for some centuries a colony of Spain. Upon the assertion of their independence by the provinces of Spanish America, in the early part of the present century, it formed, with Ecuador and Venezuela, the Republic of Colombia.

In 1831, each of the three States became autonomous, and in 1857, New Granada assumed the title of the United States of Colombia. The other parties, however, to the Federal Union, which was dissolved in 1831—Ecuador and Venezuela—have adhered to their original appellations. This it is necessary to bear in mind, because whilst a Scottish, as well as an English, Masonic Province of Colombia was created during the existence of the earlier republic of that name, the two Lodges under these jurisdictions were established

[1] Paris, Octobre, 1886, p. 422.

[2] *Ante*, pp. 129, 147.

at Angostura in Venezuela.[1] The first Prov. G.M. under Scotland, Don José Gabriel Nunez, the date of whose appointment is not recorded, was succeeded—May 6, 1850—by Senor Florentino Grillet, and on February 3, 1851, the designation of the Province was changed from Colombia to that of "Guayana in Venezuela."

The evidence, therefore, so far as it extends, points to Venezuela, rather than New Granada, as having been the centre of Masonic activity—at least, in the first instance—while they were both component parts of the (older) Republic of Colombia. For this reason, I shall assign a priority of narration to the record of Venezuelan Masonry. It remains to be stated, that there was in existence a Grand Orient of Colombia at Bogota in New Granada, shortly after the time when the two Lodges were established at Angostura, under British warrants.

The exact date of formation of this body it is not easy to determine. One of the two Grand Orients of what was formerly New Granada, but is now Colombia, and which meets at Bogota, claims 1827 as its year of origin; while there is independent evidence of the exercise of authority in Peru, by a Grand Orient of Colombia at Bogota, in 1825. On the whole, the explanation which seems to me the most reasonable is, that the *Grand Orient* of 1827, was preceded by a *Supréme Council*, armed with, or at all events, exercising, the same authority as the Hydra-headed organization of later date?

VENEZUELA.—Masonry is said to have been introduced into Venezuela at the commencement of the present century, when a Lodge was established by the Grand Orient of Spain. Several other Lodges are also reported to have sprung into existence under the same authority. The exercise of jurisdiction by the Grand Lodges of England and Scotland in 1824, within what was then the Republic of Colombia, has already been referred to. In 1825, Joseph Cerneau, who presided over a body which he had set up at New York in 1812, under the title of "Sovereign Grand Consistory of the United States of America," formed at Caraccas a Grand Lodge and a Supreme Council of the A. and A.S. R. 33°. This may have borne the title of, and doubtless has often been confounded with, the Grand Orient of Colombia in the sister State (New Granada). In 1827, Simon Bolivar, the Liberator, having prohibited all secret societies, the Lodges, with the exception of one at Porto Cabello, suspended their labors. In 1831, Venezuela having become independent by the disruption of the Colombian Republic, a dispensation to hold a Lodge for a year was obtained from certain dignitaries of the extinct Grand Lodge, in their capacity as members of the 33d or highest degree of the A. and A.S.R., by a few brethren, in the hope that within that period they would be able to procure a charter from some foreign Grand Lodge. Their efforts, however, were unsuccessful. The Lodge was suspended, and for several years the Craft languished. But in 1838 a revival took place. The Lodge last referred to renewed its labors, the old Lodges were resuscitated, and a National Grand Lodge of Venezula was established. Charters were issued to the old Lodges, and new ones were erected. In conjunction with the highest members of the A. and A.S.R. 33°, it established a supreme legislative body, under the name of Grand Orient, and also constituted a Grand Lodge, on the roll of which there appear to have been 16 active and 36 dormant Lodges in 1860. At this time—but the details of its formation I am unable to supply—another Grand Orient was in the field, and each body placed the other under a ban. On January 12, 1865, however, a fusion was effected, and the National Grand Orient

[1] *English*—No. 792, Concord, 1824; erased—at the great weeding-out of Lodges—March 5 (and June 4), 1862; *Scottish*—No. 379, Eastern Star of Columbia, 1824.

of Venezuela established at Caraccas. A breach occurred in 1882, but the schism was again healed in 1884. The Grand Orient is divided into a Grand Lodge, Grand Chapter, Grand Consistory, and a Supreme Council, each having its own chief, and possessing entire authority over its own degrees. The present G.M of the Grand Orient (1886) is General Joaquin Crespo, President of the Republic, and there are about fifty Lodges on the roll of the Grand Lodge. But nothing has yet occurred to oust the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, which is still represented by the Provincial Grand Lodge of "Guayana in Venezuela," and the Lodge "Eastern Star of Colombia," founded 1824.

COLOMBIA (FORMERLY NEW GRANADA).—The Grand Orient of New Granada was formed at Carthagena June 19, 1833. In 1860 there were 19 Lodges on its roll—among them La Mas Solida Virtud, at Jamaica. Francisco de Zubirias was Grand Master in 1865, and Juan Manuel Grau in 1871. Four years later—according to the somewhat fragmentary evidence at my disposal—the latter appears to have given way to, or to have been superseded by, Juan N. Pombo, whose name is shown in the calendars as G.M. from 1875 to 1878. In 1879, however, the name of Juan M. Grau again figures in the lists, whilst that of Juan N. Pombo disappears. Full details are given in the calendars with regard to the Masonic dignitaries of Colombia during the supremacy of either; and as Grau is not mentioned whilst Pombo was uppermost, and *vice versâ*, it is probable—considering the manner in which Masonry and politics are blended together in the Spanish Republics—that they were rival candidates for power in more ways than one.

New Constitutions seem to have been enacted in 1863, and after this a new Grand Orient of Colombia was formed at Bogota for the Southern States of the Republic. The ordinances were definitely settled December 12, 1866. At this date the Lodges were five in number, and the Grand Master, General T.C. de Mosquera—who, however, had given place in 1871 to Juan de Dios Riomalo.

The two Grand Orients practise the so-called "Scots Rite" (A. and A.S.R.), and appear to have worked together in perfect harmony. In 1879 we find Juan M. Grau at the head of both, with the title of Sov. G. Com. and Sublime G.M. of the Order. The Secretary General (or Grand Secretary) was also for a time the same for the two bodies, though there was always a separate Lieut. G. Com. (or D.G.M.) at Carthagena and Bogota. In 1883, Leon Echeverria was elected G.M. of the Order, an office which he continues to hold, according to the Calendars of 1886, where, however, his name is also shown as Sov. G. Com. of the Supreme Council at Bogota, "founded in 1827," whilst that of Juan M. Grau is similarly shown as the head of the Supreme Council of Carthagena, "founded in 1833." An English Lodge—Amistad Unida, No. 808—established in 1848, still exists at Santa Martha. Other foreign jurisdictions were formerly represented. "Les Philadelphes," No. 151, was erected at Colon-Aspinwall by the S.C. of France in 1858, and the Isthmus Lodge by the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts in (or before) 1866. Both these Lodges, however, have ceased to exist.

ECUADOR.—Masonry was introduced into this Republic in the year 1857 by the Grand Orient of Peru, which organized Lodges in Guayaquil and Quito. Three years later the Dictator, Garcia Moreno, sought admission into the Fraternity. His application was refused on account of his notoriously immoral character; and in revenge he called in the Jesuits, and ruthlessly suppressed the Lodges. He was assassinated in 1875, but twelve months elapsed before the population were able to shake off the oppressive yoke of the

priesthood. Rumors of a Grand Lodge at Guayaquil have obtained currency, but the evidence is wanting by which alone they can be substantiated.[1]

PERU.—It is traditionally asserted that Freemasonry was introduced into Peru about the year 1807, during the French invasion, and that several Lodges were at work until the resumption of Spanish authority and of Papal influence in 1813, when their existence terminated. But the authentic history of Peruvian Masonry cannot be traced any higher than 1825, when the independence of the Republic, declared in 1820, was completely achieved. In that year, General Valero, a member of the Grand Orient of Colombia at Santa Fé de Bogotá (New Granada), visited Lima, and as the representative of that body proceeded in the first instance to legitimate the Lodges and Chapters which had already been established in the new Republic, and afterwards to found and organize others. At this time there appear to have been four Lodges at the capital, and nine others were soon after erected in the provincial towns.[2]

A Supreme Council of the A. and A.S.R. 33° was instituted at Lima in 1830 by the senior (local) member of the Rite, José Maria Monson, Roman Catholic Chaplain in the Army of Independence, and afterwards a Canon in the Cathedral of Trujillo. In the following year—June 23—deputies from the Supreme Council 33°, the Consistory 32°, the Areopagus 30°, and the Chapters 18°, together with the Masters and Wardens of the Lodges, assembled in the capital under the presidency of the Sov. G.Com. of the S.C., and established a Grand Lodge, with Thomas Ripley Eldredge as G.M. The constitutions were settled on August 11, 1831, when it was unanimously resolved to substitute for the title "Grand Lodge," that of "Grand Orient of Peru. Shortly after this, owing to the political disturbances, there was an entire cessation of Masonic labor.

In 1845, after a recess of some twelve years, a few metropolitan brethren, members of the Lodge "Orden y Libertad," and of a Rose Croix Chapter, met and continued to work regularly until November 1, 1848, when a General convention of Masons was held, and the Grand Orient was revived. In 1850 the G.O. again assembled, and sanctioned a constitution for the government of the Lodges. Marshal Miguel San Roman—afterwards President of the Republic—was G.M. of this Grand Orient until 1852, but the Supreme Council 33° not only held aloof from its proceedings, but apparently ignored even its existence.

On July 13, 1852, the supreme Masonic body was reorganized under the title of Grand National Orient of Peru, and the members of the so-called high degrees recovered their supremacy. At this meeting twenty-five brethren represented the Supreme Council, Consistory, Areopagus, and the Rose Croix Chapters. There were also present the Masters and Wardens of three Lodges—Orden y Libertad, and Estrella Polar, of Lima; and Concordia Universal of Callao. Of these, the first named was founded in 1822, the second (by the G.O. over which Marshal San Roman presided) in 1850-52, and the third (by the Supreme Council of Peru) in 1852.

[1] Authorities—Venezuela, Columbia, and Ecuador:—Laurie, 1859, p. 406; Handbuch, vol. iv., p. 33; Latomia, vol. xxvi., p. 122; Mackey, pp. 154, 240, 854; and World-Wide Register, pp. 549-551. *Cf. post*, p. 184.

[2] *Lima*—Paz y Perfecta Union, 1821; Orden y Libertad, 1822; Virtud y Union, 1823; and Constancia Peruana, 1824: *Cuzco*—Sol de Huayna Ccapac, 1826: *Lambayeque*—Union Justa, 1826: *Pinra*—Constancia Heroica, 1829: and *Ica*—Filosofia Peruana, 1829. Five other Lodges were also formed about the same time in *Arequipa*, *Trujillo*, *Cajamarca*, *Puno*, and *Huamachuco* respectively, but their names and dates of constitution have passed out of recollection.

In the same year, (1852) a Royal Arch Chapter—Estrella Boreal—No. 74 on the roll of the Grand Chapter of Scotland, was established at Callao. This, however, was not recognized by the Supreme Council of Peru, nor was it allowed a voice in the deliberations of the Grand National Orient.

In 1855 a new Lodge under an old title—Virtud y Union—was erected at Lima by charter of the Supreme Council 33°.

New statutes were promulgated by the Grand Orient May 5, 1856. These were very defective, consisting only of some disjointed extracts from the laws of the G.O. of Venezuela, and placed the government of the Fraternity entirely in the hands of the Supreme Council 33.° At this time there were seven Lodges holding warrants from the Supreme Council—acting on behalf of the Grand National Orient. Of these five were in Peru, and one each in Ecuador and Chilé. Additional regulations, framed with the especial object of restraining certain irregularities which—it was alleged—had penetrated into the Lodges, were enacted in May, 1857. The new statutes caused the cup of indignation to overflow, and three Lodges—Concordia Universal, Estrella Polar, and Virtud y Union—on June 3, 6, and 10 respectively ensuing, declared their independence. These were joined by others to the number of fifteen, and a Grand Lodge was erected at Lima, November 20, 1859. In 1860 there was another schism in the Supreme Council, and the seceders, with the G.L., formed a G.O. and S.C. under a charter from the Grand Orient of Colombia (New Granada). In 1863, however, dissensions arose in this body, and it passed out of existence.

Irish Lodges were established at Lima in 1861 and 1863, and several foreign jurisdictions soon after became represented. Among these Scotland is entitled to the first place, having chartered no less than thirteen Lodges.[1] Under the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts a Lodge was formed by dispensation at Arica in 1866, but is now extinct. The Grand Orient of Italy and the Grand Lodge of Hamburg each possess a Lodge at Lima, the Italian Lodge bearing the name "Stella D'Italia," and the German one "Zur Eintracht" (Concord).

The Supreme Council reorganized the Grand Orient, but again suppressed it in 1875, and sentenced the opponents of this summary proceeding to "perpetual expulsion." The sentence was revoked in 1881, the G.O. once more revived, and the Lodges placed under it. This gave umbrage to the latter, who contended that even if the S.C. was justified in separating itself from the Lodges, it could not possess the right of turning them over to any other body. Ultimately, in March 1882, five Lodges met in convention at Lima, and organized the "Grand Lodge of Peru." Four out of the five Scottish Lodges at the capital are said to have given in their adhesion on May 31, and shortly after a Lodge was established at Guayaquil in Ecuador. The present G.M. is Cæsar Canevaro—General and Senator—and the Grand Lodge has a following of twenty-two Lodges.[2]

[1] Nos. 445, Peace and Concord, 1865, Callao; 479, Honor and Progress, 1868—515, Kosmos, 516, Paz y Progreso, 521, Arca de Noe, and 522, Regeneracion Fraternal, 1872—545, Atahualpa, 1874—558, Virtud y Union Regenerada, and 559, La Valle de Francia, 1875—all at Lima; 560, Independencia, 1875, Callao; 561, Constantia y Concordia, 1875, Tacna; 577, Paz y Caridad, 1876, Mollendo; and 643, Pioneer, 1879, Iquique.

[2] Authorities:—Arthur M. Wholey, Freemasonry in Peru; Handbuch, vol. iv., p. 137; Latomia, vols. xv., p. 230; xvi., p. 248; xxiii., p. 187; xxvi., p. 125; Freemasons' Magazine, May 12, 1866; Mackey, p. 576; Proc. Grand Lodge, Massachusetts, 1866, p. 96; Louisiana, 1877, p. 159; 1883, p. 163; Illinois, 1884, pp. 70, 106; and Maine, 1884, p. 118; 1885, p. 204; and 1886, p. 530.

Bolivia.—There is no Grand Lodge in this Republic. In 1875 a Lodge was chartered by one of the competing jurisdictions in Lima, and is possibly included among the four Lodges in Bolivia under the present G.L. of Peru.

Chilé.—Masonry is said to have been practised in Chilé, under a French warrant, as early as 1840, but the first Lodge in the Republic which I have succeeded in tracing is L'Etoile du Pacifique, established at Valparaiso by the Grand Orient of France, September 12, 1851. The next was the Pacific Lodge, formed shortly afterwards, under a dispensation from the G.M. of California, but its existence was limited to a single year. After this came L'Union Fraternelle—under the G.O. of France - also at Valparaiso, chartered in 1854. The fourth Lodge—Aurora du Chilé—is said to have been established under the same sanction at Concepcion, and to have subsequently assumed the name of Fraternidad, but I have been unable to trace it in the French Calendars. The fifth—Estrella del Sur—which also met in Concepcion, was chartered by the G.O. of Peru, but the warrant was returned in the year 1860.

The next three Lodges, Bethesda, Southern Cross, and Hiram of Copiapo, derived their origin from the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, the first in 1853, and the last two in 1858. Bethesda and Southern Cross met at the capital, and Hiram—as its name imports—at Copiapo in the first instance, and afterwards at Caldera. The Lodge of 1853—Bethesda—is still at work, but those established in 1858—Southern Cross and Hiram—became extinct about 1860 and 1881 respectively.

In 1861 a member of the A. and A.S.R. 33°, from Lima, Peru, established by his own authority a Lodge called Orden y Libertad in Copiapo, which forthwith addressed circulars to the other Lodges in Chilé, asking for recognition. This they declined to accord, basing their refusal on the ground that the founder of the new Lodge belonged to a spurious and irregular Supreme Council 33°, and had been expelled from the Grand Orient of Peru; also that it was not within the power of even a *regular* Inspector General 33° to establish a Lodge as it were single-handed, or, in other words, without the sanction of a Supreme Council of the Rite.

In April, 1862, the news that Marshal Magnan had been appointed by the Emperor G.M. of the Grand Orient of France reached Chilé. The Lodges, L'Union Fraternelle, Valparaiso, and Fraternidad, at Concepcion, immediately threw up their charters, and, it is said, were formally erased from the roll of the G.O. of France by decree dated November 10, 1863.

The two Lodges followed up their secession by asking L'Etoile du Pacifique to unite with them in forming a Grand Lodge, but their request met with a refusal. Nothing daunted, they then, in order to obtain a quorum of Lodges, formed a third, called Progreso, but to which no charter was given.

On April 20, 1862, these three Lodges met in convention, where they also found delegates from Orden y Libertad, of Copiapo, the very same Lodge to which recognition had been refused in the previous year. The delegates, however, were received, and thus four Lodges combined to form the Grand Lodge of Chilé.

Javier Villanueva was G.M. in 1872, and his address—as reported in the *Boletin Official* of that year—announced internal prosperity and good prospects; the consecration of two new Lodges; large contributions by the Craft for the erection of a Masonic Temple at Valparaiso;[1] and a satisfactory explanation of the action of the Grand Lodge of Massa-

[1] This was subsequently built at a cost of nearly $80,000.

chusetts in her establishment of Lodges in the jurisdiction. The Grand Lodge of Chilé had then nine subordinate Lodges. Their strength is not given, but in the previous year there were seven Lodges, with a total membership of eight hundred and seven. The number of Lodges on its roll has since risen to eleven, and the Grand Master at the present date (1886) is Don Josè-Miguel Faez. There are also some Lodges under the A. and A.S.R. 33°, which, according to Van Dalen's Calendar, obeyed a Grand Orient, established in 1862; but in the *Annuaire* of the G.O. of France, are rendered subject to a Supreme Council, founded in 1870.

Foreign jurisdictions are numerously represented. The Grand Lodge of Massachusetts has two Lodges—Bethesda, 1853, and Aconcagua, 1869—at the capital, besides Huelen, 1876, in Santiago, and St. John's Lodge, constituted in 1885 at Concepcion. These are subordinate to a District Deputy Grand Master, the Rev. David Trumbull, D.D. Under the Grand Lodge of Scotland there are Nos. 509, Star and Thistle, Valparaiso, 1871, and 616, St. John, Coquimbo—both included with the Lodges of Peru in Province No. 54. The Grand Lodges of England and Hamburg have each chartered a single Lodge, No. 1411, Harmony, 1872, existing under the jurisdiction of the former, and Lodge Lessing under that of the latter. Both of these meet at Valparaiso. The Lodge of earliest date in the country, L'Etoile du Pacifique, established by the Grand Orient of France in 1851, is still active, and has never swerved from its original allegiance.[1]

Argentine Republic, or Confederacy of La Plata.—The province of Buenos Ayres, after forming for some years a distinct State, re-entered in 1860 the General Confederacy of La Plata, or Argentine Republic, of which it constitutes the head. The Masonic history of the allied States down to the year named may be very briefly summed up. A Lodge—No. 205, Southern Star—was chartered at the city of Buenos Ayres by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, September 5, 1825. This capital, as the largest town and the outlet of all the trade of the Republic, has always exercised a preponderating influence in the formation and execution of the intrigues, conspiracies, and insurrections, which constitute the political history of the Confederation. From the close connection, therefore, between Masonry and politics, which we find subsisting in all parts of South America, it will excite no surprise that, without exception, all the early Lodges in La Plata, of which any trace has come down to us, were held at Buenos Ayres. Some were in existence there in 1846, but, about that time, the political aspect becoming gloomy in the extreme, their labors were suspended.

Two Lodges bearing the same name—L'Amie des Naufragés—were established by the Grand Orient of France in Buenos Ayres and Rio-de-la-Plata respectively in 1852. The example thus set was followed by the Grand Lodge of England, under whose authority the first of a series of Lodges[2]—in what is now the Confederacy—was erected in 1853. In 1856, there seems to have been in existence a body claiming the prerogatives of a Grand Lodge. It practised the A. and A.S.R., but was never recognized by the family of Supreme Councils, and soon ceased to exist. Two years later—April 22, 1858—a Supreme Council

[1] Authorities:—Proc. G.L. Mass., 1866–86; Freemason's Mag., 1865, pt. ii., p. 282; Latomia, vol. xxvi., p. 130; Handbuch, vol. vi., p. 30; and Boletin Official de la Grand Lojia de Chilé, 1872.

[2] Nos. 900, Excelsior, 1853; 1092, Teutonia, 1859 (*erased*, October 11, 1872); 1025, Star of the South, 1864,—all three at Buenos Ayres; 1553, Light of the South, 1875, Rosario de Santa Fé; and 1740, Southern Cross, 1878, Cordoba.

and Grand Orient of the Argentine Republic was established at Buenos Ayres by the S.C. and G.O. of Uruguay, at Monte Video.

About this time—so at least it is gravely related—"the Roman Catholic Bishop [at Buenos Ayres] fulminated a Bull against all Masons within his bishopric, and he went the length of declaring the marriage contract dissolved, and absolving the wife *a vinculo matrimonii*, in all cases where the husband refused to renounce Masonry. Some parties, as high in temporal authority as the Bishop was in spiritual, appealed from his decree to his Holiness Pius IX. at Rome. After waiting a long time for a reply or decision upon the appeal, and receiving none, an inquiry was instituted as to the cause of the delay, when it was found, to the great satisfaction of the Roman Catholics of La Plata, who were unwilling to bow to the behests of the Bishop, that, during a sojourn at Monte Video in 1816, the venerable Pontiff—then a young man—received the degrees, and took upon himself the obligations of Masonry?"[1]

This story has now passed into oblivion, but its salient feature—the initiation of Pius IX.—served for a long time as the text for innumerable disquisitions, in which, however, the scene is not always laid in South America, but shifts from Uruguay to Pennsylvania, and from North America to Italy. A statement of similar character (and value) was made long before by J. L. Laurens in his *Essai Historique*, with regard to Pope Benedict XIV., of whom it is related that, being himself a Freemason, he, not unnaturally, mitigated in some slight degree the rigor of the Papal edict against the Craft, which had been launched by his immediate predecessor Clement XII.

In 1861 a treaty was concluded between the Grand Lodge of England and the Grand Orient of the Argentine Republic. This empowered the former to establish Lodges in La Plata, and to appoint a district G.M. to rule over them. The Rev. J. Chubb Ford presided over the English District Grand Lodge until 1867, when he was succeeded by Mr. R. B. Masefield.

About the year 1877, the invariable rebellion of the Lodges against the domination of the Supreme Council 33°, which is always met with in the histories of Grand Orients, occurred in Buenos Ayres. There appears to have been both a protest and secession, but without, in this case, culminating in any definite result.

There were some 13 Lodges under the Grand Orient of La Plata in 1860, 39 in 1878, and 60 in 1886. The Grand Master, who has held office for several years, and was previously the Grand Secretary, is Dr. Manuel H. Langenheim. Foreign jurisdictions are represented by four Lodges under the Grand Lodge of England; by two under the Grand Orient of Italy; and by one each under the Grand Orient of France and the Grand Lodge of Hamburg. With the exception of two (English) Lodges, all these meet at Buenos Ayres. The French Lodge was established in 1852, and has already been referred to. Teutonia, under the Grand Lodge of Hamburg, appears to be of English origin, as a Lodge of the same name, working in the German language, was established at the capital by the Grand Lodge of England in 1859.[2]

PARAGUAY.—When this country proclaimed its independence of Spain, the reins of government were seized by Dr. Francia, a well-meaning despot, who, during his long administration, carried into effect his ideas of advancing the material interests of the state

[1] World Wide Register, p. 528.

[2] Authorities: Rebold, Hist. Tr. G.L., p. 249; Proc. G.L. England, 1877, p. 292; Handbuch, vol. iv., p. 7; Latomia, vol. xxvi., p. 130; and Mackey, p. 132.

by shutting it off from all communication with the outer world. Under his government Paraguay was for a long period as effectually closed as Japan had been before it The same exclusive policy, though without carrying it quite so far, was pursued by his successor, Don Carlos Antonio Lopez. The latter was followed in turn by his son, Don Francisco Solano Lopez, whose action involved the country in the disastrous war of 1864-70 with Brazil, Uruguay, and the Argentine Republic. This war cost Paraguay nearly one-half of its territory, and reduced its population from nearly a million and a half to about 220,000, of whom only 29,000 were men. If, conjointly with this, we bear in mind that Paraguay is the only country in South America without any seaboard, it will occasion no surprise that the traces of Masonry in the existing Republic are so faint as to be almost indistinguishable. The population of Asuncion, the capital, had fallen after the war from nearly 50,000 to about 10,000, of whom 3000 belonged for several years –if they do not at the present time—to the Brazilian army of occupation. The Masonic calendars of 1881-82 show a Lodge under the G.O. of Brazil as existing at Paraguay, but whether composed of natives or of the Brazilian garrison, and whether it still exists, are points upon which the statistics at my command leave me wholly in the dark.[1]

URUGUAY.—Masonry—if we may credit Dr. Mackey—was introduced into this Republic in 1827 by the Grand Orient of France, which in that year chartered a Lodge called the "Children of the New World." But I have failed to trace any such Lodge in the French Masonic calendars, and it is important to recollect that the independence of Uruguay, or, as it was formerly called, Banda Oriental (*Eastern Side*), as a Republic, was only definitely established by a treaty dated August 27, 1828. The country prides itself on possessing one of the finest political constitutions in South America. It sounds, therefore, almost like irony to be obliged to add that this Republic has been cursed with more frequent revolutions than any other in the New World. In one respect, however, Uruguay is decidedly in advance of the Indian Republic of Paraguay. It has a large, well-built, and pleasant capital, Monte Video, of which one-third of the residents are foreigners. A Lodge—No. 217, Asilio de la Virtud—was chartered in this city by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, February 6, 1832. After this the Masonic history of Uruguay is a complete blank until the year 1841, in which year, also at Monte Video, Les Amis de la Patrie—ultimately a Lodge, Chapter, Areopagus, and Consistory—was established by the Grand Orient of France. Further Lodges are said to have been erected under warrants from Brazil, but of these no exact record is forthcoming. The next event of any importance occurred in 1855, when authority was obtained from one of the then existing Grand Orients at Rio Janeiro to establish a governing Masonic body, and the Supreme Council and Grand Orient of Uruguay were formally constituted at Monte Video. The present Sov. G. Com. and G.M. is Dr. Carlos de Castro, who has held both offices for some years. The number of subordinate Lodges is thirty-four.

Besides Les Amis de la Patrie, under the G.O. of France, which still exists, foreign jurisdictions are represented at Monte Video by the following Lodges—England, No. 1178, Acacia, 1861; Spain (Becerra's Grand Lodge), No. 281, Paz y Esperanza; and Italy, I. Figli Dell' Unità Italiana, and I. Liberi Pensatori. A Lodge, Avenir et Progres, No. 182, was formed —also at the capital—under the Supreme Council of France in 1865, but is now extinct.[2]

[1] Masonic Calendars ; Bates, Central and South America, pp. 399, 599; and Globe Encyclopædia, *s.v.* Paraguay.

[2] Authorities :—Masonic Calendars ; Rebold, p. 333 ; Mackey, p. 850 ; and Bates, pp. 404, 406.

Brazil.—In 1820 the solitary representative of the Craft in the then kingdom of Brazil was a Lodge at Rio Janeiro, which is said to have been established under a French warrant in 1815. In 1821 this Lodge threw off two shoots, or, more correctly speaking, divided itself into three parts, and these by their deputies formed the first Grand Orient of Brazil. The modern French rite of seven degrees was adopted, or rather continued, which, together with the traditional ancestry of the original Lodge, will account for the speedy recognition of the new organization by the G.O. of France. In the same year Dom Pedro, Regent, and afterwards Emperor, of Brazil, was initiated in one of the three Lodges. This was immediately followed by his being proclaimed Grand Master, but soon convincing himself that the Masonic associations were in all but name mere political *coteries*, he ordered their meetings to be discontinued in 1822.

In the following year—November 17—Le Bouclier de l'Honneur Français was erected at Rio Janeiro by the G O of France, but there is no reason to suppose that it enjoyed any better fate than befell the Lodges of earlier date, all of which remained in an enforced trance until the departure for Europe of the Emperor Dom Pedro in 1831.

After the abdication of that monarch a "Grand Brazilian Orient" was established, which led to the revival of the older (or original) "Grand Orient of Brazil," under its first G.M., Jose Bonefacio de Andrada e Silva. Political enmities soon made their presence felt. The Grand Orient of 1821 was despotic, and that of 1831 democratic. Both worked the modern French Rite, but each anathematised and hurled defiance at the other.

In 1832 Montezuma, Viscount Jequitinhonha, who had served as ambassador at several European Courts, returned to Brazil, where he was empowered by the Supreme Council of Belgium to establish a branch of the A. and A.S.R. Accordingly, in November, 1832, he proceeded to institute a Supreme Council 33° for Brazil. The rivalry of this new body put the two Grand Orients on their mettle. They at once commenced to warrant Chapters and Consistories, and ended by each erecting a Supreme Council. In 1835, however, further complications arose. Dissensions occurred among the constituents of Supreme Council No. 1. Some of these cast in their lot with the "G.O. of Brazil," and elected Andrada e Silva their Sov. G. Com. ; another section erected a Supreme Council of its own (No. 2); whilst the remainder continued steadfast in their allegiance to their founder, Montezuma. At this period, therefore, there were in active existence two Grand Orients and four Supreme Councils. In the same year (1835) the first of a series of Lodges in the Empire was chartered by the Grand Lodge of England,[1] and the peace of the Craft was much harassed by political disturbances in the Province of Pará—the last in Brazil to declare its independence of the mother country and acknowledge the authority of the first Emperor. According to a recent writer, at this time the native party in Pará were much enraged with the Portuguese. There was a serious revolt, and the former in an evil hour called to their aid the ignorant and fanatic mongrel and Indian population. "The cry of death to the Portuguese was soon changed to that of death to the Freemasons, then a powerfully organized society, embracing the greater part of the male white inhabitants."[2]

In 1838 Viscount Albuquerque succeeded Andrada e Silva as G.M. of the Grand Orient of Brazil (G.O. No. 1), and was followed in 1850 by the Marquis d'Abrantes. Meanwhile, in 1842, the Grand Brazilian Orient (G.O. No. 2) had openly rejected the

[1] Nos. 616, Orphan, 1835, and 703, St. John, 1841, Rio Janeiro (*erased* March 5, 1862); and 970, *now* 672, Southern Cross, 1856, Pernambuco.

[2] H. W. Bates, The Naturalist on the River Amazons, 1863, p. 39.

Modern French Rite, and transferred its allegiance to the A. and A.S.R. 33°. This in turn had been followed by a junction between the Grand Brazilian Orient and Supreme Council No. 2. Thus only three distinct and separate organizations were left in the field, viz, the two Grand Orients, each with a Supreme Council, and the Original Supreme Council (No. 1) under Montezuma.

A list of Brazilian Lodges, numbered in consecutive order from 1 to 130, is given in the *World Wide Register* for 1860. In the year last named—September 30—Grand Orient No. 2 and Supreme Council No. 1 were dissolved and suppressed by Imperial decree. This left the older (or original) G.O. of Brazil in possession of the field. Not, however, for any long period. In 1863 there was further strife, and the Grand Orient split into two parts, each of which became popularly known by the name of the street in which it assembled. One body, the G.O. of Lavradio Valley, chose as its G.M. Baron Cayru, who was followed by Dr. Joachim Marcellino de Brito in 1865, and by the Visconde do Rio Branco in 1870. The other moiety, the G.O. of Benedictine Valley, elected Dr. Joachim Saldanha Marinho to preside over them.

In 1872 the schism was apparently healed by the amicable fusion of the two Grand Orients, but within a year dissensions again broke out, and with undiminished virulence, each of the two opponents once more seeking recognition as the legitimate Grand Orient of Brazil.

The Lavradios were again arrayed under the standard of Rio Branco, Prime Minister of the Empire; whilst the Benedictinos renewed their fealty to Saldanha Marinho,a former Minister of State, and the head of the Liberal party. The various Lodges throughout the country once more divided their allegiance, some adhering to the Lavradio faction, but the larger number enrolling themselves on the side of the Benedictinos.

The discord passed through sundry phases. In the first instance, and to go back beyond the temporary fusion of 1872, the two Grand Orients reflected pretty accurately the prevailing opinions of the rival parties in the State. In course of time it became a recognized fact that the Lavradios were supporters of the clerical authority, whilst the Benedictinos, on the other hand, everywhere denounced the evils of priestcraft and Ultramontanism. At this period the clergy entered fully into the fray. On one party they bestowed high praise; on the other they lavished terms of opprobrium. The Lavradios, however, under the benignant rule of Rio Branco, gradually grew less bigoted and illiberal in their ideas, and in 1873 twenty-three of their Lodges went over to the enemy. This example was quickly followed by fifteen others. It is probable that the secession just referred to was also in some measure the result of proceedings which it becomes my next task to relate.

The Jesuits, driven from most of the European countries, selected Brazil as a field for their enterprise. For a long time the Church and the Freemasons had lived in peace, and the population of Pernambuco was always recognized as the type of Christian piety. But the Bishop of that diocese—a young monk, aged twenty-three—at the bidding of the Jesuits, attempted to enforce the Papal Bull against the Freemasons. The prelate had counted on the support of the people, but his high-handed measures turned the tide of popular feeling. The Bishop was mobbed in his own palace, and the military had to be called in to protect him.

Eventually the Government interfered, and the Bishop, disdaining to avail of the *locus pœnitentiæ* which had been devised for him, was sentenced to four years' imprisonment.

The Archbishop of Bahia and the Bishops of Olinda, Pará, Rio Janeiro, Dramantina, and Marianna are also said—in violation of the orders of their Government—to have hurled their anathemas against the Craft.

The fickle populace than turned once more against the Freemasons, who suffered much at the hands of the mob, and were refused the sacraments of the Church, and burial for their dead in consecrated ground, by the clergy. The Benedictinos nevertheless held their own, and especially distinguished themselves in the spread of liberal ideas. Among the measures they energetically supported were acts for the abolition of slavery and for the foundation of public libraries. Instructive lectures, moreover, were delivered from time to time by members of this party. Meanwhile the Lavradios had gradually shaken off the yoke of their clerical allies, by whom they were ultimately regarded with the same aversion as their rivals, and in 1877 there were attempts at a fusion. At this time the Benedictinos under Saldanha Marinho numbered 216, and the Lavradios, under Rio Branco, 56 Lodges.

Six years later—January 18, 1883—the union was perfected, and Francisco José Cardoso proclaimed G.M. and Sov. G. Com. of the (sole) Grand Orient of Brazil. Three rites are recognized by this body—the A. and A.S.R. 33°, the Modern French (7°), and the Adonhiramite rites. Each of these is governed by a Chamber of the G.O., which is styled a Grand Lodge. In 1883 there were 139 Lodges, 48 of these meeting at the city of Rio Janeiro, and 91 in the provinces. At the present date (1886) the total number of Lodges under the G.O. is 210. Foreign jurisdictions (or Grand Lodges) are represented by the following Lodges:—England: No. 970, Southern Cross, Pernambuco, 1856; Scotland: No. 473, Progresso, Rio Grande, 1867; and Hamburg: of the Palm of Peace, Blumenau, 1885. Among the Lodges formerly existing, but now extinct, may be named Le Bouclier de l'Honneur Français, Rio Janeiro, 1823 (G.O. of France); No. 378 [ ], Maranham, 1856 (Grand Lodge of Ireland); and "German Friendship of the Southern Cross," originally two Brazilian Lodges, which amalgamated in 1856, and found a place on the roll of the Grand Lodge of Hamburg in 1859.[1]

Guiana.

I must now devote a few words to the region situated north of Brazil and east of Venezuela, which forms the only remaining portion of the Southern Continent still held by European Powers. Guiana, or Guayana, in its widest sense, certainly embraces the whole of the Sierra Parimé, thus including districts belonging to Venezuela and Brazil; but the term is now generally restricted to the colonial possessions of England, France, and Holland in this part of the world.

British Guiana.—Two Lodges are known to have been in existence at the capital, Georgetown or Demerara, in the last century. The first—St. Jean de la Re-Union—was established by the Grand Lodge of Holland in 1771, and the second No. 887, on the roll of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, apparently very soon after the cession of a portion of Guiana—now forming the British Colony of that name—in 1796. Three years later a Dutch Lodge, bearing the somewhat singular name of Cœlum non Mutat Gesus, was formed in Berbice;

[1] Authorities:—Mackey, p. 125; Findel, p. 696; New England Freemason, vol. i., 1874, pp. 27, 287 [giving the admirable speech made by Visconde do Rio Branco in reply to the attack on Freemasonry in the Senate of Brazil]; Boletim do Grande Or. ·. Unido do Brazil, 1872; Handbuch, vols. i., p. 127; iii., p. 554; iv., p. 20; Proc. G.L. Canada, 1873-74, pp. 477, 495, 671; Latomia, vol. xxiii., pp. 63, 226; and Cosm. Cal. 1886, p. 278.

and in 1801 the "Chosen Friends of Demerara" was established by the Grand Lodge of New York. The fourth Lodge at Georgetown—Union, No. 358—was constituted under an Atholl warrant, July 28, 1813; and the fifth—Mount Olive, No. 812—by the United Grand Lodge of England in 1827. Further English Lodges—Nos. 682, Lodge of Fellowship, and 1183, Phœnix—were erected at New Amsterdam in 1839 and 1867 respectively. The four earliest Lodges have long since ceased to exist; No. 682 under the Grand Lodge of England was erased June 4, 1862; but all the other Lodges above enumerated are still active. In 1858, a dispensation to open a Lodge at Demerara was refused—in my opinion, very prudently—by the Grand Lodge of Canada

DUTCH GUIANA, OR SURINAM.—In the *Freemason's Calendar*, 1776, a list is given of the Lodges in Holland and the Dutch colonies. Among these are La Vertieuse, 1769, and La Fidèle Sincèrité, 1771, at Batavia; and Concordia, 1762, La Zelée, 1767, and Le Croissant des Trois Clefs, 1768, at Surinam. Apparently the same Lodges, though with slightly varied dates of formation, and in a solitary instance a change of name, are also shown in the edition of the same publication for 1778.[1] Of these there seem to be two survivors at the present day, which in the Official Calendar of the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands (1886) are described as Nos. 8, De Ster in het Oosten, 1769, Batavia; and 13, Concordia, 1773, Parimaribo. They are included in the Masonic province of Surinam.

Other Lodges in Guiana, of which there is no complete record, have doubtless lived their span and died; but the only particulars with regard to them that I have been able to glean will be found in the note below,[2] to which, however, must be added, that there was a "Surranam Lodge" under the Prov. G.L. of New England in 1761.

FRENCH GUIANA, or CAYENNE.—Three Lodges in all appear to have been constituted at Cayenne, the capital of the colony, which is now scarcely anything more than a penal settlement of the French Government. The first, L'Anglaise, was established in 1755 by the Mother Lodge of the same name—No. 204—at Bordeaux; the second, La Parfaite Union, in 1829, by the Grand Orient of France; and the third, La France Equinoxiale, in 1844, by the Supreme Council 33° of the same country. The last named is at present the only Lodge at work in Cayenne.[3]

The only region of South America which still awaits notice is PATAGONIA, and it is almost needless to state that Masonry is as yet unknown to the various Tehuelche tribes which roam between the Rio Negro and the Strait of Magellan.

AUSTRALASIA.

Tasmania and New Zealand, together with the whole of Australia, were originally subject to the government of New South Wales, and the following are the dates on which the former colonies became independent of the latter:—Tasmania, 1825; Western Australia, 1829; South Australia, 1834; New Zealand, 1841; Victoria, 1851; and Queensland, 1859.

[1] La Vertieuse, 1767, and La Fidèle Sincèrité, 1771, Batavia; La Zelée, 1767, Concordia and L'Union, 1773, Surinam.

[2] Standvastigheid, Parimaribo; La Zelée, L'Union, La Solitaire, Cura et Vigilantia, and Concordia, Surinam (World Wide Register, 1860, p. 546). *Cf. ante*, p. 141, note 1.

[3] Authorities—English, Dutch and French Guiana:—Masonic Calendars; Daruty and Rebold's Lists; Letters from S. B. Oldham, Dep. G. Sec. Ireland, and J. P. Vaillant, G. Sec. Holland; Proc. G.L. Canada, vol. i., 1855-60, p. 192; and St. John's G.L. Boston, U.S.A., 1733-92, pp. 73, 79.

New South Wales.—The Lodge of Social and Military Virtues—No. 227 on the roll of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, attached to the 46th Foot in 1752, after undergoing many vicissitudes, was at work in the same regiment at Sydney in 1816. This paved the way for the establishment of stationary Lodges, and Irish warrants were issued to Nos. 260, Australian Social, in 1820, and 266, Leinster, in 1824. The third (strictly colonial) Lodge, No. 820, Australia, was erected by the Grand Lodge of England in 1828. The last named, as well as the Irish Lodges, met at Sydney, the capital. The first established in any other part of the Colony was No. 668, St. John, constituted at Paramatta in 1838, and the second, No. 697, the Lodge of Australia Felix, at Melbourne— then included in the government of New South Wales—in 1841. An Irish Lodge—No. 275—was erected at Windsor in 1843, and in the same year, No. 408, Australasian Kilwinning, at Melbourne, received a Charter from the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

From this point the statistics will be given according to the jurisdictions represented. Thus, the number of Lodges established in the Colony during the two decennial periods next ensuing was as follows:—1844-53, English, seven; Irish and Scottish, one each: 1854-63, English, fourteen; Irish, one; and Scottish, seven. In the twelve years immediately following (1864-75), the additions were: English, fourteen; Irish, three; and Scottish, ten. The subsequent numbers (1876-85) are: English, thirty-three; Irish, two; and Scottish, thirty-one. The Lodges now active under the three jurisdictions, reckoning the further additions during the current year (1886), are: English, seventy-four (including one in New Caledonia;) Irish, one; and Scottish, fifty (with a membership of 2242).[1] An English Provincial Grand Master was appointed in 1839, an example which was followed by the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1855, and by that of Ireland in 1858. The present rulers of the Craft (under the jurisdiction of the mother countries) in this Colony are: District Grand Masters, Mr. John Williams (E.), and Dr. W. G. Sedgwick (S.). The Irish Provincial G.L. has ceased to exist.

So far as I am aware, the question of separation from the mother Grand Lodges was first formally mooted in Victoria. Still, for some years, at least, before the event which it becomes my next task to relate, "there had existed in Sydney a body styling itself 'the Grand Lodge of New South Wales,' formed from the great majority of a regular Lodge—St. Andrew's. It affected to make, pass, and raise Masons, grant charters, and issue certificates."[2]

On December 3, 1877, the representatives of twelve or (at most) thirteen Scottish and Irish Lodges met at Sydney, and established another Grand Lodge of New South Wales, to which, however, the pre-existing body of the same name eventually made submission, and accepted an ordinary Lodge warrant at its hands. At this time (1877) there were eighty-six regular Lodges in the Colony: English, forty-seven; Scottish, thirty; and Irish, nine. The thirteen Lodges which thus assumed to control the dissenting majority of seventy-three, sheltered themselves under a perverted principle of Masonic law[3]—applied

[1] The services of the District G.S., and the expansion of Scottish Masonry in New South Wales, which are alike phenomenal, represent cause and effect. Mr. Higstrim, it may be added, has more than once declined the offer of a similar though more highly paid appointment in the Colony.

[2] Circular dated December 23, 1878, signed by "J. S. Farnell, G.M., New South Wales."

[3] *I.e.*, of *American* Masonic Law. Mr. Josiah H. Drummond observes:—"The proposition, then, derived from the original principle, as expounded by universal practice in this country, is—Not less than three Lodges, comprising a majority of the Lodges in a new territory, may form a

to a wholly illusory state of facts. This was, that any three Lodges in a territory "Masonically unoccupied"—the *three* jurisdictions already existing being thus coolly and quietly ignored—could form themselves into a Grand Lodge, and that when so formed, the remaining Lodges—averse to the movement—were they one hundred or one thousand in number, would be irregular!

The leader in this "misguided and untimely movement,"—as it has been happily characterized by the present Scottish D.G. Secretary, Mr. Higstrim—was Mr. James S. Farnell, who had been appointed Prov. G.M. under the Grand Lodge of Ireland in 1869. In Australia, as in Canada, the Irish Lodges first raised the flag of independence, but in the former unlike the latter country, there was not the community of feeling, produced by an equal pressure of discontent, which had induced the brethren under the three British jurisdictions in North America to unite for the furtherance of a common end. The disadvantages, indeed, with which all the Australian Lodges had (and still have) to contend were considerable, but, on the other hand, there were (and are) in many minds, feelings—not wholly sentimental—opposed to working under any other warrants of Constitution than those granted by the three earliest of existing Grand Lodges. It may be taken as an axiom, that in any country where matters are ripe for the formation of an independent Grand Lodge, the movement will proceed and mature, and that the large majority of Lodges and brethren will connect themselves with it. If, however, a step in the direction of independence is taken before the Lodges are quite ready for it, the success of the movement will be mainly contingent upon the amount of influence wielded by the leaders of the agitation, or, in other words, upon the extent of their following. Mr. Farnell—according to his own statement in 1881—served for twenty years as a member of the parliament of New South Wales, and was also for a time prime minister, but his influence as a Mason does not seem to have been great. When he was elected Grand Master, the affairs of the Irish Province of New South Wales were in thorough confusion,[1] and not the least of the motives which weighed with his supporters—Scotch as well as Irish—appears to have been the growing indisposition to be taxed by (or remit fees to) the mother countries.

The new organization, at the close of 1885, had been recognized *as the only regular governing Masonic body* in the Colony by thirty-eight Grand Lodges, chiefly, however, American. There seems, indeed, in the United States a decided inclination to regard each uprising of the Lodges in a British colony, as a tribute to the efficacy of a certain doctrine which has been laid down by Dr. Mackey with regard to the formation of Grand Lodges. But those American jurisdictions which have lent a willing ear to the specious representations of the Grand Lodge of New South Wales, are now running the gauntlet of intelligent criticism, and the several committees by whom they have been hoodwinked or

Grand Lodge, having exclusive jurisdiction in such territory." But the same distinguished writer goes on to state:—"The idea that a small minority of the Lodges may form a Grand Lodge, and force the other Lodges into it against their will, or drive them out of existence, seems to us monstrous. In almost all matters in Masonry the majority rules; and while we allow a minority in certain cases to have a decisive negative upon proposed action, in no case do we allow a minority to adopt affirmative action against the will of the majority" (Proc. G.L. Maine, 1885, p. 163). *Cf.* Proc. G.L. Tennessee, 1885; and Louisiana, 1886.

[1] According to the Dep. G. Sec. of Ireland (in a letter to Mr. H. A. Richardson of Paramatta, dated February, 1879), no returns or remittances had been received from the Prov. G.L. for a considerable time, and to clear off the arrears of the subordinate Lodges, the Grand Lodge of Ireland had consented to accept £300, or a composition of about 15s. in the £.

misled, may read with profit some of the reports on correspondence in the larger States, notably, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and New York, where the unaccountable delusion into which so many Grand Lodges have fallen is discussed with equal candor and ability. It is almost needless to say that a Grand Lodge thus constituted by a small minority of the Lodges in New South Wales, has been refused recognition by the Grand Lodges of the British islands.

In December, 1885, the G.M. was Dr. H. J. Tarrant. There were forty-four subordinate Lodges, and the total number of initiations since the inauguration of the Grand Lodge had been 1926.

VICTORIA.—The Lodges of Australia Felix and of Australasia (*now* Nos. 474 and 530) were established at Melbourne by the Grand Lodge of England in 1841 and 1846 respectively. Scottish Masonry obtained a footing in the same city—with "Australasian Kilwinning"—in 1843; and an Irish Lodge—Hiram, No. 349—was also chartered there in 1847. In the same year a third English, and apparently the fifth Victorian, Lodge—Unity and Prudence, No. 801—was constituted at Geelong. After this the Craft advanced in prosperity by leaps and bounds. Thirty-six English Lodges were added to the list between 1847 and the close of 1862; twenty-eight during the ensuing thirteen years, and twenty within the decennial period commencing January 1, 1876. During corresponding intervals of time, the Irish warrants granted in the colony were respectively twelve, seven, and three: and the Scottish, three each in the first two periods, and two in the last.

The first Provincial G.M. of Victoria (or Australia Felix) was the Hon. J. E. Murray. The date of his appointment by the Grand Lodge of Scotland has not been recorded, but he was succeeded by Mr. J. H. Ross, August 3, 1846. The present District G.M. is Sir W. J. Clarke, who received his Scottish patent in 1883. English and Irish Provinces were established in 1855 and 1856 respectively, and the following has been the succession of English Provincial (*now* District) Grand Masters:—Captain (*now* Major-General Sir Andrew) Clarke, 1855; Captain F. C. Standish, 1861; and Sir W. J. Clarke, 1883. The rulers of the Irish Province have been Mr. J. T. Smith, 1856-79; and from 1880, Sir W. J. Clarke.

The Lodges now (1886) at work under the three jurisdictions, all of which, however, are in a manner united under a single Provincial G.M. are:—English, ninety-one; Irish, seventeen; and Scottish, twelve (including one in Levuka, Fiji).

The idea of forming an independent Grand Lodge of Victoria seems to have been first launched in 1863, and after encountering the opposition of the Earl of Zetland, was debated—March 2, 1864—in the Grand Lodge of England, by which body a resolution was passed declaring its "strong disapprobation" of the contemplated secession. It was observed in prescient terms by the late John Havers, that "every new Grand Lodge was the forerunner of new and conflicting degrees. It was a stone pulled away from the foundations of Masonry, and opened another door for inroads and innovations;" and he exhorted the brethren in Victoria to "remember that union was strength, and universality one of the watchwords of Masonry."

In 1876, the agitation for a local Grand Lodge was renewed, but again slumbered until 1883, when the scheme was fairly carried into effect by an insignificant minority of the Lodges.

In the latter year a meeting was held, and a Masonic Union of Victoria formed, April 27. At this time there were seventy English, fifteen Irish, and ten Scottish Lodges in the colony—total, ninety-five. On June 19 certain delegates met, and the adhesion of eigh-

teen Lodges—twelve Irish, five Scottish, and one English—to the cause was announced. But the number has since been reduced by the subtraction of the English Lodge and one other, which were erroneously named in the proceedings. By this convention it was resolved "that the date of founding the Grand Lodge of Victoria should be July 2, 1883." Thus we find *sixteen* Lodges, with an estimated membership of about 840, calmly transforming themselves into the *governing body* of a territory containing *ninety-five* Lodges, and a membership of *five thousand!*

This organization has a following of about twenty subordinate Lodges; and as the proceedings of some Grand Lodges baffle all reasonable conjecture, it will occasion no surprise to learn that by seventeen of these bodies the titular "Grand Lodge of Victoria" had been duly recognized at the close of 1885, as the supreme Masonic authority in this Australian colony. At the same date Mr. G. Coppin entered upon the second year of his Grand Mastership, having been installed—November 4—in the presence of the Grand Masters of New South Wales and South Australia.

Meanwhile, however, the English, Irish, and Scottish Lodges, which have remained true to their former allegiance, are united in a solid phalanx under a single Provincial (or District) G.M.—Sir W. J. Clarke; and should the day arrive when independence is constitutionally asserted by the century and more of Lodges[1] which obey this common chief, those bodies by whom the *soi-disant* Grand Lodge has been accorded recognition, will find themselves confronted by an interesting problem, not unlike that propounded with so much dramatic effect by the late Mr. Sothern in the *rôle* of Lord Dundreary, viz., "whether it is the dog that wags his tail, or the tail that wags the dog?"

South Australia.—The South Australian Lodge of Friendship, Adelaide, No. 613 (and later, No. 423), on the roll of the Grand Lodge of England, was constituted at the British metropolis in 1834. The founders were all in London at the time, and two persons—afterward Sir John Morphett, President of the Legislative Council, and Sir R. D. Hanson, Chief Justice of the colony—were initiated. A second English Lodge was established at Adelaide in 1844, and in the same year, also at the capital, a Scottish one.

In 1855 the first Irish charter was received in the colony, and in 1883 the total number of Lodges formed in South Australia was as follows:—English, twenty active, one extinct; Irish, seven active, three extinct; and Scottish, six, all active.

The initiative in forming a province was taken by Scotland in 1846, a step followed by England in 1848, and Ireland in 1860.

In 1883 there were premonitory symptoms that the lamentable examples set by a minority of the Lodges in the adjacent colonies of New South Wales and Victoria, in usurping the authority and honor which should belong to the majority, would be followed in South Australia. The imminence of this danger induced Mr. H. M. Addison to form a Masonic Union, whose labors resulted—April 16, 1884—in a convention of 85 delegates, representing twenty-eight Lodges, by whom the Grand Lodge of South Australia was established. The proceedings of the executive committee of the Masonic Union, which were characterized throughout by the most scrupulous regularity, were crowned by an unprecedented unanimity of feeling on the part of the Lodges. A resolution in favor of independence was carried *nem. con.* in eighteen English, four Irish, and six Scottish Lodges, and with a single dissentient in one English, and with two dissentients in

[1] The approximate number, counting Lodges under dispensations, is 125.

one Irish Lodge; whilst in the sole remaining Lodge under England, and in the "Mostyn" under Ireland, a majority of the members joined the Union. Thus, in effect, out of a grand total of thirty-three Lodges under the three British jurisdictions, only a single Lodge—No. 363—Duke of Leinster (I.), has adhered to its former allegiance. The new Grand Lodge (besides the usual indiscriminate recognition of American Grand Bodies) has been admitted to fraternal relations with the Grand Lodges of England, Ireland, and Scotland. The privilege, however, accorded by the last name in August, 1885, was cancelled in the November following, a proceeding, there is every reason to believe, arising out of the inconsistent action of the colonial Grand Lodge in recognizing the authority of the Grand Lodge of New South Wales—the irregular establishment of which, it was declared by Mr. Addison, at the formation of the Masonic Union in Adelaide, July 30, 1883, would, if imitated, "bring Masonry in South Australia into disrepute throughout the world.

The Hon. S. J. Way, Chief Justice of the Colony, and Mr. J. H Cunningham, formerly District Grand Secretary (E.), have been Grand Master and Grand Secretary respectively, since the foundation of the Grand Lodge. The subordinate Lodges are thirty-six in number, with a total membership of 2277.

QUEENSLAND.—The North Australian Lodge was established at Brisbane by the Grand Lodge of England in 1859, and two others under Irish and Scottish warrants respectively, were constituted at the same town in 1864.

Each jurisdiction is represented by a Provincial (or District) G.M., and the number of Lodges is as follows:—English, twenty-six active, two extinct; Irish, eleven active, three extinct; and Scottish, twelve, all active.

WEST AUSTRALIA.—Eight Lodges in all have been formed in this colony, the first of which—St. John, No. 712—was erected at Perth in 1842. Seven of these survive, and being included in no Province, report direct to the Grand Lodge of England, which in this solitary instance has not suffered from the exercise of concurrent jurisdiction by other Grand Bodies.

TASMANIA.—Lodges under the Grand Lodge of Ireland were established at Hobart Town in 1823, 1829, 1833, and 1834, but the three earliest of the series are now extinct. A fourth Lodge under the same sanction was constituted at Launceston in 1843, and it was not until 1846 that English Masonry obtained a footing on the island. In that year Tasmanian Union, No. 781, was formed at Hobart Town, and a second English Lodge—Hope—sprang up (in the first instance under a dispensation from Sydney) in 1852. In the following year the Rev. R. K. Ewing became the Master of the latter, and in 1856 the Lodges of Faith and Charity were carved out of it—Mr. Ewing then becoming, on their joint petition, Prov. G.M. The other English Lodge—Tasmanian Union—objecting to these proceedings, as having been carried on clandestinely, was suspended by the Prov. G.M., and remained closed for nine months. The strife thus engendered nearly put an end to English Masonry in Launceston. Lodge Faith became dormant, Charity was voluntarily wound up, and even in Hope the light almost went out. Soon, however, there was a revival, and in 1876 the Grand Lodge of Scotland also began to charter Lodges on the island, where there are now four in existence under its jurisdiction. These are included in the Province of New South Wales. The Grand Lodges of England and Ireland have each a roll of seven Lodges on the island,—one under the former body, and four under the latter, having surrendered their charters. The English Prov. Grand Lodge died a natural death on the removal of Mr. Ewing to Victoria, but a new one was established

under Mr. W. S. Hammond in 1875. The Irish Lodges were constituted into a Province in 1884.

New Zealand.

The first Lodge in the Colony—Française Primitive Antipodienne—was founded at Akaroa by the Supreme Council of France, August 29, 1843; the second—Ara—at Auckland, by the Grand Lodge of Ireland in 1844; and the third—New Zealand Pacific—by the Grand Lodge of England in 1845. No further charters were issued until 1852, when English Lodges were established in Lyttelton and Christchurch, whilst others sprang up at New Plymouth and Auckland in 1856, at Wanganui in 1857, and at Nelson and Kaiapoi in 1858. In the latter year an Irish Lodge (the second in the colony) was formed at Napier, and in 1860 an English one at Dunedin—where also the first Scottish Lodge was erected in 1861. After this the diffusion of Masonry throughout New Zealand became so general, that I must content myself with giving the barest statistics, which, for convenience sake, will be classified so as to harmonize as far as possible with the Provincial systems of the three competing jurisdictions. Between 1860 and 1875 there were warranted in the colony twenty-five English, eight Irish, and twenty-one Scottish Lodges; whilst in the ten years ending January 1, 1886, the numbers were respectively forty-seven, seven and thirty-two.

The Lodges in New Zealand are usually classified according to the Masonic Provinces of which they form a part. Of the latter there are five English and three Scottish, of late years denominated *Districts*, in order to distinguish them from bodies of a like character in Great Britain; and one Irish, to which the more familiar title of Provincial Grand Lodge is still applied. These preliminaries it will be necessary to bear in mind, because the arrangement which seems to me the simplest and best, is to group the Lodges according to their positions on the map, which in the present case will correspond very closely with the territorial classification, or division into Districts, by the Grand Lodge of England.

North Island.

Auckland District.—The District (or Provincial) Grand Masters are Mr. G. S. Graham (E.), Sir F. Whitaker (S.), and Mr. G. P. Pierce (I.); whilst the number of Lodges under the several jurisdictions is eighteen under the G.L. of England, and six each under those of Scotland and Ireland, that is, if taken according to locality, for all the Scottish Lodges on the North Island are comprised within the Auckland *District*, and the whole of the Irish Lodges in both islands within the Auckland *Province*.

Wellington District.—The only D.G.M. is Mr. C. J. Toxward (E.); and the number of Lodges is respectively eighteen (E.), eight (S.), and four (I).

Middle, or South Island.

Canterbury District.—The D.G.M.'s are Mr. Henry Thomson (E.) and the Rev. James Hill (S.,) who rule over nineteen and nine Lodges respectively. The seat of government is at Christchurch, where there is also an Irish Lodge, the only one in the District.

Otago and Southland District.—Mr. T. S. Graham presides over one D.G.L. (E), and Mr. G. W. Harvey over the other (S.). There are fourteen Lodges in each District, *i.e.*, according to the local arrangement, for the Scottish D.G.L. (of which there are only

two in the South Island) exercises authority beyond the territorial limits of Otago and Southland. The total number of Lodges on its roll is twenty-one, and doubtless Otago has derived much of its importance as a Scottish Masonic centre, from the fact of having been originally founded by an association connected with the Free Church of Scotland. At Dunedin and Invercargill there is in each case an Irish Lodge.

Westland District.—The only D.G.M. is Mr. John Bevan (E.), who rules over six Lodges; and there are three others (S.) which are comprised within the D.G.L. of Otago and Southland at Dunedin.

Marlborough and Nelson District.—These Provinces of the colony are exempt from any local Masonic jurisdiction, under the Grand Lodge of England, which is represented by five Lodges. There is also a Scottish Lodge (at Blenheim), which is subject to the D.G.L. of Otago and Southland.[1]

Oceania.

Although the various islands and archipelagoes have been treated as far as possible in connection with the continents with which they are ordinarily associated, there are some few of these, lying as it were in mid-ocean, that must be separately dealt with, and their consideration will bring this chapter to a close.

New Caledonia.—This island was taken possession of by France in 1854, and has been used for some years as a penal settlement. At Noumea, the chief town and the seat of government, there are two Lodges, L'Union Calédonienne, and No. 1864, Western Polynesia. The former was established by the Grand Orient of France in 1868, and the latter (which is included in the Masonic Province of New South Wales) by the Grand Lodge of England in 1880.

Fiji Islands.—The formation of a Lodge—Polynesia—at Levuka, with the assent of the native king, was announced to the Masonic world in a circular dated March 12, 1872. The islands were annexed to Britain in 1874, and on February 1, 1875 a Scottish charter —No. 562—was granted to a Lodge bearing the same name and meeting at the same place as the self-constituted body of 1872. This is comprised in the Masonic Province of Victoria. A second British Lodge—No. 1931, Suva na Viti Levu—was established in the Archipelago by the Grand Lodge of England in 1881.

Society Islands.—Masonry was introduced into Papeete, the chief town of Tahiti (or Otaheiti), the largest of the Society Group, by the Grand Orient of France in 1834. A Chapter—L'Océanie Française—was established in that year, and a Lodge of the same name in 1842. The labors of these bodies were intermittent, the latter having been galvanized into fresh life in 1850, and the former in 1857. Both Lodge and Chapter are now extinct.

Marquesas Islands.—A Lodge, which has long since ceased to exist—L'Amitié—was established at Nukahiva by the Grand Orient of France in 1850.

Sandwich or Hawaiian Islands.—In 1875 there were three Lodges in this group, and more recent statistics show no increase in the number:—Le Progrés de l'Océanie,

[1] Authorities—Australasia:—Proc. G.L. England, 1864, 1865, 1881, 1885; Scotland, 1886; New Brunswick, 1879, 1884; Pennsylvania, 1882; Iowa, 1883; Illinois, 1884–86; New York, 1885; and South Australia, 1884–86; Freemasons' Calendar; Masonic Journals; Manifestoes and Proceedings, claiming recognition as Grand Lodges, from the Associated Lodges in New South Wales and Victoria; and G. Robertson, New Zealand Masonic Directory, 1886.

erected by warrant of the Supreme Council of France in 1850; and the Hawaiian and Wailukee Lodges, under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of California. The last named is at Maui; the others meet at Honolulu, the capital, where they occupy a hall in common. The earliest of the two American Lodges (Hawaiian) was formed in 1852. These three Lodges are composed of natives, Americans, Englishmen, and Germans, between whom the most friendly relations subsist. King Kalakua is an active member of Le Progrés de l'Océanie, and his brother, William Pitt Leleihoku, of the Hawaiian Lodge. The former, who has visited many foreign countries, also evinces the same interest in Masonry while on his travels. On January 7, 1874, he was entertained by Lodge Columbian of Boston (U.S A.), and on May 22, 1881, by the National Grand Lodge of Egypt. By the latter body the King was elected an Honorary Grand Master, and afterwards delivered a lengthy oration, in which he expressed his belief in Egypt being the cradle both of Operative and Speculative Masonry, and thus may be said to have fully reciprocated the compliment which had been paid him by the meeting.[1]

[1] Authorities :—Masonic Calendars ; Rebold, Hist. Tr. G.L., pp. 175, 195, 235, 295 ; Proc. G.L. Canada, 1872, p. 244; 1873, p. 390 ; Mackey, p. 687 ; Freemason, July 16, 1881 ; and New England Freemason, 1875, p. 44.

CHAPTER XXX.

SEA AND FIELD LODGES.

THE only Stated Lodges in ships-of-war appear to have been held under English warrants, though in Portugal and elsewhere there have been meetings of Occasional Lodges where members of the Craft, persecuted on shore, have sought a refuge in the shipping. Field Lodges have existed in numerous jurisdictions, and are variously described. The title used by me occurs in a calendar of 1763, and while sanctioned by early usage, will admit of the inquiry being restricted to the existence of Lodges in military bodies—attached to the latter both in quarters and in the field. The earliest of these Lodges was established in the 1st (British) Regiment of Foot in 1732, under the Grand Lodge of Ireland, and four other similar Lodges, making a total of five, were at work in the same jurisdiction at the close of 1734.[1] The number had risen to eight in 1743, when the first Military Warrant was issued by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and stood at twenty-nine when the earliest Lodge of the kind was established—1755—by the Grand Lodge of England, in the 8th Foot.

The Irish jurisdiction has always included the greater number of (British) Army Lodges, and in 1813 possessed a military following of one hundred and twenty-three. At the same date, the number of Lodges in regiments under the other British Grand Lodges, and without counting the remote pendicles under Provincial Grand Lodges in foreign parts, was: England, fifteen; Ancients, sixty-two;[2] and Scotland, eighteen. This total has declined, in 1886, to fifteen Lodges, of which nine are Irish and the remainder English.[3]

A record of all the Lodges in regiments, or other movable military cadres, warranted by the British Grand Lodges or their representatives abroad, will be found—to the extent that I have succeeded in tracing them—in the present chapter.[4] The enumeration of stationary Lodges in garrisons or fortresses, even though composed exclusively of military members, lies, however, beyond the scope of my present purpose. The same may be said with regard to the distinguished roll of general officers, who have been active members of the Society. Of these I shall merely cite the names of Abercrombie, Moore, Earl Moira, and Sir Charles Napier. The task before me is to exhibit in the smallest possible compass a picture of an almost obsolete branch of Freemasonry, and neither sympathy with

[1] Pocket Companion, Dublin, 1735. From this year I am mainly dependent on information supplied from the Grand Lodge of Ireland, but as *four* out of the *five* Lodges named above are not mentioned in it, and for other reasons, I think there must have been many Irish Lodges in the British army of which all traces have been lost.

[2] Fifty Lodges were carried forward at the Union, Chap. XXI., p. 262.

[3] *Post*, 209.

[4] In cases where a portion of the general subject has been already dealt with, as in the instance of the Brigade Lodges in India (*ante*, p. 129 *et seq.*), the reference will be given.

the subject, nor an affluence of materials collected with a larger object in view, must divert me from this imperative duty.

Of the Sea Lodges there is nothing further to be said beyond the passing allusion that the existence of all of them was probably due to the exertions of a single individual.[1] With the Field or Army Lodges it is different, and the outline of these bodies, as given in successive tables, I shall to a limited extent fill in, by prefacing each separate list with a brief introduction, commencing with the Lodges in British Regiments and deriving the materials for my sketch in great part from their actual minutes and records.

The Gibraltar Lodge (128),[2] in the 39th Foot,—"Primus in Indis,"—claims to have made the first Mason in India, under a European Warrant, in 1757. It subsequently founded numerous Lodges in various parts of Hindostan. There is a stone let into the wall in Fort-William, Calcutta, commemorative of the early history of this Lodge. All its working tools and jewels fell into the hands of the enemy during the Peninsular War, but were subsequently returned to the regiment. The same fate befell the Lodge chest in the 6th Dragoon Guards (577,) which was returned under a flag of truce and with a guard of honor. The 17th Foot lost its Warrant (18) in the American War, and it was courteously transmitted to them by General Parsons, with a fraternal letter. The 46th Foot (227) twice lost its chest, which was sent back on the first occasion by order of General Washington,[3] and on the second, by the French military authorities, three years after its capture at Dominica, in 1805. The historian of the 43d Foot complains, in 1758, that "the time passes very wearily" at Nova Scotia, and adds, "when the calendar does not furnish us with a loyal excuse for assembling in the evening, we have recourse to a Freemason's Lodge, where we work so hard that it is inconceivable to think what a quantity of business of great importance is transacted in a very short space of time."[4] This Lodge I have not succeeded in tracing, and the same is the case with regard to another, in the 54th Foot, attached to that corps, at St. John, New Brunswick, in 1786.[5] A battalion of the 9th Foot was wrecked on the French coast in 1805, and the members of the Lodge (183) solaced the weary hours of their captivity by assembling regularly at Valenciennes until the peace of 1814. The colonel of a regiment often became the first master of the Lodge attached to it. Thus in the 20th Foot, A.D. 1748, Lord George Sackville presided in the first instance over the Minden Lodge (63), though it cannot have borne that title until after his famous escapade at the battle of the same name in 1759.[6]

The following announcement appeared in the *Newcastle Courant* of January 4, 1770:—

"This is to acquaint the public, That on Monday the first instant, being the Lodge (or monthly meeting) Night of the Free and Accepted Masons of the 22d Regiment, held at the *Crown* near Newgate (Newcastle), Mrs. Bell, the landlady of the house, broke open a door (with a poker) that had not been opened for some time past, by which means she got into an adjacent room, made two holes through the wall, and, by that stratagem, discovered the secrets of Freemasonry; and she, knowing herself to be the first woman in the world that ever found out the secret, is willing to make it known to all her sex. So any lady who is desirous of learning the secrets of Freemasonry, by applying to that well-learned woman (Mrs. Bell, that lived fifteen years in and about Newgate), may be instructed in the secrets of Masonry."

[1] Thomas Dunckerley.

[2] Figures within brackets in this section denote the numbers of the Lodges.

[3] Chap. XXIII., p. 313.

[4] J. Knox, Hist. Journal, 1759, vol. i., p. 143.

[5] Chap. XXIII, pp. 307, 308.

[6] *Ante*, p. 150.

"It would be interesting to know," continues my authority,[1] "how many pupils Mrs. Bell obtained, and why she appealed to her own sex in particular."

The 38th Foot still possesses a Lodge (441), originally constituted in 1765, and as its proceedings have figured largely in the Masonic journals, some account of these, derived from the actual minutes and records, may be interesting to my readers. The Lodge re-opened at St Pierre, Martinique, on November 8, 1796, "the former registry, with the chest, warrant, and jewels, having been captured by the enemy at Helvoet-Sluys in January, 1795." The regiment proceeded to St. Lucia and Saints, 1797; Ireland, 1802; Cape Town, 1806; Buenos Ayres and Monte Video, 1806-7;[2] and after a period of home service, the Lodge, which was closed in 1811, re-opened, November 7, 1819, at Cape Town, when a letter—dated April 5 of the same year—was read from the Grand Lodge of Ireland, of which the following is an extract:—

"The Union of Ancients and Moderns in England had no particular effect in this country, as we never had any Lodges but *Ancient*, neither have we adopted any of their new ceremonies."

The working of the Royal Arch degree was resumed in the *Lodge* November 14, 1822, when a letter, dated May 15, 1820, from the Deputy Grand Secretary, was read, of which the following passage is recorded in the minutes:—"There is not any warrant issued by the Grand Lodge of Ireland other than that you hold; it has therefore always been the practice of Irish Lodges to confer the Higher Degrees under that authority."[3] The names of the members of the degree are headed, "Roll of Excellent-Super-Excellent Royal Arch Masons of Lodge No. 441."[4]

The Lodge was next opened at Berhampore, E.I., in the same year (1822), but closed in 1823, and remained dormant until 1840, when it resumed work at Limerick. At this period Lord Ebrington was the Lord-Lieutenant, on whose arrival in Ireland, the Lodge No. 473 at Enniskillen, knowing that he was Provincial Grand Master of Devon, voted him an address, but in his published reply he declared that Masonry was not suited to the condition of Ireland, and that therefore he could not countenance it. Shortly after this a paragraph appeared in the papers announcing the revival of Lodge No. 441 in the 38th Foot, and the commander-in-chief, Sir Edward Blakeney, set in motion by the Lord-Lieutenant, peremptorily ordered the meetings to cease, and "all documents connected

[1] Chambers's Journal, 1882, p. 400. According to Clavel (p. 34), Madame de Xaintrailles, who had been given the rank of captain for service in war, by the First Consul, was made a Mason at Paris in the Lodge "Frères-Artistes," of which many French officers were members An incident of the late American Civil War appears to be on all-fours with the stories of Miss St. Leger and Mrs. Bell. The life of a young Irishman, taken red-handed as a guerilla by a party of the Iowa Regiment in 1861, was spared—so it is related—through his sister making a Masonic sign for relief, it proving on Examination that she had passed all the degrees (Weekly Budget, U.S.A., March 28, 1883).

[2] The 38th formed the storming party at the attack and capture of this city. The colonel, who was mortally wounded, after entering the breach, surveyed the scene, supported by his orderly sergeant, James Matthews (a member of the Lodge), and his dying words were, "Bravo, 38th, my brave regiment."

[3] The Minden Lodge (63), in the 20th Foot, continued to work the R.A. degree under their original warrant until October 9, 1838, when a separate charter was issued by the Grand Chapter of Ireland.

[4] The following singular entry appears in the earlier R.A. record :—"1803.—T. Fallon, Ensign, was produced for entrance, but declined, and was dismissed with the usual precautions."

with the institution to be forthwith returned to the Parent Society." The warrant was therefore sent to the Grand Lodge, from whom, however, a hint was received in 1842—the 38th being then at Corfu—that "it was as much at the disposal of the members as when in their own possession;" and in the same year the box containing it, which had not been opened, was returned to the regiment.

As appears above, the Irish Lodges always worked according to the system in vogue among the so-called Ancient Masons, or perhaps it would be better to say, that the latter took their Masonry undiluted and unchanged from the former. The result, however, in America, where the influence of the Army Lodges made itself chiefly felt, was very marked. The customs of the Scottish Regimental Lodges were in no respect different to those of the Irish, and the older Grand Lodge of England was too sparsely represented among the military forces of the crown to exercise any counter-influence, if indeed her Field Lodges in foreign parts did not—as I imagine must have generally been the case—acquire the tone and character of the vast majority of these associations.

The active part played by Lodges in British regiments in the Masonic history of Massachusetts and New York will be separately narrated, but it may be incidentally observed that the predominance in North America of the "Ancients" over their rivals, the titular "Moderns," must be ascribed in great part to the influx of Regimental Lodges from the Old World, and to their subsequent dissemination of the principles and the practice of what was then termed "Ancient Masonry" throughout the length and breadth of the continent.[1]

The muster-roll of Field Lodges in the British Army has been drawn up so as to agree with the order in which the various regiments were understood to rank, before the recent abolition of numerical titles, though, for convenience sake, I shall not interrupt the regimental sequence by placing the Royal Marines and the Rifle Brigade after the 49th and 93d Foot respectively, in accordance with their regulated precedency.

During the last century so many battalions were raised and disbanded, with the resultant shuffling of numbers, as to render it impossible to be quite sure in all cases whether the numerical titles of regiments are those borne on the dates when the Lodges attached to them were erected, or at a later period. The identification of particular corps has been a laborious task. These are sometimes described by the names of their colonels, and at others by territorial or (obsolete) regimental designations. Thus we meet with Lodge No. 612 (I.) "in the First Ulster Regiment"—which is the only entry that has baffled me—and No. 277 "in the 2d Green Horse" (now 5th Dragoon Guards), 1757.

The Irish Lodges were always chiefly, and in many cases exclusively, known by their *numbers*, which, whenever practicable, were made—by exchanging the ones previously held—to correspond with those of the regiments whereunto such Lodges were attached.

When there were several Lodges existing in a regiment at the same time, this fact will ordinarily coincide with a plurality of battalions, but the possibility of two Lodges working simultaneously in a single battalion of the ordinary strength, is evidenced by the proceedings at the centenary of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, in 1836—when the members of Lodges "Hibernia" and "St. Andrew," in the 42d Foot (or Black Watch), attracted admiration, alike for their martial appearance and Masonic behavior.

The exact rank of the Hon. Artillery Company of London has never been definitely settled. According to the historian of the corps, "the members are usually classed with

[1] Chap. XIX., 202.

the Volunteers, which, properly speaking, they are not; and it is still an open question whether the officers would rank before or after militia officers, or with them according to the dates of their commissions." [1]

No Lodge has yet been established in the Indian Native Army, though the erection of one—to be called "John of Gaunt in the East"—in the 15th Madras N.I., was all but carried into effect in 1858.

SEA LODGES.[2]

On Board the Vanguard, 254, E., 1760. | On Board the Prince, 279, E., 1762.
On Board the Canceaux, at Quebec, 224, E., 1762.

BRITISH AND IRISH FIELD LODGES.[3]

CAVALRY.

1st Life Guards, Truth, 571, E., 1798.

DRAGOON GUARDS.

1st, George,	520, E., 1780-1813.
2d,	960, I., 1805-28.
4th, St. Patrick,	295, I.,[4] 1758.
5th,	277, I., 1757-95.
" Charity,	570, I.,[5] 1780.
" Salamanca,	663, E., 1815-28.
6th,	577, I., 1780-1858.
7th,	305, I.,[6] 1758.

DRAGOONS.

1st,	384 I., 1799-1800.
2d,	[ ], K., (*circa*) 1747.
" St. Andrew,	158, S., 1770-1816.
3d, R.A. Union,	211, S., 1785-1852.
"	197, A.,[7] 1806.
4th, Union R.A.,	260, S., 1796.
"	50, I.,[8] 1815.
5th,	289, I., 1757-83.
"	297, I., 1758-1818.
6th,	123, A., 1763.
"	508, E., 1777-1813.
"	311, A., 1797-1837.
6th,	876, I. [ ].
7th, Queen's	188, S., 1776-1816.
"	262, A., 1807-24.
8th,	280, I., 1757-1815.
"	752, E., 1822-32.
9th,	158, I., 1747-1815.
"	356, I., 1760-1818.
"	284, A., 1794-1813.
11th,	211, E., 1756-82.
"	339, A., 1807-10.
12th,	255, I., 1755-85.
"	179, I.,[9] 1804.
" Sphinx,	179, I., 1868.
13th,	234, I., 1752-1815.
"	607, I., 1782-88.
"	400, I., 1791-1849.
14th,	273, I., 1756-1822.
16th,	929, I., 1803-19.
17th,	478, I., 1769-95.
"	285, A., 1794-1828.
"	218, I., 1873.
18th, 1st Squadron,	388, I., 1762-1813.
" 2d "	389, I., 1762-1821.
20th,	759, I., 1792.
23d,	873, I. [ ].

[1] Raikes, vol. ii., p. 25.

[2] *Cf.* Chaps. XVII., p. 97; XX., p. 234; and XXIII., p. 321.

[3] EXPLANATIONS.—E. denotes *English* (*i.e.*, G.L. of England until 1813, and United G.L. afterwards); A., *Ancients;* I., *Irish;* S., *Scottish;* K., *Kilwinning;* Gib., *Gibraltar;* Jam., *Jamaica;* U.C., *Upper Canada;* L.C., *Lower Canada;* N.E., *New England;* N.Y., *New York;* and N.S., Nova Scotia. When known, the *name* is given before the *number* of a Lodge. A second date denotes erasure or last register, but in the majority of cases dormant Lodges continued to be shown in the Lists for many years after they had virtually ceased to exist.

For previous allusions to the general subject, the reader is referred to Chaps. XVIII., pp. 170, 171; XIX., pp. 195, 202; XX., pp. 234, 245; XXI., p. 262; XXII., pp. 296-298; XXIII., pp. 307, 308, 312-314, 316, 317, 328; XXVIII., 119, and XXIX, 132 *et seq.*, 143; and for articles on "Military Masonry" by the present writer, to the *Freemason's Chronicle*, January 3, July 10 and 2, and October 2, 1880, and the "Voice of Masonry," 1880, p. 748.

[4] Warrant surrendered, 1830; reissued, 1878.

[5] Warrant returned, 1858; reissued, 1863.

[6] Exchanged for No. 7, 1817; cancelled, 1858.

[7] Closed by order of C.O.

[8] Exchanged for No. 4, 1818; called in, 1821.

[9] Exchanged for No. 12, 1817; called in, 1827.

Royal Artillery.[1]

1st Batt.,[2] Scotland, 134, A., 1764-74.
" Chatham, 187, A., 1774-77.
" Gibraltar, 230, A.,[3] 1785.
2d " Perth, 148, A.,[4] 1767
4th " New York, 213, A.,[5] 1781.
" 144, A., *cir.* 1804.
" Gibraltar, 209, A., 1779.
4th " Gibraltar, 345, A., 1809-27.
5th Batt., Eastbourne, 101, A., 1812-23.
6th " Ceylon, 329, A., 1802-30.
9th " Gibraltar, 187, A., 1812-22
10th " S. Africa, 354, A., 1812-51.
10th Batt., Gibraltar, 356, A., 1813-21.
Rl. H. Art., Colchester, 156, A., 1809-28.
[ ], Woolwich, 86, A[6]., 1761.
Capt. Webdell's Cmpy., 183, A., 1773.
Quebec, St. John, 241, A.,[7] 1787.
Pt. Royal, Jamaica, 262, A., 1790-1805
Calcutta, 317, A ,[8] 1798.
Gibraltar, 2 and 5, Gib., 1802.
" 4, 5, 9 and 11, Gib., 1811.
Quebec, 40, A., 1804-14.
Halifax, Virgin, 2, N. S.,[9] 1782.
" Rl. Standard, 39, N. S., 1819.

Royal Engineers.

Div. of Artificers, Jersey, 293, A., 1795.
Rl. Mil. Artificers, ditto, 350, A., 1810.
37th Company, R.E., 1265, E.,[10] 1863-64.

Foot Guards.

Coldstream Regiment, Perseverance, 492, E.,[11] 1776.

Infantry Regiments.

1st, 11, I., 1732-1847.
" 74, I., 1737[12]1801.
" 381, I., 1762-65.
" Unity P. and C., 574, E., 1798.
" Rl. Thistle, 289, S., 1808-52.
2d, 244, I., 1754-1825.
" 390, I., 1762-1815.
3d, 170, A., 1771-92.
4th, United, 147, S., 1769-1809.
" 522, I., 1785-1823.
" 91. I., 1857-65.
5th, 86, I., 1738-1815.
" St. George, 353, A., 1812-62.
6th, 643, I., 1785-1800.
" 646, I., 1785.
" 4, L.C., 1804.
" Orthes, 689, E., 1817.
7th, 38, I., 1750.
" 231, I., 1752.
" 153, A.,[13] *cir.* 1804.
" 2 and 7, L.C., 1804.
8th, 255, E., 1755-1813.
9th, 246, I., 1754-70.
" 183, A., 1803-29.
10th, 177, I., 1748-55.
" 299, I., 1758-1803.
" 378, I., 1761-65.
11th, 72, A., 1758-67.
" 604, I., 1782-94.
" 313, A., 1798-1813.
12th, D. of Norfolk's, 58,[14] S., 1747-1809.
" Mt. Calpe, 1116, E., 1860.
13th, 153, A., 1768-76.
" 637, I., 1784-88.
" 661, I., 1787-1819.
14th, 211, I., 1750-61.
" 58, A., 1759-1813.
" Union, 338, A., 1807-30.
" Officers' L., 347, A., 1810-13.
" Integrity, 771, E., 1846.
15th, 245, I., 1754.
16th, 293, I., 1758-1817.
" 300, I., 1758-1801.
17th, 136, I., 1748.

[1] The Lodges in the H.E.I.C. Artillery have been referred to in the last chapter (India). See also Chap. XVII., p. 102.

[2] Since 1859 the companies (R.A.) have been linked together in brigades instead of battalions.

[3] United with No. 13 in 1826.

[4] Present St. John's Lodge, Gibraltar.

[5] Purchased the No. 9 (A.) in 1787, *now* Albion, No. 2, under the G.L. of Quebec.

[6] Purchased the No. 7 (A.) in 1788, *now* No. 13.

[7] *Now* under the G.L. of Quebec.

[8] *Now* No. 229.

[9] Nos. 2 and 39 became Nos. 829 and 835 (E) at Halifax in 1829.

[10] " Warrant withdrawn and fee returned by order of the G.M." (Note in G.L. Reg.).

[11] Now No. 7, Royal York Lodge of Perseverance.

[12] This date is given by Barker (*ante*, p. 137)—the year 1783 appears in the G.L. Records—and the Pocket Companion, Dublin, shows only thirty-seven Irish Lodges as existing in 1735.

[13] In Downe's List, Dublin, 1804, only.

[14] Chap. XXIII., p. 307.

17th	Unity,	168, S.,	1771-1816.
"		237, A.,	1787-92.
"	Unity,	18,[1]	1779.
"		921, I.,[2]	1802.
18th,		168, I.,	1747.
"		351, I.,	1760-84.
"		335, A.,	1806-13.
"		18, Jam.,[3]	1810.
19th,	St. Andrew's	590, E.,	1802-32.
20th,	Minden,	63, I.,	1748-1850.
"	Sphinx,	263, I.,	1860.
21st,		33, I., *cir.*	1734.
"		936, I.,[4]	1803.
22d,	Moriah	132, S.,	1767-1809.
"		251, I.,	1791.
23d,		63, S.,[5]	1751-1809.
"		137, S.,	1767-1816.
"		252, A.,	1788-1822.
"		738, I.,[6]	1808.
24th,		426, E.,	1768-1813.
25th,		92, I.,[7]	1749-1815.
"		250, I.,[8]	1819.
26th,	Cameronian,	309, I.,[9]	1758.
27th,		24, I.,	1734.
"		528, I.,	1787-1815.
"		692, I.,	1808-18.
28th,		35, I.,	1734.
"		[ ], N.E.,[10]	1758.
"	Royal Arch,	510, I.,	1773-1824.
"		6 and 9, Gib.,	1804.
"		260, I.,	1809-15.
29th,	Glittering Star,	322, I.,[11]	1759.
30th,		85, I.,	1738.
"		535, I.,[12]	1776.
31st,	Fort George,	100, S.,	1760-1852.
"	St. George,	108, S.,[13]	1761-1816.
31st,		5, Gib.,[14]	1802.
"	Meridian,	1045, E.,	1858.
32d,		61, I., *cir.*	1747.
"	White's,	73, S.,	1754-1809.
"		617, I.,	1783-85.
33d,		12, I., *cir.*	1732.
"		90, A.,	1761-1813.
"		681, E.,	1816-29.
34th,	Barry,	466, E.,[15]	1784-1813.
"		240, A.,	1807-32.
35th,		205, I.,	1749-90.
36th,		542, I.,	1777-80.
"		559, I.,[16]	1778.
37th,		52, A.,	1756-1813.
"	N. Hants,	726, E.,	1844-62.
38th,		441, I.,	1765.
39th,	Gibraltar,	128, I.,[17]	1742.
"		290, I.,	1758-1813.
40th,		42, A.,	N.D.
"		204, I.,	1810-13.
"		284, I.,	1821-58.
42d,		195, I.,	1749-1815.
"	Hibernia,	42, I.,	1809-40.
"	St. Andrew,	310, S.,[18]	1811-48.
"	St. Patrick's,	156, S.,	1769-1816.
44th,	Rainsford,	467, E.,	1784-1813.
"		788, I.,	1793.
45th,		445, I.,	1766-73.
"		272, A.,	1792-1807.
46th,		227, I.,[19]	1752-1847.
47th,		192, I.,	1748-1823.
"		147, I.,	1810-23.
48th,		218, I.,[20]	1750-1858.
"		982, I.,	1806-17.
49th,		354, I.,	1760-1849.
"		616, I.,	1783-88.

[1] A Lodge in the 17th F. (which arrived in Boston, Jan. 1, 1776) is shown at this number on the rolls of the G.L. of England (A.) and Pennsylvania, and the warrant captured by the Americans was returned to the *Unity* Lodge, No. 18, in the 17th F., by General Parsons, in 1779. The *Scottish* Lodge (168) bore the same name, and I think must have become No. 18 on the Provincial List. *Cf.* *Freemasons' Chronicle*, July 10 and 24, and Oct. 2, 1880.

[2] Exchanged for No. 258, 1824; returned, 1847.

[3] Prov. G.L.

[4] Exchanged for its old number (33), 1817; last register, 1822.

[5] Confirmed, 1767.

[6] Cancelled, 1821; renewed, 1882.

[7] The "Lodge chest" having been lost at Munster, in Germany, a new one was "consecrated" at Berwick, Dec. 2, 1763 (Minutes of St. Abb Lodge, No. 70 (S.), Eyemouth).

[8] Exchanged for No. 25, 1823; warrant returned, 1839.

[9] Exchanged for No. 26 in 1823.

[10] Provincial warrant granted to hold a Lodge at Louisburg.

[11] Warrant returned, 1820; renewed, 1854.

[12] Apparently exchanged for No. 30 in 1805; last register, 1806.

[13] Charter confirmed, 1805.

[14] Prov. G.L.

[15] Previously No. 17, L.C.

[16] Exchanged for No. 36, 1781; returned, 1848.

[17] Warrant renewed April 1, 1819.

[18] Eighty-nine members were enrolled within nine months of its constitution; and fifty intrants were admitted in the four months immediately following the Battle of Waterloo.

[19] Lodge of Social and Military Virtues, *now* "Antiquity" No. 1, Quebec.

[20] *Cf.* Hayden, p. 31.

50th,		113, I.,	1763-70.
"		112, A.,	1763-1830.
"		58, I.,	1857-63.
51st,	Orange,	94, A.,	1761-1805.
"		94, I.,	1763-1815.
"		690, I.,[1]	1788-96.
"	Orange,	274, S.,	1801.
"	Minden,	677, E.,	1816-43.
52d,		370, I.,	1761-1825.
"		226, E.,	1762-1813
"		309, A.,	1797-1801.
"		170, A.,[2]	1801-13.
"		53, N.S.,[3]	1826.
"	Oxfordshire,	853, E.,	1830-62.
"		244, I.,	1832-37.
53d,		236, I.,	1753-75.
"		950, I.,	1804-24.
54th,[4]		669, E.,	1838-62
55th,		[ ] S.,[5]	1743.
"		7, N.Y.,[6]	1762.
56th,	George III.,	101, S.,	1760-1809.
"		420, I.,[7]	1765-69.
57th,		41, A.,	1755.
"	Zion,	3, N.Y.,[8]	1783.
"	Albuera,	704, E.,	1818-24.
58th,		466, I.,	1769-1817.
"		692, I.,	1789.
"		332, A.,[9]	1805-23.
59th,		243, I.,	1754-97.
"		219, I.,	1810-17.
60th,[10]		448, E.,[11]	1764.
60th,		7, N.Y.,[12]	1783.
62d,		407, I.,	1763-86.
63d,		512, I.,[13]	1774-1814.
64th,	Duke of York,	106, S.,	1761-1816.
"		686, I.,	1788-1817.
"		130, I.,	1817-58.
65th,		191, A.,[14]	1774.
"		631, I.,	1784.
66th,		392, I.,	1763-64
"		538, I.,	1777-90.
"		580, I.,	1780-90.
"		656 I.,[15]	N.D.
67th,		175, A.,[16]	1772.
"		338, I.,	1815-26.
68th,		714, I.,	1790.
"	Durham L.,	348, A.,	1810-44.
69th,		174, I.,	1791-1821.
"		983, I.,	1808-26.
70th,	Hooker,	97, S.,	1759-1809.
"		7, Gib.,[17]	1804.
71st,[18]	P. of W.,	92, S.,	1759-1809.
"		895, I.,	1801-58.
72d,		75, A.,	1759-64.
"		65, I.,	1854-60.
75th,		292, I.,	1810-25.
76th,		359, I.,	1760-64.
"		248, A.,	1788-1828.
77th,		[19]578, I.,	1780-82.
78th,		322, A.,	1801-30.
79th,	Waterloo,	191, A.,	1808-38.
80th,	St. Andrew,	197, S.,	1769[20]-1816

[1] Chap. XVII., p. 120.

[2] The 2d Batt. 52d Foot was made the 96th Foot, 1803; the 95th, 1816; and disbanded 1818.

[3] Afterwards No. 842 on the general list, and a stationary Lodge until about 1838, when it was attached to the Rifle Brigade.

[4] A sermon was preached at St. John, New Brunswick, December 26, 1786, before the members of a Lodge in this regiment. Its registry, however, I have failed to trace.

[5] The first Military Lodge under the G.L. of Scotland. Chap XXIII., p. 307.

[6] Boston Records.

[7] 59th Foot in Downe's list, 1804.

[8] P.G.L. The Lodge held a dispensation from 1780.

[9] Chap. XVI., p. 60.

[10] "The Royal Americans," 1757-1816.

[11] Warrant originally granted in 1764, by the Prov. G.M. of New York to Lieut. J. Christie, 60th Foot, as Master, and others, to meet as Lodge No. 1 at Detroit. Became No. 62 in 1806, and later No. 3 G.L. of New York; and is now Zion Lodge No. 1 G.L. of Michigan.

[12] P.G.L. The Lodge was to be held "in H.M. Loyal American Regiment or elsewhere." Chap. XXIII., p. 312.

[13] *Cf.* Brennan, p. 377.

[14] Not issued.

[15] *Cf. post*, Maryland.

[16] Transferred to Rl. Cornish Miners, 1807; became a stationary Lodge, 1826; now No. 131 Truro.

[17] P.G.L.

[18] Raised at Elgin as the 73d Foot, 1777, and became the 71st—a numerical title held by three previously extinct regiments—in 1786.

[19] Chap. XXIII., p. 317.

[20] The first regiment numbered the 80th was disbanded in 1764. The second (Royal Edinburgh Volunteers) was raised in 1778, and disbanded in 1783. The Lodge, therefore, must really date from about 1780, which would accord with its position on the roll.

80th,	Fortitude,	724, E.,	1820-37.
82d,	Thistle,	4, N.S.,[1]	1782.
"		138, I.,	1817-58.
83d,		339, I.,	1759-64.
"		435, I.,[2]	1808.
85th,		298, A.,	1801-46.
88th,		176, I.,	1821-40.
89th,		863, I.,	1798-1818.
"	Hibernia,	633, E.,	1836-44.
"	Social Friendship,	729, E.,	1844.
90th		8, Gib.,[3]	1803.
"		688, E.,	1817-24.
91st,	Argyle,	321, A.,	1799-1828.
92d,		364, I.,	1761-62.
"		333, A.,	1805-32.
94th,	Union,	121, S.,[4]	1764-1809.
"	Philanthropists,	591, E.,	1802.
"	George William,	328, S.,	1830-60.
95th,[5]		842, E.,	1829-62.
96th,		170, A.[6]	
"		176, I.,	1818-19.
97th,		984, I.,[7]	1808.
100th,		3, Gib.,	1804.
103d,[8]		292, I.,	1834-38.
108th,		4, Gib.,	1804.
112th,		815, I.,	N.D.

Royal Marines.

Plymouth, Marine L.,	237, E.,	1759.	
Portsmouth,	122, A.,	1763-64.	
St'neh'se, Amphib. L.,[9]	498, E.,	1787.	
Chatham,	256, A.,	1789-92.	
Stonehouse, Roy. Mar.,	336, A.,	1808-30.	
Woolwich, Roy. Mar.,	328, A.,	1810.	

Chatham, Roy. Mar., 260, A., 1812.

British Militia.

Aberdeenshire,[10] Aboyne,	278, S.,	1799.	
Antrim,	289, I.,	1796-1856.	
Argyle, St. John,	58, S.,	1795-1809.	
Armagh,	888, I.,	1800-45.	
Ayr and Renfrew, St. P'l,	271, S.,	1799.	
Berwickshire, Hirsel,	237, A.,	1811-20.	
Cambridge,	327, A.,	1799-1801.	
Carlow,	903, I.,	1801-16.	
Cavan,	300, I.,	1801-30.	
Cheshire,	541, E.,	1794-1818.	
Cork,	741, I.,	1808-17.	
" (South),	495, I.,	1794-1865.	
C'rnish Min'rs, F'rtitude,	175, A.,	1807.	
Cornwall, Rl. Cornwall,	618, E.,	1810.	
Cumberland,	215, A.,	1807-38.	
Devon (East),	216, A.,	1781-1835.	
Devon (N.), G'd Intention,	452, E.,	1783.	
" (North),	228, A.,	1812-21.	
Donegal,	865, I.,	1798-1821.	
Downshire,	212, I.,	1795-1808.	
Dublin,	62, I.,	1810-21.	
Durham, St. Cuthbert.	320, S.,	1813-48.	
Fermanagh,	864, I.,	1798-1830.	
Fifeshire,	311, S.,	1811-37.	
Forfar and Kincardine,	292, S.,	1808.	
Hants (Nth.), Love,	137, A.,	1808-38.	
Kerry,	66, I.,	1810-56.	
Kildare,	847, I.,	1797-1825.	
Kilkenny,	855, I.,	1797-1825.	
King's County,	948, I.,	1804-47.	
Lancashire (First),	197, A.,	1776-1806.	
Lancashire (Second), Knight of Malta,	309, A.,[11]	1803.	
" (Third), Unan'ity,	147, A.,	1812.	
Leicester,	87, A.,	1761-64.	
Leitrim,	854, I.,	1797.	
Lincoln (South),	867, I.,	N.D.	
London (West), Justice,	198, A.,	1801.	
" " Euphrates,	292, A.,	1812.	
Louth,	10, I.,	1809-49.	
Mayo (South),	79, I.,	1810-26.	
" (North),	81, I.,	1812-25.	

[1] A petitioner from "the Thistle Lodge, 82d Regiment, by dispensation," was relieved in 1787 by the (Atholl) Stewards' Lodge, "as a sojourner, with one guinea."

[2] Exchanged for No. 83, 1817; last register, 1846. [3] P.G.L.

[4] In the famous Scots Brigade. This, except between 1688 and 1691, was in the Dutch service from 1586 until 1793. In 1794, it became the *fourth* English regiment numbered the 94th, and was disbanded 1818.

[5] The *fourth* regiment numbered the 95th, was raised in 1800, and in 1816 became the "Rifle Brigade," to which corps No. 842 was attached about 1838. *See* 52d Foot.

[6] *Ante*, 52d Foot.

[7] Exchanged for No. 176 in 1818. The *fifth* regiment numbered the 97th (Queen's Germans), was disbanded in 1819 as the "Queen's Own" or 96th Foot.

[8] Until 1858, "The Bombay European Regiment."

[9] Ceased to be a service Lodge in 1792; warrant reissued, 1803.

[10] Chap. XXIII., p. 328. [11] Exchanged for No. 120, 1804; erased 1822.

Meath, 898, I., 1801-49.
Middlesex (West) 298, A., 1796-1801.
" (Westminster), Harmony, 583, E., 1799.
" (Westminster), 309, A., 1804.
Monaghan, 552, I., 1796.
" 200, I., 1801-26.
Monmouth, 664, E., 1815-22.
Queen's County, 857, I., 1797-1832.
" 398, I., 1805-10.
Roscommon, 242, I., 1808-20.
Shropshire,[1] Salopian, 153, A., 1810.
Sligo, 837, I., 1796-1835.
Southdown, 214, I., 1810-15.
Staffordshire, 327, A.,[2] 1801.
Tipperary, 856, I., 1797-1825.
Tyrone, 846, I., 1796-1818.
" 562, I., 1797-1830.
Warwickshire, Shakesp., 501, E.[3]
Westmeath,[4] 791, I., 1793-1826.
Wexford, 935, I., 1803-24.
Wicklow, 848, I., 1796-1815.
" 877, I., 1800.
Wilts, Loyalty, 282, A., 1794-1834.
Yorkshire (First), Moriah, 176, A., 1772.
" (East), St. Geo., 442, E., 1782.
" (West), Union, 626, E., 1811.
" (N.), L. Dundas, 674, E., 1815.

Honorable Artillery Company of London.

Armory House, Finsbury, Fitzroy, 830, E., 1849.[5]

Fencible Regiments.

P. of Wales F. Cavalry, 312, A., 1798.
Cornwall F. Light Drags., 582, E., 1799.
Breadalbane F., 907, I., 1801-13.
Elgin, F., 860, I., 1798-1813.
Essex, F., 825, I., 1796-1813.
Nova Scotia, Loyal Surrey Rangers, 587, E., 1801-13.

Garrison and Veteran Battalions.

Garrison Batt., 125, I., 1808-14.
4th " " 986, I., 1810-15.
" " " Fr'dship, 343, A., 1809-32.
7th Gar. Batt., 992, I., 1808-15.
8th " " 995, I., 1808-14.
1st Veter. " 351, A., 1810-33.
4th Veteran Battalion, 988, I., 1808-15.

Auxiliary Corps (Foreign).

Reg. of Anspach-Beyreuth, 215, A., 1781.
Knyphausen, Hiram, 5, N.Y., 1783.
Recton's Hanoverian Brigade, 232, A.,[6] 1786.
Reg. of Anholt-Zerbst, 516, E., 1787.
Turkish Contingent, 373, S., 1856-64.

Foreign and Colonial Regiments.[7]

Scots Brigade, Holland, Union, 121, S.,[8] 1764.
Sicilian Foot, Naples, 433, E.,[9] 1768.
Garrison, Halifax, Union 1, N.S., 1781.
Pr. Edw. I., St. George, 2, N.S., 1781.
New Jersey Vol., St. George, 2, N.Y., 1783.
King's Rangers, St. James, 14, L.C., 1784.
Pr. Edw. I., 26, N.S., 1797.
1st American Regiment, 3, U.C., 1804.
Nova Scotia Regiment, 24, N.S., 1804.
Rl. Canadians, Glengarry, 1, L.C., 1805.
Military (under Travelling Warrant), 54, N.S., 1826.

[1] Chap. XXII. p. 298.

[2] Exchanged for No. 209, 1803; erased, 1827.

[3] A Norwich Lodge, taken by the Regiment in 1796, and brought to Warwick in 1802, where it became stationary, in spite of the opposition of the military members, in 1808.

[4] Chap. XXII., p. 298.

[5] The Court of Assistants in this year sanctioned the formation of a Masonic Lodge to consist of members of the company only. A proposal to establish "the Hon. the Artillery Company's Lodge" was agreed to in 1781, but negatived at the next Court (G. A. Raikes, Hist. of the Hon. Art. Company). Although the "Fitz-Roy" Lodge, now No. 569, is stationary in a sense, as having met hitherto at the Armory House of the Company, it would, without doubt, accompany that distinguished corps should it ever change its head-quarters in time of peace, or be arrayed with the regular forces in time of war.

[6] Probably granted to the Lodge previously named?

[7] The dates appended to the sixth and three following Lodges merely denote that they *existed* in those years.

[8] See 94th Foot.

[9] Chap. XXVIII., p. 104.

EXISTING BRITISH[1] FIELD LODGES, 1886.[2]

4th Drag. Guards, St. Pat'k's,	295, I., 1758.	23d Foot,	738, I., 1882.
5th " " Charity,	570, I., 1780.	26th " Cameronian,	26. I., 1758.
12th Rl. Lancers, Sphinx,	179, I., 1868	29th "	322, I., 1759.
1st Foot, Unity, P. and C.,	316, E., 1798.	31st " Meridian,	743, E., 1858.
6th " Orthes,	352, E., 1817.	38th "	441, I., 1765.
12th Ft., Calpe,	824, E., 1860.	39th " Gibraltar,	128, I., 1742.
14th " Integrity,	528, E., 1846.	89th " Social Friendship,	497, E., 1844.
20th " Sphinx,	263, I., 1860.	Hon. Artil. Co., Lond., Fitzroy,	569, E., 1849.

SWEDEN.—An ancient document in the archives of the Grand Lodge informs us that "the Lodge St. Jean Auxiliaire"—instituted in 1752—was formed by sundry brethren of the military and travelling Lodges (*loges militaires et voyageuses*) existing at that time;" but with regard to the number of these itinerant bodies, the field of their operations, or indeed to any further particulars concerning them, we are left wholly in the dark. The next evidence in point of date—afforded by the same source of authority—relates to the formation of the "Lodge of the Swedish Army" (*Svenska Arméens*) at Greifswald, in Pomerania, January 10, 1761. According to its statutes, the seat of the Lodge was to be at the headquarters of the Swedish army during the continuance of the (Seven Years') war, and at Stockholm in time of peace. Captain (afterwards General) the Count of Salza was the first Master, and among the other founders were Barons de Beck-Trius, de Cederstrom, de Duval, and the Count de Creutz—all Swedish military officers. During the continuance of the war, the Lodge threw off shoots at Greifswald, Stralsund, and Christianstadt.[3] At the peace of 1763, it removed to Stockholm, after having received—February 17—a confirmation of its charter from the Grand Lodge of Sweden. The "Lodge of the Swedish Army" established a pension fund for wounded soldiers, and the recipients of its bounty wore silver medals, struck at the expense of the Lodge. Prince Frederick-Adolphe, Duc d'Ostrogothie, the king's brother, was its Master at the period of his decease; but in 1781 its labors came to an end, and the members joined other Lodges at the capital.

RUSSIA.—In 1761 a Field Lodge was formed in the Russian Army, which at that time had its winter quarters in West Prussia, and its headquarters at Marienburg. A second was established at the same place in 1764, which afterwards became the stationary Lodge "of the Three Towers." The latest appears to have been "George the Victorious," constituted by Grand Lodge Astrea, March 12, 1817.

[1] Authorities:—Minutes and Records, Grand Lodge of England; Masonic Calendars; Army Lists; Cannon, Historical Records of the British Army; Regimental Histories; Trimen, Regiments of the British Army; Early Histories G. L. of New York and Pennsylvania; Brennan, Standard History; Boston (U.S.A.) Records; Letters from the following officers of Grand Lodges—S. B. Oldham, Ireland; D. M. Lyon, Scotland; J. J. Mason, Canada; W. F. Bunting, New Brunswick; and G. H. Wakeford, Pr. Edw. I; W. Badgley and J. H. Isacson, Quebec (P.G.L.); and N.C.O. of British regiments—W. Robertson, 26th Foot; A. Paterson, 29th; W. Conyard, 38th; J. Horton (and also Major J. Powell), 39th; and Mr. Edward Bacon, schoolmaster, R. A., Gibraltar.

[2] The present numbers are here given, but up to this point the various changes, except in the case of the Irish Lodges, have not been recorded. All the numbers, however, borne by the Scottish Field Lodges, will be found in the Constitutions, G. L. of Scotland, p. 166; whilst those of the entire body of English Lodges from 1729 down to the present date, are given by Lane in his "Masonic Records," a work of extraordinary merit, involving vast labor, which presents at a glance the skeleton history of every Lodge of English maternity.

[3] In 1762. Carl of the Three Griffins, Gustavus Adolphus of the Three Rays, and (possibly) Concord, respectively.

GERMANY.—Throughout the empire, Field or Camp Lodges are regarded as merely auxiliary to the regular or stationary Lodges. The former are in every case erected to serve a temporary purpose, and before a candidate is accepted for initiation, he is required to name one of the latter as the Lodge he will repair to for admission, when the warrant of the movable and transitory body is surrendered or withdrawn. They only exist in time of war, or when an appeal to arms is believed to be impending. In the last century there were Military (which sometimes became Field) Lodges. These were constituted in garrisons and fortresses during peace as well as war. Examples are afforded by the three Lodges which head the subjoined table. The first was founded by Frederick the Great,[1] the second by French prisoners of war,[2] and the third by military officers in Potsdam. The Flaming Star, originally a Military Lodge, was established February 24, 1770, it being thought desirable by Krüger[3] "to take the brethren of Military rank out of all the Lodges, and to erect a sepaarate Lodge for them, which, in the case of war, might follow the camp, and exemplify the benefits of Masonry in the field." From this time all military candidates were sent to the Flaming Star for initiation.

In 1778, there was a concentration of troops both in Saxony and Silesia, and the military duties of the Master—Marschall von Bieberstein—taking him in the former direction, he was accompanied by the Flaming Star, whilst a branch or "Dispensation" Lodge —duly constituted by the G.M.—under Major von Kleist, proceeded to diffuse Masonic light in the other. On August 23, 1779, the brethren were reunited in a single Lodge, which is still in existence at Berlin.

Nos. 12-14 on the list were also erected in Saxony and Silesia in the commencement of the Bavarian War of Succession—the most important being the Golden Goblet, of which Zinnendorff was a member. No. 16 was established by Count von Lottom, in furtherance of his resolution to found a Lodge "on hearing that General Blücher was to command the Army Corps on the Prussian coast of the Baltic." The latter was a member of Field Lodge No. I., in 1812. The particulars with regard to No. 8 are a little confusing, and it is not clear that it ever received a warrant, or if so, at whose hands. The general in command appears to have arrested its development at a very early stage, and the same thing occurred in 1816, when an attempt was made by thirty military brethren to establish a Lodge in Sedan.[4]

1.	Court L.,	Rhenisberg, 1739.	10.	Victorious Eagle,	Potsdam, 1850-51.
2.	Parfaite Union,	Magdeburg, 1761.	11.	William of the Black Forest,	Rastadt, 1861-67.
3.	Minerva,	Potsdam, 1768.	12.	Golden Goblet, Field Hospital,	Silesia, 1778-79.
4.	Flaming Star,	Berlin, 1770.	13.	Army L. No. I.,	Silesia, 1778-79.
5.	" "	(Deputy L.), 1778-79.	14.	The Guide-Post,	Saxony, 1778.
6.	Frederick of Patriotism,	1812.	15.		At Hanover, 1797.
7.	Of the Iron Cross,	1815.	16.	Field L. No. I.,	1811-14.
8.		At Bar-le-Duc, 1816.			
9.	Blucher,	Luxemburg, 1820.			

[1] Chap. XXVII., p. 48.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 50; Chap. XVIII., p. 170; and Freemason, vol. xix., pp. 496, 511, 524, 533, 556, 6 , 627.

[3] Chap. XXVII., pp. 50, 51

[4] The first Lodge in the list was founded by Frederick II.; Nos. 2-7, and 9-11, by the Three Globes; 8, and 12-19, by the National Grand Lodge (Zinnendorff's); 20, by the Royal York; and 21, 22, by the Prov. Grand Lodge of Hanover. Most of them are extinct, and the few survivors have ceased to possess any military character.

17. Field L. No. II.,	In France,	1818.	20. Iron Cross,	Mayence,	1813-15.
18. " No. III.,	"	1815-16.	21. John of the Sword,		1797-99.
19. F. W. of the Iron Cross,		1818.	22. Adolphus of German Unity,		1817-24.

Two Lodges in Frankfort—of which mention has already been made [1]—are not shown in the foregoing table. One of these (consisting chiefly of foreigners) was founded by Count Schmettau in 1743, and the other would appear to date from about the year 1760. The latter, in the Royal Deux Ponts [2] Regiment, affiliated in 1762 with Lodge Union of Frankfort, receiving at the same time a local warrant empowering it to resume work as a "Field" (and *daughter*) Lodge on quitting that city. The Royal Deux Ponts Lodge joined the Strict Observance in 1771, but we again meet with one—Les Dragons Unis des Deux-Ponts—in the same Regiment, which was taken on the roll of the G.O. of France in 1783, with precedence from the previous year. This *Regiment*, and possibly the *Lodge*—which may have only shaken off the fetters of the S.O. in 1782—accompanied the expedition of General Rochambeau to North America in 1780, and was commanded by the Marquis de Deux Ponts.

Holland.—The following Military Lodges (all of which are now extinct) were constituted by the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands:—

La Loge Militaire,	Maastricht,	1745.	La Réunion Neufchatelloise,	Ceylon,	1790.
L'Harmonie,	Sluis,	1749.	Pax Inimica Malis,	's Heerenberg,	1793.
La Concorde,	Venlo,	1757.	La Fraternité Militaire,	Leeuwarden,	1795.
L'Esprit du Corps,	Leeuwarden,	1777.	L'Union Constante Militaire,	Alkmaar,	1799.
Curâ et Vigilantiâ,	Suriname,	1777.	De Harten door Vriendschap Zaamverbonden,	Amersfoort,	1800.
L'Union Militaire,	Zwolle,	1778.	Fidelitas,	's Gravenhage,	1807.
L'Unanimité,	Brielle,	1783.	De Toevallige Vereeniging,	Bergen op Zoom,	1808.
Le Temple de la Vertu,	Tholen,	1783.	St. Napoleon,	Amsterdam,	1810.
St. Andreas,	Sluis,	1786.	La Paix,	Amsterdam,	1810.
L'Union Helvétique,	Maastricht,	1788.	De Militaire Broederschap,	Alkmaar,	1814.
Biedertreu,	Heusden,	1788.			
De Opgaande Oranjezon,	Sluis,	1789.			

Belgium.—The subjoined list of Field and Garrison Lodges (none of which are in existence at this day) has been compiled from official and other sources:—

Friends of Order	1st Army Div.,	1832.	Shield of Belgium,	4th Foot,	1834.
Scots Camp,	4th Army Div.,	1833.	United Brethren,	3d Army Div.,	1835.
Defenders of Leopold,	Namur,	1834.	Military Union,	Beverloo,	1836.

No warrants for Field or Army Lodges have been granted at any time under the jurisdictions of Switzerland, Greece, Denmark, Hamburg, and Darmstadt. In the Austro-Hungarian empire, the members of both the sea and land services are forbidden to become Freemasons, "for which reason," writes the Grand Secretary of Hungary (1880), "there are no Military Lodges in existence, nor any military brethren among us." [3]

[1] Chap. XXVII., p. 37

[2] German, *Zweibrücken;* French, *Deux Ponts;*—a town of Rhenish Bavaria, which, passing to Charles XI. of Sweden, became French territory in 1718, and is now again Bavarian. The fortunes of the Regiment doubtless followed those of the town.

[3] Authorities—Continental Field Lodges—to this point:—Handbuch, vols. i., p. 326; iv., p. 75; C. Schulze, Prussian Field Lodges (Zirkel Corr., iv., 1880, pp. 324-39); F. Q. Rev., 1846, p. 48; Letters from the late Carl Bergmann, P. M., Pilgrim Lodge; and the following officers of Grand Lodges:—E. E. Wendt, England; C. L. Thulstrup and R. Dickson, Sweden; T. Fürst, Hamburg; F. Feustel, Bayreuth; J. J. F. Noorziek and J. P. Vaillant, Holland; A. Uhl, Hungary; A. Hugel, Darmstadt; and G. Jottrand (Supreme Council), Belgium.

France.—Entombed in the archives of the Grand Orient are the records (*dossiers*) of about two hundred Regimental Lodges, together with a number of documents formerly belonging to the Lodges established in England by French prisoners of war, and which subsequently came under the G.O. These books and papers, according to their official custodian, "contain very valuable information (*renseignments précieux*)," which, however, considerations of time and space would have prevented my making any use of, even had I not been effectually barred from any such endeavor by the consciousness of already possessing what, for the purposes of this sketch, may be termed a superfluity of materials. The Lodges in the following table are shown, as nearly as possible, in the order of their appearance in any official list. They are seventy-six in number, and while some were founded by the *Grand Lodge*, all such Lodges were afterwards newly constituted by the *Grand Orient*. The roll extends to 1787, and an asterisk in each instance is placed before the names of the fifty-two Lodges which in that year were represented at the G.O. by their deputies. The dates of origin given are those from which the Lodges were allowed to rank. Some of the regiments named in the table—as holding warrants for long periods—served in America during the War of Independence; and the stability, or tenacity of existence, of the older French Army Lodges, as contrasted with the ephemeral character of their successors under the Consulate and Empire, has induced me to describe the former with a minuteness of detail which would be altogether out of keeping with the importance of the latter in a general history of Freemasonry.

The Lodge Montmorenci-Luxembourg, constituted June 1, 1762, in the Regiment of Hainault Infantry, of which the Duke of Luxemburg was the Colonel, was accorded—April 18, 1772—by the Grand Lodge of France, the privilege of attendance at all its meetings. This Lodge has been styled, with great show of reason, the stem or trunk from which the Grand Orient budded forth in December, 1773. The list of its members in 1772 is certainly a remarkable one. The Duke of Luxemburg was the Master, the wardens were his son and the Prince de Rohan-Guéménée, and among the members—who were all, with one exception, noblemen—may be named the Princes of Condé, Ligne, Tarente, Montbazon, Nassau, and Pignatelli;[1] the Dukes of Lauzun, Coigny, and Fronsac; and many others of lesser rank. Of the first officers of the Grand Orient, the five highest in rank (after the Duc de Chartres, G.M.), and nearly the whole of the honorary grand officers, were members of this Lodge.[2]

The last Lodge on the list was constituted March 16, 1787, and its first Master was André Masséna—afterwards Marshal of France—at that time Adjutant of the Royal Italian Regiment.

The abbreviations, Inf., Cav., Drag., Art., Chass., and Huss., denote Infantry, Cavalry, Dragoons, Artillery, Chasseurs, and Hussars, respectively.

French Field Lodges down to the year 1787.

Parfaite Egalité,[3]	*Walsh*, Inf.,	1688.	Tendre Fraternité,	*Rl. Marine*, Inf.,	1760.
Parfaite Union,	*Vivarais*, Inf.,	1759.	*Union Parfaite.	*Vigier, Suisse*, Inf.,	1761.
" "	*Dauphin*, Drag.,	1760.	*Montmorenci-Luxembourg,	*Hainault*, Inf.,	1762.

[1] Chap. XXVIII., p. 104, note 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 403, 406.

[3] This Lodge, in the "Regiment Irlandais de Walsh," was legitimated by the G.L. of France in 1772, and by the G.O. in 1777. According to an (English) Army List of 1743, the earliest Irish regiment existing at that time in the French service was only "formed" in 1690! *Cf. ante*, pp. 307, 412, 415.

*Sigismond-Luxembourg,	*Hainault*, Inf.,	1763.
*St. Charles des Amis Réunis,	*Saintonge*, Inf.,	1763.
*Parfaite Harmonie,	*Corps Rl. Marine*,	1764.
*Militaire du Bourb.,[1]	*Bourbonnois*, Inf.,	1764.
*Union Frat.,	*Rl. Roussillon*, Inf.,	1765.
Union Parfaite,	*Corps Rl. du Génie*,	1765.
S. Alexandre,	*Mousquetaires, Ière. Cie.*,	1766.
*Henri IV.,	*Corps Rl.*, Art.,[2]	1766.
*Parfaite Union,	*Flandre*, Inf.,	1766.
*Paix et Union,	*Lyonnois*, Inf.,	1767.
*Pureté,	*La Sarre*, Inf.,	1767.
*Concorde,	*Auvergne*, Inf.,	1769.
Amis Réunis,[3]	*Lyonnois*, Inf.,	1769.
*S. Louis,	*Guyenne*, Inf.,	1771.
*S. Louis de l'Union,[4]	*Chass. des Cévennes*,	1771.
*Parfaite Union,	*Rl. Champagne*, Cav.,	1773.
Tendre Fraternité,	*Rl. Pologne*, Cav.,	1773.
*Heureux Hazard	*Rl. Vaisseaux*, Inf.,	1772.
Parfaite Union,	*Vermandois*, Inf.,	1774.
Union désirée,	*Mousquetaires, 2e. Cie.*,	1774.
Parfait Union,	*Rl. Roussillon*, Cav.,	1774.
*Triple Alliance,	*Beaujollois*, Inf.,	1774.
*Trois Frères Unis,	*La Cour* [ ],	1775.
S. Louis,	*Du Roi*, Inf.,	1775.
Marine,	*Marine* (*Corps Rl.*),	1775.
Double Amitié,	*Navarre*, Inf.,	1775.
Famille Unie,	*Condé*, Inf.,	1776.
Parfait Amitié,	*Conti*, Drag.,	1776.
*Sully,	*Toul.*, Art.,	1777.
*Intimité,	*Orléans*, Inf.,	1777.
*Fabert,	*Du Roi*, Inf.,	1777.
Parfaite Union,	*Rohan Soubise*, Inf.,	1777.
Parfaite Union,	*Angoumois*, Inf.,	1777.
Amitié,	*Strasbourg*, Art.,	1778.
*Amitié,	*Salm-Salm*, Inf.,	1778.
*Franchise Helvétique,	*Ernest, Suisse*, Inf.,	1778.
*Guill. Tell,	*Sonnenberg Suisse*, Inf.,	1778.
*Amitié,	*Dauphiné*, Inf.,	1778.
*Amitié a l'Epreuve,	*Orleans*, Drag.,	1779.
*Héroisme,	*Gardes du Roi, Cie. Écoss.*,	1779.
*Vrais Amis,	*Médoc*, Inf.,	1780.
*Maréchal Coigny,	*Col. Gén.*, Drag.,	1781.
*Dragons Unis,	*Deux-Ponts*, Drag.,	1782.
*Heureux Hasard,	*Foix*, Inf.,	1783.
*Maréchal Saxe,	*Septimanie*, Cav.,	1783.
*Bonne Intelligence,	*Languedoc*, Inf.,	1781.
S. Jean,	*Gendarmerie de Fr.*,	1783.
*Élèves de Mars et Neptune,	*Marine*,	1783.
*Réunion Parfaite,	*Pyrennées*, Chass.,	1783.
*Frères Unis,	*Maréchal Turenne*,	1784.
*Bons Amis,	*M. de Camp. Gén.*, Cav.,	1784.
*Modeste,	*Col. Général*, Inf.,	1784.
*Nouvelle Harmonie,	*Marine*,	1784.
*Amitié,	*Brie*, Inf.,	1785.
*Amitié Frat.,	*Segur*, Drag.,	1782.
*Parfaite Alliance,	*Bretagne*, Inf.,	1785.
*Réunion,	*Rl. Roussillon*, Inf.,	1785.
Amis Intimes,	*Perche*, Inf.,	1785.
*Valeur,	*Touraine*, Inf.,	1785.
*Amis Réunis,	*Marine*,	1785.
*Amis Réunis,	*Armagnac*, Inf.,	1786.
*Frères d'Armes,	*Berri*, Cav.,	1785.
*Franchise,	*Picardie*, Inf.,	1786.
Vigilance,	*Bercheny*, Huss.,	1786.
*Vrais Soutiens,	*Guadeloupe*,	1784.
Bellone,	*Penthievre*, Inf.,	1786.
*S. Louis de Palestine,	*Boufflers*, Drag.,	1787.
*Régularité,	*Gardes, Corps du Roi*,	1786.
*Constance,	*Béarn*, Inf.,	1787.
Parfaite Amitié,	*Rl. Italian*, Inf.,	1787.

No Field Lodges were constituted in 1788 or 1789, and only eight between 1790 and 1801. The next seven years, however, witnessed an addition of sixty-four; but at the close of this period nearly all the Lodges established under the old Monarchy had ceased to exist. The Calendar of 1805 shows a total of forty-three, of which one only was of earlier date than the Revolution, the next in point of age being a Lodge of 1790, whilst no less than thirty-five had been warranted in 1802-4. In 1809, sixty-seven regiments had Lodges attached to them, and three years later the number had risen to sixty-nine. At this time the Lodges were both opened and closed with a cry of "Vive l' Empereur!" In 1811-13, six further Lodges were established, but, as already related, no less than four hundred and twenty-nine on the general roll became dormant in 1814. Two new Lodges were formed in 1817-19, but only three regiments in all are shown as possessed of Masonic war-

[1] In 1787, Les Vrais Amis. [2] Described as the "Toul Regiment," at La Fère, in 1776.

[3] In 1805, Les Amis Réunis de la Victoire, and the only Lodge on the above list shown in the official calendar for that year.

[4] The subsequent Lodges on the list are shown in the order in which they were constituted or legitimated by the G.O., and with the rank (or precedency) assigned to them by that body.

rants in 1820. Three Lodges were constituted between 1821 and 1834; and ten years later, "Cirnus" (1821), in the 10th Regiment of the line, the last of the long roll of French Military Lodges, disappeared from the scene. It may be added, that a confidential circular from the Minister of War—Marshal Soult—to the colonels of regiments, in 1845, declared "that it was contrary to the rules of the service for any of the military to become even members of the institution." Soult himself was a Freemason, as were also many other marshals of France—for example, Serrurier, Buernonville, Kellerman, Masséna, Lefebvre, Mortier, Perignon, Bernadotte, Murat, Macdonald, Lauriston, Magnan, and (it is alleged) Augereau, Brune, and Sebastiani.[1]

America.—The general history of Masonry in the United States may be divided into three periods—the first extending to the year 1755, the second to the Peace of Versailles in 1783, and the third until the present date. Of these, the first and last will be hereafter considered, but the second—so far, at least, as the details are capable of being treated as a whole—I shall, to the best of my ability, deal with in the current section, premising, however, that in the next chapter the story will be duly brought up to the point thus reached by anticipation, and continued after a smooth and methodical fashion.

According to a talented writer, "all warranted American Lodges, previous to the French War [1755], had worked the rituals and acknowledged the authority of the Grand Lodge of England only (sometimes denominated the Grand Lodge of Moderns); but during this war Lodges holding warrants from the Grand Lodges of Scotland, Ireland, and the Ancients of London, were working in America. They probably owed their introduction to the Military brethren."[2]

Here it may be convenient to explain, that while the members of Lodges under all the jurisdictions of the British Islands, with the exception of the Original Grand Lodge of England, were generally classified as "Ancient Masons," the terms "Ancient York Masons" and "Ancient York Masonry" were at first only employed by the English Schismatics, and did not come into common use—in America—until towards the close of the century.

A list of the stationary Lodges established in North America by the authority of European Grand Lodges, other than that of the earliest of such bodies, will be found in Chapter XXXI.,[3] but the influences which conduced to their formation, and to their subsequent predominance over the original Lodges of the Continent, I shall now proceed to narrate.

It will, however, in some degree clear the ground for our inquiry to mention that prior to the French War the only Lodge of a military character known to have been established in America was one at Annapolis Royal, in Nova Scotia, formed in 1738 by Erasmus James Phillips—Fort-Major of that garrison—as D.G.M. under an authority from Boston.

1755.—General Braddock arrived in America with two thousand regular troops, and was defeated by the French and mortally wounded, July 8. Other regiments were dis-

[1] Authorities:—Thory, Acta Lat., and Hist. G.O.; Daruty, Recherches, etc.; Rebold, Hist. Tr. G. L.; Isis ou L'Initiation Maçonnique, p. 308; F. Q. Rev., 1845, p. 490; 1846, p. 48; 1851, p. 183; and Letters from MM. Thévenot (G.O. of Fr.), and J. E. Daruty (Mauritius). *Cf. ante*, pp. 412, 415, 419, 424.

[2] Sidney Hayden, Washington, and his Masonic Compeers, 1866, p. 31.

[3] Where will be found the *general* history of Freemasonry in the United States. "Ancient Masonry," however, in the conventional acceptation of that term, is so closely associated with the proceedings of the numerous Field Lodges in America, that its consideration becomes indispensable to the present narrative, and will, it is to be hoped, enable the reader to grasp the subject more firmly than if the entire history of American Masonry were to be presented in Chapter XXXI.

patched from Britain in this and later years. The movements of these battalions can be easily traced in a number of well-known books. A list of the British regiments to which Lodges were attached has been already given.

1756.—In this year there were six battalions and eight independent companies of King's troops in America, the whole being under the Earl of Loudoun. Richard Gridley was authorized—May 13—by the Prov. G.M. of North America, "to congregate all Free and Accepted Masons in the Expedition against Crown Point, and form them into one or more Lodges." For military reasons, however, the proposed movement against Ticonderoga and Crown Point was not attempted.

Richard Gridley—the younger brother of Jeremy Gridley, Prov. G.M. of North America—was born in 1711, and after seeing much active service, was appointed Chief Engineer and Colonel of Infantry in 1755. For his distinguished services at the siege of Quebec he received a pension and grant of land from the British Government. Appointed Major-General by the Provincial Congress, September 20, 1775. D.G.M., St. John's Grand Lodge, Boston, January 22, 1768, and continued to hold that office until the Union of the two Grand Lodges in Massachusetts (1792), though his presence in Grand Lodge is last recorded under the year 1787. It is probable that the connection of this veteran soldier and Craftsman with the older Grand Lodge was not without influence in preventing its total collapse, pending the happy amalgamation of the two Grand Lodges in 1792. Scottish charters for Lodges in Blandford (Virginia) and Boston were granted March 9 and November 30 respectively.

1757.—Lodge at Lake George named in the Boston Records[1] April 8. Colonel John Young, 60th Foot, appointed Scottish Provincial G.M. in America, November 14. Three Ancient warrants sent by Laurence Dermott to Halifax, in one of which Erasmus James Philips was named as Prov. G.M. About this year "several persons in Philadelphia, active in political and private life, were made Masons according to the practice of the Ancients."[2]

1758.—Capitulation of Louisbourg, July 26: a Lodge formed there in the 28th Foot by Richard Gridley, November 13. A warrant—No. 69—granted by the Ancient or Schismatic G.L. of England to Philadelphia. After this year there were only—in that city—one or two notices of any Lodges under the older (English) sanction. Scottish charters were issued by the Grand Lodge and "Mother Kilwinning" respectively to brethren at Fredericksburg[3] and Tappahanock[4] (Virginia).

1759.—Abraham Savage was authorized by Jeremy Gridley, Prov. G.M of North America, to "Congregate all Free and Accepted Masons in the Expedition against Canada into one or more Lodges," April 13. Crown Point surrendered, August 4; and twelve officers of the 1st Foot were made Masons in the Lodge there by the Master, Abraham Savage. Capitulation of Quebec, September 18. "The anniversary of St. John the Evangelist was duly observed by the several Lodges of Freemasons in the Garrison,"[5] where, at

[1] I.e., The early Proceedings of the "St. John's" and Massachusetts Grand Lodges (at Boston), recently published, and a copy of which—from Mr. S. D. Nickerson—has reached me as these sheets are passing through the press.

[2] Early Hist. G.L. Pennsyl., p. xxxiii.

[3] Washington's "Mother Lodge," originally established by warrant from New England, but which shifted its allegiance in 1758.

[4] Or Rappahannock. Both are Virginian names, but Wylie gives one and Lyon the other.

[5] Knox, Campaigns in North America, 1769, vol. ii., p. 235.

the time, Colonel Young, Provincial Grand Master of North America, under Scotland, was present with his regiment, the 60th Foot or "Royal Americans."

1760.—Quebec invested by the French, May 11. Commodore Swanton, with the Vanguard[1] and two frigates, arrived and raised the siege, May 16. Charter of St. Andrew's Lodge—granted[2] in 1756—received at Boston, September 4. No. 98 (S.) erected at Charleston, South Carolina.

1761.—The members of the "Boston Regular Lodges" were forbidden to visit St. Andrew's. Charter—No. 89—appointing William Ball Prov. G.M. of Pennsylvania, granted by the Ancients, but not received. No. 92 (A) erected at Charleston, S.C.

1762.—A Lodge in the 55th Foot[3]—No. 7 from New York—petitioned Jeremy Gridley to grant a charter to the Provincial troops at Crown Point (March 5), and a Deputation was issued to Colonel Ingersoll to hold a Lodge there.

1763.—Nos. 117 (S.) erected at Norfolk, Virginia, and 399(I.) at New York.

Owing to the loss of a great part of its records by the Grand Lodge of Ireland, the number of stationary Lodges warranted in America from that jurisdiction must remain a matter of uncertainty. Lodge No. 74, in the 1st Foot, as we have already seen,[4] gave an exact copy of its warrant to a set of brethren at Albany (N.Y.) in 1759, and it is unreasonable to believe that it was a solitary instance of the kind. Schultz[5] mentions three Lodges of unknown origin in Maryland, as having existed in 1759, 1761, and 1763, and it is possible, to say the least, that one or more of them may have derived their authority either directly or indirectly from Ireland? Dove, also, in his account of the early Lodges in Virginia, names the Irish as one of the *five* jurisdictions by which that State was Masonically "occupied" in 1777.[6]

1764.—Provincial warrant—No. 89—received in Philadelphia from the Ancient or Schismatic G.L. of England. "From the time of the establishing of these Lodges of the four degrees by the Ancients, such records as we can find," says a careful writer, "show the speedy decline of the Moderns."[7] A Lodge at Quebec—probably constituted by Richard Gridley or Abraham Savage—is first named in the Boston Records of this year.

1765.—No. 346, at Joppa, Maryland, under the *Original* Grand Lodge of England, was inaugurated November 21; and the 14th by-law, passed the same day, enacts:—"That none who hath been Admitted in any *Modern* Lodge shall be Admitted as a Member of this Lodge, without taking the respective Obligations Peculiar to *Ancient* Masons."[8]

1766.—In this year bickerings occurred between the St. Andrew's and the "Boston Regular Lodges," and "a Union of Love and Friendship," to which the members of both jurisdictions should be parties, was proposed by the former.

1767.—The funeral of Jeremy Gridley, Prov. G.M., North America, took place September 12, and the members of St. Andrew's Lodge—sixty-four in number (Joseph Warren being the S.W.)—walked in the procession. After this, however, when every

[1] *Ante*, p. 204, and Chap. XX., p. 234.

[2] By the G.L. of Scotland, to certain persons who, having been irregularly initiated, were refused admission into the Boston Lodges.

[3] This may have been the Scottish Lodge in this regiment, and if so, like the one in the 17th Foot, it must have accepted a Provincial number. *Cf. ante*, pp. 205, 206.

[4] *Ante*, p. 135. [5] *Op. cit.*, pp. 25, 30, 68. [6] *Cf. post*, under the year 1778.

[7] C. E. Meyer, Hist. of Jerusalem R. A. Chapter, p. 10.

[8] Schultz, Freemasonry in Maryland, p. 39.

generous effort on the part of St. Andrew's had completely failed, and when it became evident that no "Union of Love and Friendship" could be effected, the members of that Lodge changed their ground. Men like Warren, Revere, Hancock, and others of illustrious name, felt their patience exhausted, and determined not to quietly submit to be any longer denounced as clandestine Masons and impostors. The early proceedings of St. Andrew's were indeed as irregular as it is possible to conceive. Originating in the association of nine Masons who had been made clandestinely, it was chartered by the G.L. of Scotland in 1756, and then numbered twenty-one members, exclusive of the original nine, who had left Boston in the interval. Its charter did not arrive until 1760, at which time the Lodge had been increased by eighteen additional members, so that in all thirty-one candidates were initiated before the Lodge received its charter, and thirteen before the charter was signed. At a conference—held April 28, 1766—between committees of St. John's G.L. and St. Andrew's Lodge (Richard Gridley being a member of one and Joseph Warren of the other), the representatives of the latter fully admitted the illegality of their early proceedings, but contended that it was in the power of the G.M. of Scotland to "make irregular Masons, Regular." Against this, the other committee formulated their belief that "the Language of the Constitutions for irregularities was SUBMISSION."[1] The older Society forgot for a moment its animosity over the grave of its Grand Master, and, as already related, the brethren of both jurisdictions walked together in the procession. Subsequently, however—and this brings us to the point reached above—the spirit of manliness prompted the leading members of St. Andrew's to vindicate their own characters as Masons, and to stand forth in defence of the Lodge which made them. It was therefore voted unanimously on St. Andrew's Day (November 30), that during the continuance of the interdict against Masonic intercourse imposed by the English Prov. G.L., the brethren under that jurisdiction, unless also members of, or raised Masters in, St. Andrew's, were not to be admitted as visitors.

In this year there were three Lodges at work under the Provincial Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania (Ancients,) the last of which—Royal Arch Lodge—was constituted October 20.

From the earlier records of this Lodge, it appears "that they received and acted upon the petitions of at least one hundred Modern Masons, who petitioned to be made Ancient Masons, and upon their petitions taking the same course as the profane, they were, after approval by ballot, regularly initiated."[2] No. 3 maintained a close intercourse with a Lodge in the 18th Foot—No. 351 (I.)—and the Royal Arch furniture of the two bodies became in a measure common property.

1768.—The Grand Lodge of Scotland erected a Lodge—No. 143—at East Florida, and appointed Governor James Grant, Prov. G.M. for North America, southern district. In this year a standing army was quartered in Boston. The 14th, 29th, and a part of the 59th Regiments, with a train of Artillery, arrived October 1, and a short time after, the 64th and 65th Regiments, direct from Ireland. In these regiments were three Lodges, all working under what was then commonly known as the "Ancient System"—Nos. 58 (A.,) 14th Foot; 322 (I.), 29th; and 106 (S.,) 64th. The presence of these troops created an intense excitement, and the members of St. Andrew's, particularly Joseph Warren, participated in the universal feeling of opposition to the continuance of this strong force in Boston. Nevertheless, the members of the Lodge saw the opportunity before them of forming a Grand Lodge under the authority of the Grand Master of Scotland, and with this end in

[1] *Sic*, in Boston Records, p. 107. [2] Meyer, p. 11.

view, did not scruple to enter into fraternal communion with, and to make use of, their brethren in the obnoxious regiments.[1]

None of these Field Lodges were present at the installation of John Rowe—the Prov. G.M. under England—on November 23, but all of them joined St. Andrew's, in December, in a petition to the G.L. of Scotland, requesting the appointment of "a Grand Master of Ancient Masons in America," and nominating Joseph Warren for that office.

1769.—The Earl of Dalhousie, G.M., Scotland, appointed Joseph Warren, "G.M. of Masons in Boston, New England, and within one hundred miles of the same," May 30. The commission was received in September, but in the interval the 64th Regiment had been removed from Boston. Little notice was taken of the Lodges in the other regiments in the arrangements for the installation, and they were merely informed of the approaching event. The Grand Lodge was formally inaugurated on December 27, in the presence of St. Andrew's and of Lodges Nos. 58 and 322, in the 14th and 29th Regiments respectively. Although for convenience sake this body will be henceforth referred to as the "Massachusetts Grand Lodge," it may be observed that it did not adopt that title until December 6, 1782.

1771.—No. 169 (A.), established in Battery Marsh, Boston. This Lodge, which is only once named in the records of the Massachusetts G.L., accompanied the British army to New York on the evacuation of Boston in 1776.

1772.—By a further Scottish patent, signed by the Earl of Dumfries, Joseph Warren was appointed Grand Master for the Continent of America, March 3. The strife between the rival systems of Masonry is thus pleasantly alluded to in the records of a Lodge at Falmouth,[2] Massachusetts, under the date of December 16 in this year:—

"In order to establish harmony amongst the Freemasons in this town, it is *Voted*, That (for the future) the Lodge be opened one evening in the Modern form and the next evening in the Ancient form, which is to be continued till the Lodge vote to the contrary.[3]

"N.B.—The makings to be as usual in this Lodge."

1773.—A resolution was passed *nem. con.* that the members of St. Andrew's and of the Lodges under the "Massachusetts" Grand Lodge should be admitted as visiting Brothers in the Lodges under the older (Boston) jurisdiction, January 29. John Rowe, "G.M.," and Henry Price, "P.G.M.," attended the meeting of the English Prov. G.L. on Boston Neck, June 24; and among the visitors was Joseph Warren, also described as "G.M." Meetings of both Grand Lodges took place, December 27, on which date Warren was installed under his patent of the previous year, and at a fixed hour each G.L. drank the health of the other.

In this year certain ships laden with tea were boarded in Boston Harbor by Paul Revere and others, disguised as Mohawk Indians, and their cargoes, consisting of 342 chests of tea, valued at £18,000, thrown into the sea, December 16.

1774.—Nos. 177 (S.) and 190 (A.) were established at Philadelphia and Charleston, S.C., respectively. No. 243 (I.) in the 59th Foot, placed itself "under the Protection and Direction" of the Massachusetts G.L. The British Government shut up the port of Boston, repealed the charter of the State of Massachusetts, and sent a body of troops to Boston

[1] Proc. G.L. Mass., 1869, p. 162.

[2] Warrant granted by Gridley, 1762; renewed by Rowe, 1769; *now* Portland Lodge, No. 1, Maine.

[3] Proc. G.L. Mass., 1877, p. 118.

under General Gage. The other colonies took the part of the people of Boston, and deputies from each Province were sent to Philadelphia, where they assembled in Congress for the first time, December 5.

1775.—On April 18, the day before the battle of Lexington, Dr. Joseph Warren, hearing of the intended approach of the British, under General Gage, to Concord and Lexington, dispatched Paul Revere to the latter town, *via* Charlestown, to announce the British expedition of the following day.[1]

Paul Revere was an active member of St. Andrew's Lodge, and after filling both Wardens' chairs, and twice holding the office of D.G.M. in the "Massachusetts G.L.," served as G.M. of the (United) G.L. of Massachusetts, 1795-97.

Hostilities commenced between Great Britain and America, April 19. The town of Boston became a garrison, and was abandoned by many of its inhabitants, so that the regular meetings of the stationary Lodges were suspended.[2] Joseph Warren appointed Major-General, June 14. Battle of Bunker's Hill, and death of Warren, June 17. Colonel Richard Gridley, D.G.M, St. John's G.L., the engineer who planned the works that Warren laid down his life to defend, was also wounded in the fight. The war was carried into Canada, and Major-General Montgomery fell at the assault of Quebec, December 31.

Prince Hall, and fourteen other free colored citizens of Boston, were initiated in "a travelling Lodge attached to one of the British Regiments in the army of General Gage,"[3] March 6. St. John's Regimental Lodge, No. 1, New York,[4] organized July 24; and a "Kilwinning" charter granted to brethren at Falmouth, Virginia, December 20.

1776.—American Union Lodge, established February 15, by a warrant issued in the name of John Rowe, G.M. (St John's G.L.), and bearing the signature of Richard Gridley, his Deputy. Boston evacuated by the British, March 17. Funeral of Joseph Warren, April 8. Richard Gridley was a pall-bearer, but John Rowe, though present by invitation of Joseph Webb (D.G.M., Mass. G.L.)—according to his own diary—"was very much Insulted," and retired.[5] Declaration of Independence, July 4. It is said that all but three of those that signed it were Freemasons. British occupation of New York, September 15, and introduction of so-called "Ancient Masonry" into that State. Little or no intercourse was held between the Army and the Provincial Lodges. Of the latter, those in the city of New York virtually ceased to meet, while the others, with the exception of St. Patrick's—which met at Johnson Hall, the family seat of the Prov. G.M.—continued their labors, and were subjected to but little interruption during the war. Of the Prov. G.L., under Sir John Johnson, there are no records after this year. St. Patrick's Lodge was constituted in 1766, Sir William Johnson serving as Master until 1770, when his son-in-law, Colonel Guy Johnson, took his place. Sir John (the Prov. G.M. and second Baronet) was

[1] An account of the "Midnight Ride of Paul Revere" will be found in the "Tales of a Wayside Inn," by Longfellow.

[2] There are no records of the St. John's and Massachusetts Grand Lodges, in the former case between January 27, 1775, and February 17, 1787; and in the latter, between April 19, 1775, and December 27, 1776.

[3] Grand Master Gardner, Mass., *ut supra.*

[4] *I.e.*, under the *Original* Prov. G L., which, as we shall presently see, was supplanted by the *Ancients* in 1781.

[5] Rowe was elected a member of St. Andrew's Lodge in 1766, and of the Boston Committee of Safety, November 30, 1773, though with regard to the latter, his diary records, "was Chose a Committee Man much against my Will."

a regular attendant from 1767 to 1773. Sir William, late in life, took to his home as his wife Mary Brant, or "Miss Molly," as she was called; and her brother, Joseph Brant, or Thayendanegea was afterwards secretary to Colonel Guy Johnson, who succeeded his father-in-law as General Superintendent of the Indian Department. Joseph Brant was a Freemason, and during the fierce struggle for independence, many military brethren owed their lives to his protection, one of whom, Captain John M'Kinstry, at the period of Brant's interposition on his behalf, after the battle of the Cedars, near Montreal, in 1776, was actually bound to a tree, and surrounded by the faggots intended for his immolation.[1] Similar tales are related of Tecumseh, the famous Shawnee warrior and orator, in connection with the war of 1812.

1777.—The authority granted to Joseph Warren by the G.L. of Scotland having died with him, the Master and Wardens of the subordinate Lodges were summoned to attend and elect a Grand Master by Joseph Webb, his late Deputy. Accordingly, eleven brethren[2] met as a Grand Lodge, and elected Joseph Webb Grand Master, March 8. This, if we leave out of present consideration the Lodge (and Grand Lodge) at Philadelphia, in 1731, which will be referred to at some length in the next chapter, was the first Independent or self-created Grand Lodge on the Continent. Philadelphia was occupied by the British, September 27. At that time the Provincial Grand Lodge (A.) had eighteen Lodges on its register. The American army took post at Valley Forge, twenty-six miles from Philadelphia, and traditions affirm that Lodges were held in this camp, which Washington often attended. There can hardly be a doubt that such was the case, but unfortunately no records of the Continental Field Lodges, for this year, are in existence.

1778.—Philadelphia evacuated by the British, June 18. The Grand Lodge of Virginia, the *second* Independent organization of the kind, formed October 13. The Lodges in this State had derived their charters from the Grand Lodges of England and Scotland, "Mother Kilwinning," the Prov. G. Lodges of New England and Pennsylvania, and (according to Dove[3]) the G.L. of Ireland. At the close of this year, the city of New York, the town of Newport, Rhode Island, and Savannah, Georgia (captured December 29,) were alone held by the British.

1779.—No. 210 (A.), constituted at New York—making with No. 169 (A.)—removed from Boston in 1776—two "Ancient" Lodges in that city. Three Lodges in the Continental Army were chartered by the Prov. G.L. (A.) of Pennsylvania.[4] "The membership of the Lodges subordinate to the two Grand Lodges in Philadelphia gradually became merged, the Ancients receiving and remaking the Moderns. The records of the Grand Lodge contain the names of many Modern Masons who were subsequently identified with the "Ancients."[5] A notable instance of this is the case of Dr. William Smith, Provost of the University, who was a so-called "Modern" in 1755, and became Grand Secretary of the Ancients (in Pennsylvania), October 22, 1779.

1780.—Washington nominated as General Grand Master by the G.L. of Pennsylvania,

[1] W. L. Stone, Life of Joseph Brant, 1838, vols. i., pp. 18, 33; ii., p. 156.

[2] Ten of these, including Webb and Paul Revere—as D.G.M. and S.G.W. respectively—acted as Grand Officers, the proceedings virtually resulting in the wheels of the old machinery being again set in motion.

[3] Virginia Text Book, p. 129.

[4] All the American Field Lodges will be found in a subsequent table.

[5] Early Hist. G.L. Pennsyl., p. xlix.

January 13; Convention of American Field Lodges at Morristown, February 7. A French force,[1] under General Rochambeau, arrived at Newport, R.I., July 12. Among the subordinate officers employed with this expedition were the Dukes de Laval Montmorency, de Castries, and de Lauzun, Prince de Broglio, the Marquis and the Count de Deux Ponts, Count de Segur, and many other noblemen. The Baron de Kalb, a Major-General in the American army—mortally wounded at the battle of Camden, August 17—was buried with military and Masonic honors by his victorious enemies. In this year No. 212 (A.) was established at New York; and three further warrants were granted in the Continental army by the G.L. of Pennsylvania, on the roll of which body there were now thirty-one subordinate Lodges.

1781.—The "Ancient" and Field Lodges in New York met as a Grand Lodge, and elected Grand Officers, January 23; and a warrant for a Prov. Grand Lodge—No. 219—was granted by the (Atholl) G.L. of England, September 5. A Lodge in the Continental army was established in this year under a Pennsylvanian charter.

1782.—Provincial Grand Lodge of New York (A.) inaugurated by the following Lodges:—Stationary—Nos. 169, 210, 212 (A.); and Nos. 132 (S.) 52 (A.), 441 (I.), 213 (A.), and 215 (A.,) together with a Lodge under dispensation—in the 22d, 37th, and 38th Regiments, the 4th Battalion Royal Artillery, the Regiment of Anspach-Beyreuth, and the 57th Foot respectively, December 5. The title of "Massachusetts Grand Lodge of Ancient Masons" was assumed by the G.L. at Boston under Joseph Webb, December 6, and from the official records of the same date we learn that three subordinate Lodges were constituted before the death of Joseph Warren, and fourteen subsequently.

1783.—Peace of Versailles, April 19. The *third* independent Grand Lodge, that of Maryland, organized July 31. A majority of the Grand Officers, being about to leave New York with the British army, commended the "Grand Warrant" to the care of their successors, September 19. At this date seven Lodges had received charters from the Prov. G.L., four of which were attached to the New Jersey Volunteers, the 57th Foot, the Regiment de Knyphausen, and the Loyal American Regiment; also two Irish Lodges, Nos. 478, in the 17th Dragoons, and 90, in the 33d Foot, had at different dates ranged themselves under its banner. In this year there were forty Lodges on the roll of the G.L. of Pennsylvania, and eighteen under the Grand Body of which Webb was the head, in Massachusetts. Of the former, ten were established in Maryland (before the close of 1782), five in New Jersey, four in Delaware, three each in Virginia and South Carolina, and single Lodges in North Carolina and Georgia.[2] Of the latter, six were outside the State of Massachusetts, viz., in Connecticut three, and in New Hampshire, Vermont, and New York one each. Thus making a grand total of thirty-three Lodges from these two sources only—whose members gloried in the title of "Ancients," and believed that they were walking in the old paths, from which the older Grand Lodge of England and her daughter Lodges had lamentably strayed.

Ten Lodges in all were at work in the American army during the Revolution, the earliest of which was—

[1] Including the regiments of Agenais, Saintonge, Bourbonnais, Soissonnais, Touraine, Neustrie, Anhalt, Royal Deux Ponts, de Lauzun, and Gatinais. The last named came from St. Domingo with the Marquis de Saint-Simon, and for its gallantry at York Town was allowed to resume its former name of "Royal Auvergne." *Cf. ante*, pp. 212, 213.

[2] This is inclusive of Lodges in the Military Lines other than that of Pennsylvania.

St. John's Regimental Lodge, warranted by the Prov. G.L. of New York, July 24, 1775, *i.e.*, before the military occupation of that city by the British. There are no records, and we only learn that it was attached to the United States battalion during the war.

American Union, though of later date, was the first Lodge organized in the Continental army, and may be justly regarded as the eldest Masonic daughter of the Federation. It was formed—February 15, 1776—by warrant of the English Prov. G.M. of North America—John Rowe—in the Connecticut Line of the army, wherever stationed, provided no other G.M. held authority. Shortly after, the Lodge having removed to New York, asked for a confirmation of their charter from the D.G.M., Dr. Middleton; but a new warrant was granted to the members under the name of Military Union, No. 1. The Lodge is described as having "moved with the army as a pillar of light in parts of Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey." Joel Clark, the first Master, was taken prisoner August 27, and died in captivity. He was succeeded by S.H. Parsons (the first treasurer), and the latter by Jonathan Heart (the first Secretary). The original warrant was taken by Heart to Marietta, Ohio, and the Lodge is now No. 1 on the roll of that State.

Washington Lodge, No. 10, was constituted at West Point—November 11, 1779, by Jonathan Heart, as representative of Joseph Webb, G.M. Massachusetts G.L. The first Master was Brigadier-General J. Paterson, and the Wardens, Colonels Benjamin Tupper and John Greaton. At this and the previous Lodge (American Union) General Washington was a frequent visitor.

Army Lodge, No. 27, in the Maryland Line, was warranted by the G.L. of Pennsylvania in April, 1780. The first Master was Brigadier-General Mordecai Gist, and the Wardens, Colonel Otho Williams and Major Archibald Anderson. All three greatly distinguished themselves at the battle of Camden, August 17, 1780, Gist in command of a brigade, and Williams as Adjutant-General; while after the defeat of the Americans Major Anderson was the only infantry officer who kept together any number of men.

No records of the American Field Lodges of the Revolution have been preserved, except a portion of the minutes of American Union, and some returns of the Washington Lodge. The latter merely inform us that in 1782 two hundred and forty-five names had —up to that date—been borne on the roll of the Lodge.[1] The former are of a more interesting character. The principal officers of the army, and the general in command, are frequently named as visitors, and at all the banquets, while the first toast was "Washington" or "Congress," the second was invariably—"Warren, Montgomery, and Wooster," followed by the Dead March.[2]

Dr. Warren was the first man of distinction to lay down his life in the cause of American liberty. "At Boston," says a famous writer, "Joseph Warren, a young man whom nature had endowed with grace and manly beauty, and a courage that bordered on rash audacity, uttered the new war-cry of the world, Freedom and Equality." ∴ ∴ "The good judgment and daring of Warren singled him out above all others then in the province as the leader of rebellion."[3] He presided over the Provincial Congress the day before the battle of Bunker's Hill—where, though holding the commission of Major-General, he fought as a volunteer. It was ordered by Congress that a monument should be erected at Boston in remembrance of him, and—having left behind him very little of this world's

[1] Proc. G.L. Mass., 1877, pp. 63-67.

[2] E. G. Storer, Freemasonry in Connecticut, 1859, pp. 14-48.

[3] Bancroft, Centenary edit., 1876, vol. iii., p. 598.

substance—that his son should be considered as the child of the public, and be educated at the expense of the United States.

Warren was initiated in St. Andrew's Lodge, Boston, in 1761, and became its Master in 1768. During his Grand Mastership there were thirty-seven meetings of the Grand Lodge, thirty-four of which were held in "ample form."

Montgomery was of Irish birth, and after serving with distinction in the French war, settled in America. The commission of Brigadier-General in the Continental Army was bestowed upon him early in the war, and he was killed at the attack on Quebec, December 31, 1775. No man that ever fell in battle during a civil contest was more universally regretted, and his untimely fate was as much deplored in England as in the country of his adoption. He was among the Masonic friends who gathered around Washington at Cambridge in the beginning of the war.

David Wooster, who was born in 1711, served as a Captain in the expedition against Louisburg in 1745. In the French war he commanded a regiment, and subsequently became a Brigadier-General. In 1776 he was appointed Major-General in the American Army, and was mortally wounded while leading an attack on the British troops at Ridgefield, April 27, 1777. General (then Captain) Wooster was the first Master of the first chartered Lodge in Connecticut, instituted in 1750—now Hiram No. 1.

According to the late C. W. Moore, all the American Generals of the Revolution, with the exception of Benedict Arnold, were Freemasons. The Marquis de Lafayette was among the number, and it is believed that he was initiated in American Union Lodge at Morristown, the jewels and furniture used on the occasion being lent by St. John's Lodge at Newark, N.J.

In nearly all cases the Army Lodges, in the event of removal from one State to another, were authorized to continue working, unless there was in existence a Grand or Provincial Grand Lodge, when the sanction of the presiding officer had to be obtained. In this we may possibly discern the first germ of the principle of Exclusive (State) Jurisdiction.

It is supported by evidence, that the asperities which characterized the rivalry of the two Masonic systems, found no place in the Army Lodges. To quote the words of a somewhat impassioned orator, "the 'Ancient and Modern' contest turned to ashes in the red-hot furnace of liberty," and it is on record, that at the constitution of Washington Lodge, Jonathan Heart of "American Union," under the titular "Moderns," was appointed by Joseph Webb, G M. of the Boston "Ancients," his Special Deputy Grand Master, to open and inaugurate the new Lodge.

On December 27, 1779—the headquarters of the Army being then at Morristown, New Jersey—the American Union Lodge met to celebrate the festival of St. John. At this meeting "a petition was read, representing the present state of Freemasonry to the several Deputy Grand Masters in the United States of America, desiring them to adopt some measures for appointing a Grand Master over said States;" and it was ordered "that the petition be circulated through the different Lines in the Army;" also, "that a committee be appointed from the different Lodges in the Army, from each Line, and from the Staff of the Army, to convene on the 1st of February, at Morristown, to take it into consideration." There were present on this occasion thirty-six members of the Lodge, and sixty-eight visitors, one of whom was General Washington.

Before, however, these proceedings ripened into action, the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, at a special meeting—held January 13, 1780—passed three resolutions; the first,

affirming the principle that it would be for the benefit of Masonry "that a Grand Master of Masons throughout the United States," should be nominated on the part of that Grand Lodge; the second, unanimously electing General Washington to the office; and the third, directing "that the minutes of the election and appointment should be transmitted to the different Grand Lodges in the United States, and their concurrence therein should be requested."

At the same meeting a committee was nominated "to inform themselves of the number of Grand Lodges in America, and the names of their officers"—a point upon which a good deal of ignorance prevailed throughout the country at large, as I shall hereafter have occasion to show.

On February 7, 1780, "according to the recommendation of the *Convention* Lodge," held December 27, a committee of ten met at Morristown, delegated by the Masons in the Military Lines of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and Maryland; St. John's Regimental Lodge, the Staff of the Army, and the Artillery. The representatives of the Massachusetts and Connecticut Military Lines—John Pierce and Jonathan Heart—also acting on behalf of Washington and American Union Lodges respectively. Mordecai Gist was chosen President, and Otho Williams, Secretary of the Committee. An address was then drawn up to "the Grand Masters of the several Lodges in the respective United States of America." In this—to avert "the impending dangers of Schisms and Apostacy"—the expediency was maintained of "establishing one Grand Lodge in America, to preside over and govern all other Lodges, licensed or to be licensed, upon the Continent;" and the Grand Masters, or a majority of their number, were requested to nominate as M.W. G.M., a brother whose merit and capacity might be adequate to a station so important, and to submit his name, together with that of the Lodge to be established, "to our Grand Mother Lodge in Europe for approbation and confirmation." This "address" being read and unanimously agreed to, was "*signed in convention*, and the committee adjourned without delay."

A "Convention Lodge" from the different Lines of the Army and departments, was held—March 6—under the authority of the American Union Lodge, at which the proceedings of the committee were unanimously approved.

At this period the only Grand Lodges (in the contemplation of the Committee) were those in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Virginia; and although the name of Washington as Grand Master designate does not appear in the address from the Masonic Convention in the army, yet it was formally signified to these Grand Lodges that he was their choice. It will be observed that the Masons of the various Military Lines met three times in convention—on the first occasion to propound a scheme, on the second to arrange the details, and on the third to ratify the proceedings of the executive committee. Washington, therefore, whose name is recorded among those of the visitors on St. John's Day, 1779, was as much a party to the proceedings of that date as were the actual members present of the American Union Lodge. This doubtless led to the project being taken up so warmly by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, by which body it was communicated to other jurisdictions; but they did not view it with favor, and no action resulted. It is a little singular that in Philadelphia—then the metropolis of North America—the governing Masonic body were only "informed" on July 27, 1780, that there was a Grand Lodge in Virginia, and the records from which this is gleaned[1] give—under the same date—the following:—

[1] Early Hist. G.L. Pennsyl., p. 17 "June 20, 1785.—Received the names of the Grd. Officers of

"It is reported that there is a Grand Lodge in Boston." In the same year—September 4—Joseph Webb (Massachusetts) knew of but two American Grand Lodges, that of Pennsylvania and his own, and had heard of no increase in the number beyond the G.L. of New York so late as March 8, 1787.

The idea of a General Grand Master or Superintending Grand Lodge was revived in 1790, when it was taken up by Georgia, and at various other times (and ways), some seventeen in all, the last occasion being in 1862. It is somewhat curious that the project, though constantly revived by a number of American Grand Lodges *after* 1780, has since that date encountered the determined opposition of the Masonic community in Pennsylvania. The belief that General Washington was Grand Master of the United States—at one time a very prevalent one[1]—was strengthened by a Masonic medal, struck in 1797, having on one side the initials, "G.W., G.G.M."[2] The following, however, is his Masonic record briefly told:—He was initiated in the Fredericksburg Lodge, Virginia, November 4, 1752, and became a Master Mason, August 4, 1753. This Lodge derived its authority from Boston, but obtained a Scottish charter in 1758, which seems on the whole to fortify a conjecture which has been advanced by Hayden,[3] that Washington was "*healed* and re-obligated" in No. 227 (46th Foot) in order to qualify him for admission into a Lodge held under a warrant from the Grand Lodge of Ireland. In 1779 he declined the office of G.M. of Virginia, but accepted that of Master of Alexandria Lodge, No. 22, in his native State, in 1788. As President of the United States he was sworn in—April 30, 1789—on the Bible of St. John's Lodge, New York, by Chancellor Livingstone, G.M. of that State. In 1793—September 18—he laid the corner-stone of the Capitol, and is described in the official proceedings as "Grand Master *pro tem.*, and Worshipful Master of No. 22, of Virginia." Washington died in 1799, and was buried with Masonic honors on December 18 of that year.

It is a curious circumstance, and deserves to be recorded, that with the exception of Major-General Richard Gridley, who attended two meetings of the St. John's Grand Lodge, Boston, in 1787, Washington appears to have been the only man of mark, who, graduating under the older system of Masonry before its popularity was on the wane, associated himself at all closely with the proceedings of the Craft, either during the war with England or at any later date. Before the political troubles—as will be hereafter narrated—no one figured more prominently on the Masonic stage than Benjamin Franklin; but we nowhere read of his participating in Masonic fellowship, in the country of his birth, after his return from England in 1762. According to a publication of great weight and authority, "the 'Moderns' numbered among their prominent members many who were opposed to the independence of the colonies, while the Ancients were mostly in favor thereof."[4] In 1776 the earliest Provincial Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania was practically extinct, its members having been sharply divided in political sentiment at the era of the Revolution, and their Grand Master, Chief Justice Allen, having placed himself under the protection of General Howe. At the same date the condition of affairs was very similar in New York, the Prov. G.M. of which State, Sir John Johnson, was commissioned as a colonel by the British, and (according to an unfriendly biographer) "directed the movements of as bloody a band of

the State of Virginia. The Grd. Secy. is requested to make enquiry as to their antiquity" (*Ibid.* p. 55).

[1] *Ante*, p. 157.

[2] See Plate, fig. 9.

[3] P. 31; *cf. ante*, Chap. XXIII., p. 313.

[4] Early Hist. G.L. Pennsyl., p. xxxix.



Plate I Masonic Medals.

1. Obverse Freemason's Hall Medal, 1780.
2. Obverse Grand Masters Lodge Centenary Medal, 1849.
3. Reverse English Medal, 1802.
4. Obverse Duke of Sussex, Memorial Medal, 1843.
5. Reverse Martin Folkes Medal Rome, 1742?.
6. Reverse Franklin Medal by Loge des 9 Soeurs Paris, 1778.
7. Lafayette Medal.
8. Reverse Union Lodge, Danbury, Conn., to Wm A. Babcock, 1794.
9. Obverse Washington Medal, 1797.
10. Reverse English Medal Alfred Lodge.
11. English Medal, "Veritas est intus," 1755.
12. Obverse English Medal Alfred Lodge.

savages and outlaws as existed during the Revolution;"[1] while at Boston the influence of Joseph Warren, both in Masonry and politics, has already been narrated.

At the termination of hostilities in 1783, we find, therefore, that in Pennsylvania the Ancients were not only supreme but unchallenged In Massachusetts about an equal number of Lodges held charters from each of the two Grand Lodges, and at the Union of these bodies in 1792 the only allusion to the diversity of rites was the single proviso that "All distinctions between Ancient and Modern Masons shall be abolished as far as practicable."[2] In New York many of the Lodges under the older sanction gradually attached themselves to the predominant system, and beyond the fact that their members were understood to have shifted their allegiance, and to have become "Ancients," very little more seems to have been required of them. In South Carolina the strife lingered for some years, and this I imagine to have been mainly the result of the presence of a large British garrison in that State during the closing years of the struggle for independence.

Gradually, however, all distinctions between the two systems were removed throughout the Continent, and the prudent course adopted by the Grand Lodge of New Jersey, in 1807, must be commended, by which body the difficulties of reconciling any discrepancies were at once surmounted by the appointment of a committee "to consider of and introduce an uniform system of working to be observed throughout the several Lodges of the State."[3]

American Field Lodges.[4]

U.S. Battalion, St. John's,	1 N.Y.,	1775.	Pennsylvania Line,	29 P.,	1780.
Connecticut Line, Amer. Union,	[ ] N.E.,	1776.	New Jersey Line,	31 P.,	1781.
1st Reg. Pennsyl. Artillery,	19 P.,	1779.	" "	36 P.,	1782.
Massachusetts Line, Washington,	13 M.,	1779.	Legion of the U.S.A.,	58 P.,	1793.
North Carolina Regiment,	20 P.,	1779.	2d Div. Northern Army,	[ ] N.Y.,	1814.
Maryland Line,	27 P.,	1780.	United States Army,	140 P.,	1814.
Pennsylvania Line,	28 P.,	1780.	Missouri Military,	36 Mo.,	1847.

Vera Cruz, Quitman, 96 Miss., 1848.

The first ten Lodges on this list were in existence during the Revolution. The third in order, now "Montgomery," No. 19, Philadelphia, is traditionally asserted to have been "originally a Military Lodge, with a travelling warrant from the G.L. of England." All warrants issued to military bodies were recalled by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania in 1784, and from that date the Army Lodges either ceased to exist or assumed a new character.

An application for "a warrant to hold a Travelling Lodge in the armies of the United States" was refused by the G.L. of New Jersey in 1791; and in the same year a "Travelling Warrant" was granted by the G.L. of New York to some non-military brethren desirous of erecting a Lodge in the Island of Curaçoa.

The first Field Lodge, after the peace—No. 58 (P.)—was established in the "Legion of the United States," commanded by General Anthony Wayne, in 1793; and it is said that nearly all the members were killed in the Indian War. After this, in the G.L. of New York—March 2, 1814—"a petition from a number of officers of the second division

[1] Hayden, p. 257. [2] Proc. G.L. Mass., 1877, p. 45.

[3] J. H. Hough, Origin of Masonry in New Jersey, p. 125.

[4] The letters N.Y. denote *New York*; N.E., *New England* (St. John's G.L.); P., *Pennsylvania*; M., *Massachusetts G.L.*; Mo., *Missouri*; and Miss., *Mississippi*.

of the Northern Army, at Plattsburgh, praying for a 'marching warrant,' to be called Northern Light Lodge, was read and referred to the Grand Officers." Whether the charter solicited was granted or not, I am unable to state; but later in the same year a Field Lodge—No. 140—was erected by the G.L. of Pennsylvania, to be held wherever the Master for the time being should be stationed in the Army of the United States.

The last two Lodges on the list were established during the Mexican war, and it is quite possible that there were others, though the particulars with regard to them have not fallen in my way.

Field Lodges sprang up with rather a luxuriant growth during the late civil war, and were freely established on both sides. But the experience of the war was decidedly unfavorable to their utility, and we find the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, in 1865, congratulated on having "kept herself free from the difficulties, embarrassments, and entanglements, which the issuing of warrants for Army Lodges could not but have led to." The practice was, to issue dispensations, and when the Regiments in which they were held were mustered out of the service, or the individuals to whom they were granted returned to civil life, the Lodges ceased to exist.

The following statistics have been supplied to me with regard to the number of dispensations issued in the different jurisdictions:—Alabama, nineteen; Arkansas, thirteen; New York, eight; New Hampshire, five; Massachusetts, Virginia, Louisiana, and North Carolina, several each; and both in Connecticut and Nebraska, single dispensations. None whatever were granted in Kentucky, Tennessee, California, Kansas, Oregon, and Pennsylvania, and the general verdict passed upon such Lodges by all the American Grand Secretaries with whom I have been in correspondence, is strikingly in accord with the remarks of Past Grand Master Perkins of the last-named State, in 1865, to which I have already referred. There are no Lodges in the Standing Army of the United States, and for this a very sufficient reason will be found, in the fact that the few Regiments of the Regular Army are generally—if not always—divided into small fractions, separated at widely different posts.[1]

[1] Authorities—besides those already cited—Bancroft, Hist. U.S.; Ramsay, The Revolution of South Carolina, 1785; Andrews, Hist. of the Wars, 1786; Steadman, Hist. Amer. War, 1794; Carmichael-Smyth, Precis of the Wars in Canada, 1862; Léon Chotteau, Les Français En Amerique, 1876; Barker, Early Hist. G.L. New York; Proc. G.L. Pennsylvania and Michigan, 1865; Massachusetts and Connecticut, 1866; Letters from Grand Secretaries Frizzle (Tenn.), Barber (Ark.), Abell (Cal.), Cheever (Mass.), Austin (N.Y.), Pain (N.C.); Bowen (Neb.), Wheeler (Conn.), Brown (Kan.), Babcock (Ore.), Isaacs (Va.), Batchelor (La.), and Cleaver (N.H.). I am also very greatly indebted to Mr. Sereno D. Nickerson of Boston, who has drawn my attention to many entries in the Proceedings of American Grand Lodges, which would otherwise have escaped my observation, as well as to the Deputy G.M. (Clifford P. Mac Calla) and the Chairman of the Library Committee (C. E. Meyer), G.L. of Pennsylvania; also to Hughan, whose store of facts, placed ungrudgingly at my disposal, has vastly added to the materials out of which this and the next chapter have been constructed.

CHAPTER XXXI.

FREEMASONRY IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

DOCUMENTARY evidence and tradition are alike silent with regard to the introduction of Masonry into America. Lord Alexander, Viscount Canada, who in company with his brother Anthony—Master of Work to the King—became a member of the Lodge of Edinburgh in 1634, shortly afterwards founded a colony on the river St. Lawrence.[1] But if any Lodges were established by early explorers of the continent, they perished before the dawn of accredited Masonic history, leaving behind them no traces of their existence. It has indeed been related that in 1658 the three degrees of Masonry were introduced by some Dutch Jews into Newport, Rhode Island,[2] but the statement is unworthy of serious refutation.

Governor Belcher, as mentioned at an earlier page,[3] was admitted (according to his own testimony) into the Craft in 1704, and must have carried back with him some slight acquaintance with its principles on his return to the New World in 1705. Ten years later—March 10, 1715—a letter is said to have been written by John Moore, the King's Collector at the port of Philadelphia, in which he alludes to a few evenings spent in festivity with his Masonic brethren.[4] There is also a tradition that a Lodge under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of England was duly warranted at Boston in 1720, but died out shortly afterwards owing to the violent opposition it encountered.[5] After this we are brought down without a break to the year 1730, when the real history of Masonry in the United States may be said to have its commencement, and we find ourselves fairly launched upon an inquiry of great interest and singular complexity.

It is not so difficult a task to plant new truths as to root out old errors, and therefore the practice of Timotheus, an ancient teacher of rhetoric, must be commended, who always demanded a double fee from those pupils who had been instructed by others, since in that case he had not only to plant in, but also to root out.

So long, indeed, as specious probabilities are placed on the same footing with well-attested facts, so long will Masonic history be a misleading guide, and the misfortune is —to quote Hobbes, who considered all books to be merely extracts and copies—"that most authors are like sheep, never deviating from the beaten path."

[1] Chaps. VIII., p. 28; XXIII., p. 301; Lyon, p. 86. [2] F. Peterson, Hist. of Rhode Island.
[3] Chap. XVI., p. 20. [4] Proc. G.L. Pennsyl., 1882, p. 152.
[5] Proc. G.L. Mass., 1883, p. 155.

Of late years, it is true, many new facts have been brought to light, and the materials for an exhaustive sketch of the early Masonry of America have been vastly extended. Nevertheless the story continues to be told in the old way, and there has hitherto been no attempt to deal with the subject as a whole, divested of the incrustations of error which have been laid over it by successive narrators

To those who love to ride at anchor, it may be a disquieting reflection that no Statute of Limitations is recognized in our courts of literary jurisdiction. But this fact notwithstanding, the student of our antiquities cannot always hold his opinions in solution, expecting that fresh discoveries will keep pace with the search for them.

In historical inquiry—as observed at the outset of this work—finality can have no place; but while I readily admit that the conclusions to which I am about to give expression may be overturned by additional facts, I shall cherish the hope that no evidence available at the time of writing will be found to have been neglected, nor that I have anywhere failed to indicate with sufficient fullness the points on which differences of opinion may rationally exist.

With the names of Daniel Coxe and Henry Price the generality of Masonic students will be familiar. The former received a deputation as Provincial Grand Master, but there is hardly a *scintilla* of evidence to show that he ever exercised any authority under it. The latter, on the other hand, exercised all the authority of a Prov. G.M., though no absolute proof is forthcoming that he was at any time in lawful possession of a deputation.

The various questions arising, directly or indirectly, out of the authority granted or exercised by Coxe and Price respectively, have been largely debated in the journals of the Craft. By one set of writers the Masonic precedency of Philadelphia, and by another that of Boston (Massachusetts), has been affirmed. But it seems to me equally impossible to side completely with the former or the latter, and the examination upon which we are about to enter will, I think, necessitate our following the example of Lord Keeper Bridgman, of whom it is related "that if a case admitted of divers doubts, what the lawyers call points, he would never give all on one side, but either party should have somewhat to go away with."[1]

In the earliest minute-book of the Grand Lodge of England there is a list of Lodges, with the names of their members, as registered in 1731-32. Although there are some omissions – in the absence, doubtless, of returns—a roll is given of by far a majority of the Lodges, the total silence of the records with regard to the membership of the "Old Horn Lodge," being perhaps of all the *lacunæ* the loss that will be chiefly deplored. The last Lodge on the list is No. 104, at the Virgin's Inn, Derby, constituted September 14, 1732. With the exception of the dates of constitution, which I have taken from the Engraved Lists, and the publication of Dr. Anderson (1738 edition), the following are extracts from this register. The names shown are in each case a selection from the actual list of members.[2]

[1] Roger North, Lives of the Norths, edit. 1826, vol. i., p. 179.

[2] In dealing with the *early* history of American Masonry, I have looked through the small end of the telescope, while in the latter—or comparatively modern—portion, the instrument has been reversed, and by treating the subject in broader outline, I have endeavored to bring it within the limits of a general history.

No.	Description.	Date of Constitution.
8	DEVIL TAVERN, WITHIN TEMPLE BAR. Claude Crespigny (Master), Edw. Ravenell, (S.W.), John Houghton, and Daniel Coxe.	April 25, 1722.
75	RAINBOW COFFEE-HOUSE, IN YORK BUILDINGS. John Pitt (Master), Edward Ravenell, John Houghton, "*Sen.*," John Houghton, "*Jun.*," and Henry Price.	July 17, 1730.
79	CASTLE, IN HIGHGATE. Thos. Moore (Master), A. Chocke (D.G.M., 1727), W. Blackerby (G. Treas., 1730-37), and Claude Crespigny.	1731.

In the Lodge at the "Devil" there were twenty eight members, and the name of Daniel Coxe appears as the eighteenth on the list. The Lodge at the "Rainbow" boasted a much larger membership, no less than sixty-three names figuring in the roll, of which the fifty-third in order was that of Henry Price.

At about the middle of the last-named list there is an apparent break, and then follows a further series of names belonging in all probability to brethren who had become members in 1732. There can hardly be a doubt as to the Daniel Coxe and Henry Price of the Lodges Nos. 8 and 75 being the American worthies bearing the same names. The former was certainly in England in the early part of 1731, and the latter refers on more than one occasion to having been personally acquainted with some of the leading Masons of London about 1733. Moreover, his patent as Prov. G.M., which he always stated was delivered to him in person, bears the date (according to records, the authority of which will be presently examined) of April 30 of that year.

It will be seen that three persons—Claude Crespigny, Edward Ravenell and John Houghton—belonged at the same time to more than one Lodge, while in the case of two of them, the dual membership was of an identical character. These points may be usefully noted, as a good deal of speculation has arisen with regard both to Coxe and Price, which the details here given may assist in placing on a sounder basis. Thus, to slightly anticipate, Claude Crespigny, the Master of the Lodge to which Coxe belonged, was also a member of No. 79, then meeting at the Castle in Highgate, but shortly to become vacant, and later still to be arbitrarily assigned in a publication of 1735, to a Lodge within Coxe's jurisdiction. To this may be added, that Edward Ravenell and John Houghton apparently enjoyed Masonic fellowship both with Coxe and Price.

Among the members of other English Lodges at the same period, as shown in the register of Grand Lodge, were Governors Burrington and Tinker, Sir W. Keith, Bart., Richard Hull, Randall Took, Ralph Farwinter, Captain William Douglas, and Alexander Pope. The last name, though an illustrious one, is not connected in any way with the spread of Masonry beyond the seas, but the others are those of well-known characters, who were all either Colonial Governors or Provincial Grand Masters abroad.

Daniel Coxe was the son of Dr. Daniel Coxe of London, who from the year 1687 to 1690 was the largest landed proprietor and also the Governor of the Province of West Jersey. The father was a man of large wealth, and before his arrival in America had been in succession the physician to the Consort of Charles II., and to Queen Anne. The younger Coxe, who was born about the year 1674, arrived in England in November, 1716, and six years later published "A Description of the English Province of CAROLANA." This was

written in support of a claim, which he had inherited from his father, to the extensive region then called "Carolana." It included the present States of Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, and all the country north on both sides of the Mississippi, up as high as Kentucky. In the preface the author suggests that all the North American colonies should be UNITED, and it has been maintained "that the celebrated 'Albany plan of Union,' recommended by Dr. Franklin in 1754, is little more than a transcript of the design sketched by Daniel Coxe many years before."

A letter written by Coxe from Trenton, Falls of Delaware, dated April 28, 1728, shows that he must have returned to America in the interval preceding the Masonic occurrences which it becomes my next task to relate.

On June 5, 1730, he was appointed by the Duke of Norfolk Provincial Grand Master of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania—his deputation or commission differing, it may be observed, in some important particulars from those of any similar instrument of this class. The term of office of Daniel Coxe was limited to two years, from June 24, 1730, "after which time," the brethren "in all or any" of the three colonies aforesaid, were "empowered every other year on the feast of St. John the Baptist to elect a Provincial Grand Master," who, with the concurrence of his Deputy and Wardens, might establish Lodges at his discretion. An account in writing of the number of Lodges so constituted, with the names of the members, was to be furnished annually, but there is no allusion whatever to the payment of a *fee* for registration or for any other purpose. The deputation was granted, it may be added, on the petition of Coxe himself "and several other brethren residing and about to reside" in the Provinces over which his authority was made to extend.

In 1731—January 29—Coxe attended a meeting of the Grand Lodge of England, on which occasion his health was drunk "as Provincial Grand Master of North America."

In the same year, according to the records already referred to, we again meet with his name as a member of Lodge No. 8, meeting at the Devil Tavern, within Temple Bar.

The date of his final return to New Jersey I am unable to supply, but it is on record that he was appointed Associate Justice of that Province in 1734, an office held by him until his death, which is thus announced in Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* of April 26, 1739:—

"Yesterday morning, died at Trenton, the Hon. Daniel Cox, Esq., one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the Province of New Jersey."

The archives of the Grand Lodge of England contain no further allusion to the subject of this memoir, and a thorough inquiry among his descendants for letters and papers bearing upon the subject has failed to disclose any testimony whatever of the exercise by him, or by any one acting under his authority, of the prerogatives conferred by his deputation.[1]

If, however, we accept without demur the statements in the following letter, which is said to have been written—November 17, 1754—by Henry Bell,[2] at that time residing in Lancaster, to Dr. Thomas Cadwallader,[3] of Philadelphia, there can remain no doubt as to the first Grand Master in America having constituted a Lodge at Philadelphia:—

[1] J. H. Hough, Origin of Masonry in New Jersey, 1870, p. 9.

[2] The name of Henry Bell appears on the Tax Lists of Derry Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, for the years 1750-59 (Early Hist. G.L. Pennsyl., Introduction, p. x.).

[3] An eminent physician, born 1707; a member of St. John's Lodge, Philadelphia, 1737; died 1779.



The old Tun Tavern, Philadelphia.

IN WHICH THE FIRST LODGE OF FREEMASONS WAS ORGANIZED IN NORTH AMERICA.

"As you well know, I was one of the originators of the first Masonic Lodge in Philadelphia. A party of us used to meet at the Tun Tavern, in Water Street, and sometimes opened a Lodge there. Once, in the Fall of 1730, we formed a design of obtaining a Charter for a regular Lodge, and made application to the Grand Lodge of England for one, but before receiving it, we heard that Daniel Coxe, of New Jersey, had been appointed by that Grand Lodge as Provincial Grand Master of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. We therefore made application to him, and our request was granted."

The documentary evidence last presented rests on the authority of the Library Committee, Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, who state, "The letter was exhibited in the Grand Secretary's office [Philadelphia], in 1872. It bore all the marks of being genuine, and we have no doubt of its being correct." But, it has been pertinently observed,[1] "Where has the letter been for one hundred and twenty years? In whose custody? Why has it never been brought to light before? What is the full text? These, and numerous other questions, must be satisfactorily answered before we can admit this piece of evidence. For an item that has been waited for almost one hundred and fifty years, it comes remarkably pat. If not a swift witness in one sense, it is in another, for it certainly covers the whole ground."

Again, the opening words of the letter, addressed to Cadwallader, who was only initiated—in a Lodge of which Bell was at no time a member—in 1737, are somewhat enigmatical. Moreover, we are led to believe that in the fall of 1730, there was but a single body of Masons in Philadelphia, whereas the existence of at least a plurality of Lodges, on December 8 of that year, is distinctly stated in Franklin's newspaper.

What is new is not necessarily true, and indications are not wanting that, even in Philadelphia itself, among those by whom the authenticity of the letter was formerly upheld, there are some persons who begin to doubt the validity of the proofs, and it is, at least, a significant fact, that since the discovery by MacCalla of some genuine records dating from 1731, the document has been as far as possible withdrawn from the arena of discussion.

The letter, indeed, though inadmissible as evidence in any court of justice, has derived a factitious importance from its appearance in two official publications,[2] though it may be well doubted whether we should have heard of it at all, had the early ledger of St. John's Lodge (*liber* B.)—with which it clashes—been discovered ten years earlier than it actually was.

The only other evidence that I have met with relating to the possible exercise of jurisdiction by Coxe, occurs in a letter of July 28, 1762, written from Elizabeth Town, New Jersey, claiming a deputation, which Jeremy Gridley, Prov. G.M. at Boston, had promised to send, on the receipt of satisfactory proof that Daniel Coxe had died before 1754.[3]

The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of December 8, 1730, contains the earliest printed notice of the Craft in America:—

"As there are several Lodges of Freemasons erected in this Province, and people have lately been much amused with conjecture concerning them, we think the following account of Freemasonry from London will not be unacceptable to our readers."

[1] By Mr. Sereno D. Nickerson, in the "New England Freemason," Vol. i., 1874, p. 380; and Proc. G.L. of Mass., 1883, p. 187. This distinguished Mason was G.M. of Massachusetts in 1874, and Grand Secretary in 1883.

[2] Dedication Memorial, Masonic Temple, Philadelphia, 1875, p. 21: Early Hist. Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, Introduction, 1877, p. xi.

[3] E. T. Schultz, Freemasonry in Maryland, 1884, p. 24; Boston Records, 1886, p. 78.

Then follows a recital, that "By the death of a gentleman who was one of the Brotherhood of Freemasons, there has lately happened a discovery of abundance of their secret signs and wonders, with the mysterious manner of their admission into that Fraternity, contained in a manuscript found among his papers."

Although Franklin here deposes to the existence of *several* Lodges in 1730, there is no further evidence that will enable us to identify more than one of them—St. John's Lodge, Philadelphia—in which that remarkable man is believed, with good reason, to have himself received the light of Masonry in February, 1731. The date of Franklin's initiation remained for a long time uncertain, although it was rightly assumed that the insertion by him in his newspaper of a so-called "exposure of Masonry" must have necessarily preceded his own membership of the Society.

The discovery by Mr. Clifford P. MacCalla, in 1884, of an original Masonic record, dating from 1731, has thrown much light on the early history of the Craft in Pennsylvania. The book in question is bound in parchment or vellum, and bears on the front cover the words—

"PHILADELPHIA CITY,

"ST. JOHN'S LODGE, LIBRE B."

The title with which it is labelled suggests a "Liber A.," or earlier record of the Lodge. This, however, has not yet been found, and it would be idle to speculate upon its contents. Liber B. is the Secretary's ledger account with all the members of the Lodge from June 24, 1731, to June 24, 1738. Altogether, the names are given of fifty members between 1731 and 1737. The initiation or entrance fee was £3, until 1734, when it was raised to £5. The monthly dues (also styled "quota" and "omition") were 6*d.* per member, and there was a fine of 1s. for absence. The lodge met on the *first Monday* of each month, and (in the opinion of local antiquaries) was constituted (with thirteen members) at the close of 1730, or the beginning of 1731.

Among the names—June 24, 1731—we find those of "W^m^. Button, late Mas^t^.; W^m^. Allen, Esq., Grand Mast^r^.; and William Pringle, Deputy Mast^r^.:" the last two brethren being continued in their respective offices in the following year, as we shall see by an extract from Franklin's newspaper to be presently quoted. The name of one Warden is given for the year 1735, and of both for 1736, 1737, and 1738. These are identical with those of the *Grand* Wardens for the same years, and in every case the brethren named as Grand Officers in the period covered by Liber B., were members of the private Lodge. If, indeed, any lingering doubt remained as to the *Lodge* and the *Grand Lodge* being one and the same body, this would be dispelled by a printed notice of June 16, 1737, signed by "Thomas Hopkinson, Grand Master," and his officers, "on behalf of all the members of St. John's Lodge at Philadelphia."[1]

Dr. Thomas Cadwallader, whose name is first given under the year 1737, was a (Grand) Warden in 1738. Of Henry Bell there is no mention. Benjamin Franklin is charged—June 24, 1731—"To remainder of your £3 entrance is £2, 0*s.*," and had apparently paid the sum of £1, five months before, or some time during that period, as he is charged with five months' previous dues. This will tend to prove that he was made a Mason in February, 1731. The last entries in the records or accounts, were made by Franklin, and an inter-

[1] Early Hist. G.L. Pennsyl., p. 79. *Cf. post*, p. 239.

esting report, drawn up June 5, 1732 by a committee of the members, is pronounced on good authority to be in his handwriting.

This report is distinct from the Ledger, but both these ancient documents fulfill the legal requirement "of coming from the proper custody," having been inherited by Mr. G. T. Ingham, together with other old writings and papers, formerly the property of David Hall, for many years Franklin's partner in the printing business.[1] Two of the "Resolutions" agreed to by Franklin and the other members of the committee are so quaintly expressed, and withal so admirable in their tenor, that I am induced to transcribe them:

"1. That since the excellent Science of Geometry and Architecture is so much recommended in our ancient Constitutions, Masonry being first instituted with this Design, among others, to distinguish the true and skilful Architect from unskilful Pretenders; total ignorance of this art is very unbecoming a Man who bears the worthy Name and Character of MASON:

"We therefore conclude, that it is the Duty of every Member to make himself, in some Measure, acquainted therewith, as he would honour the Society he belongs to, and conform to the Constitutions.

2. That every Member may have an Opportunity of so doing, the present Cash to be laid out in the best Books of Architecture, suitable Mathematical Instruments, &c."

It will be remembered, that by the terms of his Patent, Daniel Coxe was to hold office until June 24, 1732, when a new Grand Master was to be elected, and the following notice, which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of June 26, in that year, has been relied upon, as proving to demonstration that a successor to Coxe was duly chosen in strict accordance with the terms of the Deputation.

"Philadelphia, June 26.

"Saturday last being St. John's day, a Grand Lodge of the ancient and honorable Society of FREE and ACCEPTED MASONS was held at the Sun Tavern in Water Street, when, after a handsome entertainment, the Worshipful W. Allen, Esq., was unanimously chosen *Grand Master* of this Province for the year ensuing, who was pleased to appoint *Mr. William Pringle* Deputy Master. Wardens chosen for the ensuing year were *Thomas Boude* and *Benjamin Franklin*."

But as Allen and Pringle were already Grand Master and Deputy, respectively, in 1731, this piece of evidence will only become consistent with the supposition that Coxe's mantle really fell on Allen, by indulging very largely in conjecture. If, then, a loose rein is given to the imagination, it may be possible to conceive that Coxe obtained permission to resign in favor of Allen in 1731, or that the entries in the ledger of St. John's Lodge were not made during the actual years under which they appear?

Allen was succeeded in the chair of St. John's (and the Grand) Lodge by Humphrey Murray, in 1733, and the latter by Benjamin Franklin, in 1734. Before attaining this distinction, however, the printer and editor of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* had visited Boston, where he seems to have made the acquaintance of Henry Price, in the autumn of 1733.[2]

[1] Keystone, September 5, 1885. *Cf. ante*, Chap. XIV., p. 320.

[2] According to his autobiography, Franklin, who left his home in October, 1723, *after ten years' absence from Boston*, made a journey there, to visit his relatives (Works, edit. by Jared Sparks, 1840, vol. i., p. 128).

The election of the journalist of that era, but who was afterwards destined to take high rank as a philosopher, diplomatist, and statesman, is thus announced in the columns of his own newspaper:—

"Philadelphia, June 27 [1734].

"Monday last a Grand Lodge of the Ancient and Honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons in this Province, was held at the *Tun Tavern* in Water Street, when BENJAMIN FRANKLIN being elected Grand Master for the year ensuing, appointed Mr. John Crap to be his Deputy : and James Hamilton, Esq., and Thomas Hopkinson, Gent., were chosen Wardens. After which a very elegant entertainment was provided, and the Proprietor [Thomas Penn], the Governor, and several other persons of distinction, honored the Society with their presence."

This paragraph was reprinted in several of the London papers,[1] a circumstance which we shall do well to bear in mind, when the appearance of a Philadelphia Lodge in a list given by a Dublin Calendar as the roll of the Grand Lodge of England for 1734, has to be considered, and if possible accounted for.

In the same year, Franklin reprinted Dr. Anderson's Book of Constitutions, and wrote two important letters, one an official communication to the Provincial Grand Lodge at Boston, the other a private note to Henry Price, the G.M. They are thus worded:—

"RIGHT WORSHIPFUL GRAND MASTER AND MOST WORTHY AND DEAR BRETHREN,—We acknowledge your favor of the 23d of October past, and rejoice that the Grand Master (whom God bless) hath so happily recovered from his late indisposition ; and we now, glass in hand, drink to the establishment of his health, and the prosperity of your whole Lodge.

"We have seen in the Boston prints an article of news from London, importing that at a Grand Lodge held there in August last, Mr. Price's deputation and power was extended over all America, which advice we hope is true, and we heartily congratulate him thereupon, and though this has not been as yet regularly signified to us by you, yet, giving credit thereto, we think it our duty to lay before your Lodge what we apprehend needful to be done for us, in order to promote and strengthen the interest of Masonry in this Province (which seems to want the sanction of some authority derived from home, to give the proceedings and determinations of our Lodge their due weight), to wit, a Deputation or Charter granted by the Right Worshipful Mr. Price, by virtue of his commission from Britain, confirming the Brethren of Pennsylvania in the privileges they at present enjoy of holding annually their Grand Lodge, choosing their Grand Master, Wardens and other officers, who may manage all affairs relating to the Brethren here with full power and authority, according to the customs and usages of Masons, the said Grand Master of Pennsylvania only yielding his chair when the Grand Master of all America shall be in place. This, if it seems good and reasonable to you to grant, will not only be extremely agreeable to us, but will also, we are confident, conduce much to the welfare, establishment, and reputation of Masonry in these parts. We therefore submit it for your consideration, and, as we hope our request will be complied with, we desire that it may be done as soon as possible, and also accompanied with a copy of the R.W. Grand Master's first Deputation, and of the instrument by which it appears to be enlarged as above mentioned, witnessed by your Wardens, and signed by the Secretary; for which favors this Lodge doubt not of being able to behave so as not to be thought ungrateful.

"We are, Right Worshipful Grand Master and Most Worthy Brethren, Your Affectionate Brethren and obliged humble Servts.,

"Signed at the request of the Lodge,

"B. FRANKLIN, G.M.

"PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 28, 1734."

[1] The *St. James' Evening Post*, Sept. 3, *Read's Weekly Journal*, Sept. 7, 1734, and doubtless others.

"DEAR BROTHER PRICE,—I am glad to hear of your recovery. I hoped to have seen you here this Fall, agreeable to the expectation you were so good as to give me; but since sickness has prevented your coming while the weather was moderate, I have no room to flatter myself with a visit from you before the Spring, when a deputation of the Brethren here will have an opportunity of showing how much they esteem you. I beg leave to recommend their request to you, and to inform you that some false and rebel Brethren, who are foreigners, being about to set up a distinct Lodge in opposition to the old and true Brethren here, pretending to make Masons for a bowl of punch, and the Craft is like to come into disesteem among us unless the true Brethren are countenanced and distinguished by some such special authority as herein desired. I entreat, therefore, that whatever you shall think proper to do therein may be sent by the next post, if possible, or the next following.

"I am, Your Affectionate Brother & humb. Servt.,

"B. FRANKLIN, *G.M.*
"*Pennsylvania.*

'PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 28, 1734.

"P.S.—If more of the Constitutions are wanted among you, please hint it to me."

From these letters it may be inferred that a rumor of Price having received an extension of authority had reached Philadelphia; also, that *at the time of their being written*, the Masonic body over which Franklin presided had not received a warrant from either Coxe or Price, since in each of these cases "the sanction of some authority derived from home" would not have been required. It will be observed, moreover, that a confirmation of privileges already existing is all that is solicited. Some analogy between the Masonic and the political dependence of a colony upon the mother country was doubtless present to Franklin's mind. But that he considered his own position as being one whit inferior to that of Price, under the latter's first deputation, is negatived by the stipulation providing for "the Grand Master of Pennsylvania only yielding his chair when the Grand Master of All America [should] be in place."

According to a long series of authorities, a Lodge was warranted at Philadelphia by Henry Price in 1734; but this exercise of jurisdiction, if it took place at all, cannot have occurred until after the two letters of November 28 in that year were written. This point, however, we shall approach later, and I pass to a curious entry in the *Pocket Companion for Free-Masons*, printed at Dublin in 1735. At the end of the book a list is given of the warranted Lodges in Ireland, Great Britain, etc. The Irish Lodges head the roll, and absorb thirty-seven *numbers*, the first English Lodge being therefore shown as No. 38. At the 116th place on this compound list, or, if we deduct the 37 Irish Lodges, at the No. 79, there appears: "The Hoop in Water Street in Philadelphia, 1st Monday." The work quoted from is a reprint of a London publication of the same name and date; and except with regard to one particular, the list of English Lodges given in the latter has been reproduced with scrupulous fidelity in the former. The *Pocket Companion*, London, shows a vacant niche at the No. 79, which, as we have seen, is filled, in its Dublin namesake, by a Lodge at Water Street, Philadelphia, meeting on the *first Monday* in the month.

The judicial office to which Daniel Coxe was appointed in 1734, together with his death in 1739, have already been recorded. During the period covered by these years, the "Earliest Grand Master in America" resided within twenty miles of Philadelphia. Neither the letters written by Franklin in 1734, however, nor his obituary notice of Coxe in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, betray the slightest knowledge by the former of the latter being even a member of the Society. This silence with regard to the grant of a deputation to Coxe it is now impossible to explain. Yet if we put on one side the letters of 1734, and

the newspaper entry of 1739, the remaining evidence affords good reason for supposing that Franklin was aware of Coxe's appointment in the former year, and still stronger ground for believing that it could not have been absent from his knowledge in the latter.

The proceedings of the Grand Lodge of England were circulated far and wide—by the newspapers and in private letters, as well as by oral communication. But, passing over the earlier date, there is scarcely any room for doubt that in 1739 Franklin must have read —or, at the very least, have had his attention called to—the positive statement in the Constitutions of 1738, that Coxe was appointed a Provincial Grand Master during the administration of the Duke of Norfolk?

Why, then, it may be asked, if the grant of a patent to Coxe may be reasonably assumed to have come to the knowledge of Franklin, do we meet with no allusion to the fact in the newspaper of the latter? Towards the solution of this problem I shall merely offer a conjecture. If Daniel Coxe never exercised the authority conferred upon him by his deputation, or, in more homely language, withdrew from Masonry on his return to America, this would afford some ground for supposing that his brethren of the Craft entertained a very natural disinclination to claim as a member of the Society one who, so to speak, had plainly but unmistakably turned his back upon it. I may also add, with special reference to the obituary notice of 1739, that, as far as we can now discern, between the years 1737 and 1749, Masonry in Pennsylvania was under a cloud, and courted not the light.

We may, however, assume with some confidence—and on this point the Franklin letters of 1734 seem to me conclusive—that the brethren at Philadelphia would not have applied to Henry Price for a deputation or charter, *confirming* their privileges of holding a Grand Lodge annually and regulating their own affairs, if they had received at any previous date "an authority from home," under the hand of Daniel Coxe.

Franklin was succeeded as Grand Master by James Hamilton, who in turn gave place to Thomas Hopkinson, the latter being, at the time of his election, the Admiralty Judge in the province, and the former subsequently becoming the first native Governor of Pennsylvania. Each year there was a new occupant of the chair, which in 1737 was filled by William Plumsted, a member of the Common Council, whose tenure of office was preceded by a lamentable event, that was fraught with much evil to the Society. On June 13, 1737, an apprentice to an apothecary at Philadelphia sustained such injuries from his master and two others, whilst receiving at their hands what he believed to be a Masonic degree, that death was the result.[1] This incident, as might be expected, was turned to the disadvantage of the Fraternity by the anti-Masons of that period; and the *Weekly Mercury*—a rival sheet to the *Pennsylvania Gazette*—falsely accused Franklin of conniving at the transaction. The parties concerned in this tragical occurrence were not Masons; and the Grand Officers, in a public notice (dated June 16), to which I have already in part alluded,[2] expressed, after reciting the facts of the outrage, "in Behalf of all the Members of St. John's Lodge, at Philad'a, the Abhorrence of all true Brethren to such Practices in

[1] June 16, 1737.—"We hear that on Monday night last, some people, pretending to be *Free Masons*, got together in a cellar with a young man, who was desirous of being made one, and in the ceremonies, 'tis said, they threw some burning spirits upon him, either accidentally or to terrify him, which burnt him so that he was obliged to take his bed, and died this morning" (*Pennsylvania Gazette*).

[2] *Ante*, p. 234.

general, and their Innocence of this Fact in particular." Nevertheless, the growth of Masonry in the province was arrested, and its progress retarded, by the catastrophe. Grand Officers were apparently chosen in 1738 and 1741; but after the latter year the fount becomes dried up whence particulars of the annual elections have hitherto been derived, so we can only conclude, from the silence of Franklin's newspaper with regard to St. John's Lodge, that it vegetated in obscurity until 1749.

In the year last-named—July 10—Franklin was appointed Provincial Grand Master by Thomas Oxnard, whose jurisdiction extended over the whole of North America—from which it seems to follow, as a logical deduction, that he eventually obtained in 1749 what he had vainly applied for in 1734.

At the first Grand Lodge held under this deputation—September 5, 1749—Franklin appointed his Grand Officers, and "at the same meeting a warrant was granted to James *Pogreen* and others to hold a Lodge in Philadelphia." So far Dr. Mease,[1] whose sketch of the "Society of Masons" is given in full in the official history of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania,[2] and the latter informs us (on a later page) that the charter in question was granted to "St. John's Lodge," of which, however, the first Master is stated to have been James *Pogrew*. The same name apparently, though again we meet with a slight variation of spelling, occurs in an original document showing the debts due for quarterage by members of the "First Lodge" in June, 1752. In this the name of "Jas. *Polgreen*" is given, his liabilities extending to December, 1751, beyond which the record does not go.[3]

The Lodge of 1749 seems therefore not to have been a new creation, but a revival of the body over which Allen presided in 1731, and if such was the case, Franklin himself, in both instances, Grand Lodge and Lodge, served as the conduit pipe through which his anxiously sought "authority from home" was derived.

Meetings of the Prov. Grand Lodge were regularly held until March 13, 1750, when William Allen, Recorder of Philadelphia, presented a patent signed by Lord Byron, G.M. of England, appointing him Provincial Grand Master, which was duly recognized, and he then nominated Benjamin Franklin as his Deputy.

The first Masonic Hall in America was erected at Philadelphia, in 1754, and in the following year—the same Grand and Deputy Grand Masters holding office as in 1750—we find that three subordinate Lodges were represented at the Feast of St. John the Baptist. In the official publication[4] upon which I am mainly relying at this part of the narrative, it is assumed that two of these were the First and Second "St John's" Lodges, or in other words, the unchartered and the chartered bodies of 1731 and 1749 respectively. But the evidence with which we are presented by no means justifies this conclusion, nor can we be quite certain that more than a single Lodge was in existence before 1754.[5]

In 1758 Pennsylvania was invaded by the "Ancients" or Schismatics, and from that time the Lodges under the older sanction declined, and gradually faded into obscurity. The last printed notice of any of them occurred in 1760, and in the same year— November

[1] The Picture of Philadelphia, 1811, p. 288 *et seq.*

[2] Introduction, p. xxv.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. xxxii.

[4] Early Hist. G.L. Pennsylvania.

[5] All the subordinate Grand Officers appointed by Franklin on September 5, 1749, belonged to the First or St. John's Lodge, which body (it is said) in concert with the *Grand Lodge* erected the hall in 1754. But I strongly suspect that the subscribers were all members of the Lodge. The fact, moreover, that no other Lodges contributed to the expenses, affords a strong argument against the possibility of there being any such in existence at that time.

17—Franklin was present at a meeting of the Grand Lodge of England, in the minutes of which body he is described as "Prov. G.M. of Philadelphia," a title that may suggest the possibility of his having been elected to the office previously held by Allen?

Afterwards, during his diplomatic career, and while a resident in France, Franklin joined the Lodge of the Nine Muses, of which Lalande and other literary celebrities were also members.[1] He took a prominent part in the initiation of Voltaire, and on the death of that philosopher, acted as S.W. of the Lodge of Sorrow held to celebrate his memory.

The Lodge of the "Nine Muses" regarded Franklin with such veneration, that it struck a medal in his honor, and he was greeted with much cordiality by a Lodge at Rouen as late as 1785.

The last official act of the First Lodge in Philadelphia occurred in 1782, at which date it still existed, but in a state of suspended animation, and with but few members. About eleven years later all the Lodges in that city under the original Grand Lodge of England[2] ceased to exist. Their hall was sold, and a part of the proceeds, amounting to nearly £600, was handed over to the civic authorities to aid in forming a fund for supplying the poor inhabitants with fuel in the winter season.

At this point, and before proceeding with a memoir of Henry Price, and a review of the evidence which is closely associated with his name, it will be convenient if we pause to examine a little in detail some of the leading features of the early Masonry of Pennsylvania.

In the first place, the documentary evidence showing the existence of a Lodge reaches back to 1731, and as we then only commence with "Liber B.," the actual date at which the brethren who are named in it (or those they may have succeeded) associated together as a body, must remain a pure matter of conjecture. "Liber A.," if produced, might indeed bring us within measurable distance of this period, but on the other hand it is equally possible—not to say probable—that it would point to an uninterrupted succession of Philadelphian Masons meeting at St John's Lodge, to use a familiar expression, "from time immemorial," which, as we all know, signifies in Masonic phrase, an era more or less remote from the existence of actual records, but at all events going beyond, or as it were, behind them.

But without going back any further than the year 1731, we shall do well to reflect that the sovereignty of Grand Lodges was then only on its trial. Such bodies had been formed, it is true, at London, York, and Dublin, though we should be careful to remember that the latter towns were as much under *English* government as Philadelphia. But in Scotland—the most ancient home of Masonic precedent—there were as yet no chartered Lodges, and assemblies of brethren, formed as in Philadelphia, were the only Masonic associations existing in that country. Brethren united to form Lodges in neighborhoods where there were fair chances of their continuance, and such assemblies, though without any other sanction, were not styled irregular when the Grand Lodge of Scotland was erected in 1736, the old Lodges, whether offshoots of "Mother Kilwinning," of other ancient courts of Operative Masonry, or simply the results of local combinations, uniting to form that organization which has happily continued to this day.

It is evident that brethren who had left the old World, and brought to their new homes a knowledge of the Craft, were as much within their rights in holding Lodges in Philadelphia, Portsmouth (New Hampshire), and elsewhere in America, as those who assembled

[1] Chap. XXV., p. 411.

[2] None of them, however, obtained a footing on its roll.

in like manner in England and Scotland; and just as in the latter countries the members of such Lodges were accepted as petitioners for written Constitutions without their legal status as Masons being demurred to, so we shall find that the Boston authorities raised no objection to the Masonic regularity of the Portsmouth brethren, but granted their request for a warrant in 1736. We have already seen that in 1734 the Prov. G.M. of New England was requested to *confirm* Dr. Franklin and others in their privileges in Pennsylvania—thus completing the parallel.

In those early days a piece of paper or parchment, containing a written or printed authority for certain brethren and their successors to meet as a Lodge, was not held in the superstitious reverence with which it afterwards became regarded.[1] The old customs were gradually being supplanted by the new, but the former evinced great tenacity of existence in some instances, especially in the British colonies, where they appear to have remained for the longest period of time unmodified. The modern doctrine with respect to the formation of Grand Lodges it is not my purpose to examine at any length. Every case should, I think, be judged on its own merits, and the hard and fast rule laid down that three Lodges must be represented on such an occasion[2] seems to me as inconvenient in practice as it certainly is deficient in authority But even if the rule in question were now regarded as sound Masonic law throughout the universe, we could hardly, by any feat of *ex post facto* legislation, so strain its application as to embrace the proceedings of the brethren at Philadelphia in 1731. The Fraternity there must be held to have been as much and as legally a Grand Lodge as that of "*All* England at York." Their meetings, for all we know to the contrary, may have been held before the era of Grand Lodges, and they certainly were before the influence of the earliest of these bodies had made itself felt across the seas.[3]

Henry Price -as we learn from the epitaph upon his tombstone—was born about 1697, and came to New England about 1723. No trace of him can be found in Boston until 1732, when he is described in some legal proceedings as a tailor, from the nature of which, however, it has been conjectured that he must have been established in his business a year or two earlier. So far his fullest biographer, but other authorities who have worked their way through the same materials which he used for the compilation of his memoir, are of opinion that there is no evidence whatever to support the statement that Henry Price was known in Boston before 1733. The discrepancy is immaterial. If the name shown on

[1] Later in the century, both in England and America (and the practice was not unknown in France), the existence as well as the regularity of a Lodge was deemed to be bound up with its Charter. Thus the succession of members might come to an end, but after any interval, no matter of what duration, the issue of the old warrant to an entirely new set of brethren, was viewed as a reinstatement or revival of the original Lodge. The absurdity of this custom is self-evident, and its unfairness becomes apparent, when we reflect that under the G.L. of England the only Lodges that would necessarily become extinct on the death or dispersion of their members, were the memorable Four by whose act that body came into existence! *Cf.* Chap. XVII., p. 92.

[2] Mackey, p. 320.

[3] Authorities up to this point:—Records, G.L. of England; Hayden, Washington and his Masonic Compeers, 1866; Hough, Masonry in New Jersey, 1870; Mitchell, Hist. of Masonry, 1871; Mackey, 1874, *s.v.* Franklin; Early Hist. G.L. of Pennsylvania, 1877-84; MacCalla, Philadelphia, the Mother City of Freemasonry in America, 1876, and Hist. of St John's Lodge, 1884; Phototypes of Liber B. of St. John's Lodge, 1884; Schultz, Masonry in Maryland, 1884; World Wide Register, 1860; and the *Keystone* (Philadelphia), *passim.*

the roll of the Lodge at the Rainbow, No. 75, was his, he must have been in London—judging from its position on the list - in 1732. That he was also there in the following year we may infer from his own written statements in 1755 and 1768, and it was then, as he tells us, that he received a deputation appointing him Provincial Grand Master of New England. The visit, therefore, was in all probability a continuous one. In the spring of 1733 he seems to have returned to Boston, and in the same year Governor Jonathan Belcher appointed him Cornet in his troop of Guards, with the rank of Major, and from that time—at least so it is averred—he was known as Major Price.

In 1736 he entered into partnership with Francis Beteille, who was a shopkeeper, while Price himself carried on the tailoring department. The latter branch of the business appears to have been given up about 1739, as after that date both partners are described as shopkeepers. Price became the sole partner in 1741, and as a merchant or shopkeeper carried on the business alone until 1750, when he retired.

About May 14, 1780, while using an axe in splitting rails, it glanced and struck him in the abdomen, inflicting a severe and fatal wound. His will was executed on the following day, and in the words of the authority upon which I am relying for the preliminaries of this sketch,[1] "it especially shows what his religious character was; the possession of three pews in meeting-houses not of his faith and of his Church evince the strong sympathy he had for religious instruction, and the aid he afforded for its support.'

Price lingered until May 20, when he died at his homestead in Townsend, aged eighty-three years. He left an estate of great value, but which was afterwards much reduced by lawsuits, insecurity of his titles to real estate, and by the general depression resulting from the war of the Revolution upon all property in the new States.

We have it on the authority of Price himself that he received one deputation from Viscount Montague in 1733, appointing him Provincial Grand Master of New England, and another from the Earl of Crawford in 1734, extending his powers over all North America. No record, however, has been preserved in the archives of the Grand Lodge of England of the issue of any such documents; neither does Price's name appear in the lists of Provincial Grand Masters given in the Constitutions of 1738, 1756, and 1767. It is shown, indeed, in the Engraved list for 1770 as Prov. G.M. of North America—an appointment then actually held by John Rowe, whose name never appears at all in the English Calendars, though that of Price, having once gained a footing, was continued annually until 1804—twenty-four years after his decease!

The tangled web of Masonic history in Massachusetts is not to be easily unravelled; but as every writer may hope to profit by the labors of those who have preceded him—to some extent, at least—I shall indulge in this consolatory reflection while engaged in the examination of a subject which has been so largely canvassed in the journals of the Craft.[2]

According to the stream of Masonic writers, a Provincial Grand Lodge, and also a private Lodge, were established at Boston by Henry Price in 1733. It is important, however, to recognize, at the outset of our inquiry, the very precarious foundation of authority on which the early Masonic history of Massachusetts reposes. The actual records of the Provincial Grand Lodge—by which I mean a contemporaneous account of its proceedings

[1] W. S. Gardner, Address upon Henry Price, 1872, p. 12.

[2] Freemason, vol. iii., 1870, pp. 68, 358; vol. v., 1872, pp. 483, 495; Masonic Magazine, vol. i., 1873-74, p. 322; vol. ii., 1874-75; pp. 275, 304; Freemason's Chronicle, Nov. 10, 1877; Nov. 6, 13 and 20; Dec. 18 and 25, 1880; Jan. 1 and 29, 1881; March 1, 1884; Keystone, July 3, 1880, etc., etc.

—date from 1751. There are also "what appear to be transcripts of brief memoranda describing the important incidents in the history of that body between 1733 and 1750; or they may have been made up from the recollection of brethren who had been active among the Craft during these seventeen years."[1]

From the documents of the latter class we learn that on July 30, 1733 (Old Style), Henry Price gathered round him ten brethren, and opened the provincial Grand Lodge. Eight persons were then made Masons, and the whole eighteen brethren joined in a petition, asking that they might be formed into a constituted and regular Lodge, which prayer was granted on the same day.

A copy is given of the deputation granted to Price by Lord Montague, but the original petition signed by the eighteen and addressed to the former has been preserved. Of the latter Charles Pelham made a transcript, which -after a close comparison -Mr. Jacob Norton says "contains many ideas that are not in the original;" and adds: "If he took liberties with one document, he may have done so with the others."[2] This remark is incontrovertible, but even a sullied stream is a blessing compared to a total drought, and in the present case I do not think much benefit will arise from too minute a verbal criticism of the evidence. Even if the text of the missing deputation had been supplied by Pelham from conjecture, this would not invalidate the fact—if such it be -that Price was at one time the lawful owner of an English patent. Not, indeed, that there is reason for supposing any such thing. For my own part, I altogether fail to trace the clumsy hand of the forger in the alleged transcript; and unless we bid Henry Price stand aside as a witness wholly unworthy of credit, the text of the deputation actually granted in 1732 comes down to us duly attested by the original holder. This document bears date April 30, 1733, and the text, like that of the Coxe deputation, of which it is almost a counterpart, is without any allusion to fees; but there is no proviso for the election of a successor, and the Prov. G.M. was empowered to constitute Lodges without the concurrence of his Deputy and Grand Wardens.

Price's memory has suffered more at the hands of panegyrists than calumniators; but I shall endeavor to steer equally clear of the "special pleading" of the one, or the "historical pyrrhonism" of the other.

The "First Lodge in Boston," or "Holy Lodge of St John," was really constituted August 31, 1733. This is placed beyond dispute by two letters of 1736, in which brethren are recommended (by that body) to the favorable notice of the Grand Lodge of England and of Lodge Glasgow Kilwinning respectively. These are severally dated June 23 and September 1. Both documents are signed by Price (as G.M.) and his Deputy, and the later one by the Master (Robert Tomlinson) and officers of the Lodge. Each letter recites that the Lodge was constituted August 31, 1733, by Henry Price, Provincial Grand Master.[3] Copies of both are among the Boston records; but the letter of September 1, 1736,

[1] Mr. Sereno D. Nickerson, G.S., in Proc. G.L. Mass., 1883, p. 157. Mr. Jacob Norton states: "In 1751, Charles Pelham was appointed G.S.; but instead of beginning his record with June, 1751, he thought best to manufacture first a record from 1733. That part of the record is therefore unreliable; but yet certain facts therein are corroborated by original MSS. of that period, and some statements we may take for granted. The Lodge record, as well as that of the Master Masons' Lodge, were also the handiwork of Bro. Pelham" (Freemason's Chronicle, Nov. 10, 1877).

[2] Review of Grand Master Gardner's Address on Henry Price (Freemason, vol. v., 1872, p. 483).

[3] Unless these letters are wholly devoid of meaning—and it will be sufficient if we rely on that

has also been transcribed into the minutes of Lodge Glasgow Kilwinning of November 2 in the same year, from which a certified extract has been published by Lyon.[1]

In 1734, as we have already seen, a rumor was afloat that Price's deputation and power had been extended over all America. From Franklin's letter of November 28 in that year, we may, I think, infer that the belief in Price's *earlier* patent was at least a prevalent one; while the subsequent action of the G.M. of Pennsylvania goes far to prove that the *alleged* later commission empowering Price to dispense grace beyond the limits of New England had no real existence.

Among the documentary evidence, however, of the inferior class still preserved at Boston, there is a singular memorandum which merits our attention:—

"June 24, 1734.—About this time our Worshl. Bror., Mr. Benja Franklin from Philadelphia, became acquainted with Our Rt. Worsl. Grand Master, Mr. Price, who further Instructed him in the Royal Art, and said Franklin on his Return to Philadelphia call'd the Brethren there together, who pettition'd Our Rt. Worshl. Grand Master for a Constitution to hold a Lodge, and Our Rt. Worshl. Grand Master having this Year Recd. Orders from the Grand Lodge in England to Establish Masonry in all North America, did send a Deputation to Philadelphia, appointing the Rt. Worshl. Mr. Benja. Franklin first Master; which is the beginning of Masonry there."[2]

This was first printed, I believe, in 1792,[3] and I am not aware that its accuracy was ever called in question until 1869.[4] There are persons still living who took part in a solemn centennial celebration by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania in 1834! At the present date, however, it is only of service in assisting us to guage with greater precision the historical value of the collection, of which it forms a part. There is a *substratum* of truth in the memorandum. Undoubtedly Franklin asked Price for a warrant, which it is almost as equally demonstrable, was never granted,—or, to vary the expression, never *accepted*. In legal phraseology, there was no attournment (or acknowledgment of Price's authority over him) by Franklin. But this was, nevertheless, confidently assumed to have taken place by Pelham, or the Boston archivist for the time being. The facts, it is true, do not altogether square with the hypothesis. Franklin's visit to Boston occurred in 1733, and his letters to Price were written towards the close of 1734. Still, it is not necessary to impeach the good faith of the annalist. The Lodge at Philadelphia applied, without doubt—through Franklin—to Henry Price for a Charter, and if any excuse is needed for the conclusion which was arrived at in 1751, or earlier, by the Provincial Grand Officers, we find it in a recent review of the evidence, by the Grand Master for the time being of Massachusetts, where it is stoutly maintained "that Franklin received what he asked for."[5]

The date, however, of the application from Philadelphia seems to have been passed over very lightly. It is, at all events, free from doubt, that Franklin and the others could not have received *before* November 28, 1734, what they only solicited on that date. Then there is the rebutting evidence of the year 1749, which, in the opinion of most people, will

of September 1, 1736, of which a copy is preserved by Lodge Glasgow Kilwinning—Henry Price, at the date from which they speak, had for three years filled the office of Prov. G.M.

[1] A transcript of the *reply* of the Glasgow Lodge, dated February 23, 1737, in the handwriting of Benjamin Franklin, and bound up with one of his reprints of the 1723 Constitutions, was recently acquired by Mr. S. D. Nickerson, who announced his discovery in the *Keystone* of June 24, 1880.

[2] Boston Records, p. 4. [3] Constitutions, G.L. Mass. [4] By Mr. Jacob Norton.

[5] Mr. Sereno D. Nickerson in the "New England Freemason," vol. i., 1874, p. 382.

be decisive of the whole point at issue, and justify the inference that the entire proofs were not forthcoming with which Franklin very properly asked to be supplied.[1]

The "first Lodge in Boston"—constituted by Price August 31, 1733—obtained a place on the roll of the Grand Lodge of England in 1734. The Engraved (or official) Lists for 1731-33 are missing, which is to be regretted, as a curious problem presents itself in connection with an unofficial[2] list of Lodges really dating from 1734, from which the Lodge at Boston is excluded, while, to make up for the omission, one at Philadelphia finds a place.

In 1731, as we have already seen,[3] the sign of the house, where the seventy-ninth Lodge on the general list met, was the Castle at Highgate. The place or number occupied by the Lodge in question was vacant in 1733[4] and 1734,[5] but in 1735 we find it again filled, and on this occasion the sign of the house is the Crown and Angel, Little St Martin's Lane,[6] which is also given in the official list for 1736.

In the Engraved List for 1734 there are 128 numbers in all (the 79th being vacant), and the last three are thus shown:—

126, Boston, in New England [*no date*]; 127, Valenciennes, in French Flanders [*no date*]; and 128, Duke of Marlborough, Petticoate Lane, White Chapell, November 5, 1734.

In a list of the following year, evidently taken by Picart from an official one published after February 24, and before June 24, 1735, there are no vacant numbers (the 79th being again filled). Nos. 126-128 are occupied in the same way as narrated in the last paragraph, and it contains an additional Lodge—No. 129—at the Mason's Arms, Plymouth, constituted January 26, 1735.

Next comes the evidence of the *Pocket Companion for Freemasons*, of which editions bearing the imprint "MDCCXXXV.," were published both in London[7] and Dublin.[8]

The earlier of the two was, without doubt, the English publication; and in this we find a roll of Lodges, of which there are 126 in all, agreeing exactly (including the vacancy at the 79th place) with that given in the official list for 1734, down to the No. 125, but at the following and last number—126—we meet with the Duke of Marlborough's Head, which, in the Engraved Series, appears at the No. 128. Thus, the Lodges at Boston and Valenciennes are omitted from the *Pocket Companion*, which must have been printed *after* November 5, 1734, the date of constitution of the Lodge at the Duke of Marlborough's Head, and apparently *before* the admission on the roll of the two foreign Lodges above named.

In the *Pocket Companion*, Dublin, the 79th place—which in the English or earlier edition is vacant—is filled by the Lodge at the Hoop, Water Street, Philadelphia. In other respects the Lodges on the roll of the Grand Lodge of England are given in the same order, and described in the same words, as in the *Pocket Companion*, London.

The appearance, of a Philadelphian Lodge in the Irish edition is consistent with the

[1] It is evident, from his requiring copies of both patents, that the earlier one of 1733 had not been shown to Franklin by Price during their intercourse in that year.

[2] *I.e.*, as regards the *English* Lodges. The publication was "approved of, and recommended by," the Grand Lodge of Ireland.

[3] *Ante*, p. 231. [4] Rawlinson MS., Bodleian Library. [5] Engraved List.

[6] Picart. *Cf. ante*, Chap. XVI., p. 28, note 4.

[7] Printed and sold by E. Rider in Blackmore Street, near Clare Market.

[8] Printed by E. Rider, and sold at the *Printing Office* in *George's Lane*; T. Jones in *Clarendon Street*; and J. Pennel at the *Hercules* in *St. Patrick Street*.

theory that the notice of Franklin's election in 1734, must have been seen and read in Dublin, where, it seems at least a reasonable conjecture, in the interval between the two publications, intelligence may also have been received from London of the constitution of an *American* Lodge? Here we have, what I shall venture to term, a natural explanation of the mystery. It is quite clear that the existence of the "First Lodge at Boston," as a unit on the Grand Lodge roll, must have become commonly known almost immediately *after* the appearance of the *Pocket Companion*, Dublin. Therefore we have only to hazard the supposition, that shortly *before* the publication of the work in question, the bare fact of a new Lodge in British North America having been taken on the general list, had in some way obtained currency—and that this addition to the roll was assumed in Dublin to be identical with the Lodge at Philadelphia?

A theory, however, has been advanced that the *first* Lodge borne at the No. 79 on the English roll was the one at the Hoop (or other tavern) in Water Street, Philadelphia, in which case it must have been placed on the general list in 1730 or 1731. In support of this view it is argued that the date on which the Lodge at the Castle, Highgate, paid its fee for constitution--November 21, 1732—was unusually late for a Lodge formed in 1731, and fairly warrants the inference that an earlier Lodge must have previously occupied the same number. The position of the Lodge at Philadelphia, on the Dublin list, it is then contended, among other Lodges of 1730 or 1731, altogether squares with this hypothesis

Yet although the Engraved Lists for 1731-33 are missing, we learn from the official Calendar for 1736 and the Constitutions of 1738, that Nos. 77 and 81 were constituted on January 11 and November 1, 1731, respectively. The three intermediate Lodges were erected in the same *year*, but the *months* are not given. We can therefore only assume that, as the centre of the group, the position of No. 79 on the list indicates that it was warranted about June, 1731. At all events we may conclude that the *number* was allotted after March 25, as Anderson has not in this instance added the date of the *historical* to that of the *legal* year, which he appears to have invariably done when describing any day between January 1 and March 25.

This will harmonize perfectly with the list of Lodges as shown in the Grand Lodge Register for 1731-32. Next, the payment by No. 79 of the fee for its constitution on November 21, 1732, proves that it had a continuous existence down to nearly the close of that year. Nor would such a payment import a proximate dissolution. All we know with certainty is, that according to a list drawn up by Dr. Rawlinson, apparently between March and July, 1733, the Lodge at the Castle, Highgate, was extinct, and No. 79 a vacant one—remaining so until after November 5, 1734, the date borne by the last Lodge on the Engraved List for that year.

St John's Lodge, Philadelphia, of which Franklin was "Grand Master" in 1734, assembled on the first Monday in the month, which was also the day of meeting of the Lodge at the "Hoop" in the same city, as described by the *Pocket Companion*.

There was a "Sun" as well as a "Tun" tavern in Water Street, Philadelphia. According to Franklin's *Gazette* the "Grand Lodge" in 1732 met at the former, and in the two following years at the latter. All three designations, Sun, Tun, or Hoop, are believed by MacCalla to apply to one public-house at different dates not far apart.[1]

I shall now pass from the consideration of No. 79 to that of No. 126 on the same list.

It is a well-established fact that more than one edition of the Engraved Series was often

[1] Keystone, November 7, 1885.

published in the same year. This may serve to explain why the Lodges at Boston and Valenciennes are not shown in the *Pocket Companion*, London,[1] but which includes nevertheless a London Lodge—No. 126, at the sign of the Duke of Marlborough—subsequently placed below them on the list. The first Lodge at this number, then, was constituted November 5, 1734, and the date is of importance as assisting us to determine about what period the First Lodge at Boston obtained a footing on our roll. This apparently occurred in November or December, 1734, or to speak roundly, about fifteen months after its original constitution. The delay in registration is a material point, since it forms one of the aggregate of minor circumstances upon which I think we shall do well to base our final judgment of Henry Price. It has been nowhere doubted that the Lodge was regularly established, but it has been urged that the deputation granted to Price was simply an authority to open a Lodge, or in other words, a warrant of constitution—not a patent as Provincial Grand Master. Had this been so, the Lodge at Boston would have appeared on the roll in 1733, at (about) the No. 113, as the roll was arranged according to "seniority of constitution," an expression the meaning of which has now become obselete, but in use at that time to indicate that the precedency of Lodges was to be regulated by the priority of the written instruments severally possessed by them. In plainer words, the "constitution" of a Lodge was its warrant or authority to assemble, and the columns headed "constituted" in the Engraved Lists merely gave the dates when the various Lodges were chartered by the Grand Master or his Deputy. Thus, the days of meeting of the Boston Lodge, with the year and month of its formation, would have been duly entered in the register of Grand Lodge, and thence transferred in the ordinary course to the published list, had the deputation granted to Price been of the limited character which has been suggested. But the Lodge did not even secure a footing on the general list until some fifteen months after its establishment, while the days of meeting—"2d and 4th Saty."—appear for the first time in the Engraved List for 1738, and the *year* of constitution, though without the *month*, through the same channel of publication in 1740. Yet, there is no room for doubt that the Lodge was regarded as having been properly constituted by some competent authority, which in the case before us could only have emanated from Price. In other words, the admission of the First Lodge of Boston on the roll of the Grand Lodge of England, involved as a necessary corollary a recognition of the Provincial commission under which it was called into being.

Great stress has been laid on the absence of Price's name from the lists of Provincial Grand Masters published in the successive editions of the Constitutions. But with regard to this purely negative evidence there are some considerations which have not as yet received their due weight. The preservation or destruction of historical materials is as providential as the guidance of events.[2] Of this aphorism the existing records of the Grand Lodge of England afford a good illustration. The first minute-book of that body relates the proceedings of the Grand Lodge from June 24, 1723, to March 17, 1731. In the same volume are contained several lists of Lodges, with the names of their members, and copies of various deputations granted to brethren in foreign parts—and among them the exact text of the patent issued to Daniel Coxe.

The second minute-book begins with the proceedings of March 27, 1731, and ends with those of April 26, 1771. Volume II., however, was not used like its predecessor, as a receptacle for documentary waifs and strays, which, by transcription into the actual min-

[1] *Cf.* Chap. XVII., p. 141.

[2] *Cf.* Chap. XVI., p. 10.

ute-book of Grand Lodge, were happily preserved from destruction. From the date, therefore, at which the earliest minute-book ends, many occurrences not actually forming a part of the proceedings in Grand Lodge, must have been recorded on loose papers or in books that have now perished. Dr. Anderson, in preparing the second edition of his Constitutions, had the minutes of Grand Lodge to refer to; but with regard to what other records were placed at his disposal, it is now, of course, impossible to speak with precision. Still, judging by results, there is very little in the Constitutions of 1738 which betrays a deeper fount of information than the recorded proceedings of the Grand Lodge.

The deputation granted to Daniel Coxe necessarily came under observation, but not so the later patent to Henry Price, the date of which precluded its being entered in the first volume of minutes, and, as already related, documents of that class found no place in the second. William Read, moreover, who had been Grand Secretary from December 27, 1727, was succeeded—March 30, 1734—by John Revis; and it was not until February 24, 1735, that Anderson sought the permission of Grand Lodge to bring out a new edition of his Constitutions. Above all, we must not forget that the latest contribution to the literature of the Craft by the "Father of Masonic History" has come down to us without any great weight of authority.[1] Bearing all this in mind, we need attach less importance to the omission of Price's name in the successive editions of the Constitutions. The case of his successor, Robert Tomlinson, whose appointment is duly recorded, stands on quite another footing. It is but natural to suppose that Anderson obtained from John Revis a list of Provincial Grand Masters in foreign parts appointed during his own tenure of office. For the same reason, I am inclined to regard the claim advanced by Price to have had his authority extended over all America by Lord Crawford, in 1734, as an hallucination arising out of circumstances which are only dimly shadowed in Franklin's letter of that year.[2] The files of Boston newspapers for 1734 are incomplete, and the "article of news from London" referred to by the "Grand Master" of Pennsylvania cannot be found. A search by me in the library of the British Museum has been equally fruitless. But the accuracy of Franklin was such[3] as to leave no room for doubt that a statement, importing the extension of Price's "deputation and power over all North America," duly appeared in some Boston print.

On February 5, 1736, a petition (the original of which has been preserved) was addressed by six brethren at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to Henry Price, whom they style "Grand Master of the Society of Free and Accepted Masons held in Boston." The petitioners described themselves as "*of the holy and exquisite Lodge of St John,*" and asked for power to hold a Lodge "According to order as is and has been granted to faithfull Brothers in all parts of the World," and they declared that they had their "Constitutions both in print and *manuscript* as good and as ancient as any that England can afford." The favor was asked because they had heard "there is a Superiour Lodge held in Boston." Be it noted, this was early in 1736, when no Lodge had been warranted at Portsmouth; and as the brethren stated they possessed "Constitutions" in *manuscript*—which it is hardly possible could have been anything else than a copy of the "Old Charges"—as well as in

[1] *Cf.* Chap. XVI., p. 43. [2] *Ante*, p. 234.

[3] "Through the press, no one was so active as Benjamin Franklin. His newspaper defended freedom of speech and of the press, for he held that falsehood alone dreads attack and cries out for auxiliaries, while truth scorns the aid of the secular arm, and triumphs by her innate strength" (Bancroft, Hist. U.S.A., vol. ii., 1885, p. 260).

print. the evidence is consistent with the supposition that while at the date named the Lodge must have been some years in existence, its origin may have reached back even to the seventeenth century.

I am anxious not to lay too much stress on the precise meaning attached by me to the mention of manuscript Constitutions; nevertheless I think the petition may be taken as fair evidence that in 1736 there were brethren in New Hampshire (meeting as Masons in a Lodge) who possessed a copy (or reprint) of the English Constitutions published in 1723, as well as a version of an older set of laws in MS., thus pointing to the possible existence of the Lodge at even an earlier period than the Grand Lodge era of 1716-17.

In the same year (1736) Price is alluded to in the two letters of recommendation from the First Lodge of Boston, which have been previously referred to, as "Provincial Grand Master." The later of these is dated September 1, 1736, and three months afterwards—December 7—the charge of the province of New England was committed by patent to Robert Tomlinson. Whether Price resigned or was superseded, there is no evidence to show; but it is not unreasonable to suppose that, with the influx of many new members of higher social standing, there may have arisen a feeling that his occupation in life was incompatible with the appointment. Therefore, choice was made of Tomlinson, "a gentleman of means and distinction." The deputation to Price's successor recites that it was granted in response to the prayer of a petition that a *new* Prov. G.M. for New England might be nominated. To the word "new" great importance has been attached by some commentators, but I think without reason, as the more we rely upon the early Boston records as independent authorities, the greater becomes the necessity of critically appraising the *weight* and thereby the value of their testimony.

The deputation requires the sum of two guineas, in respect of every new Lodge constituted by the Prov. G.M., "to be paid into the Stock of General Charity." This fee, it may be remarked, gradually increased in amount, becoming, as we learn from subsequent patents, two guineas and a half, in Oxnard's time, and three guineas under later administrations.

In 1738, Tomlinson went to England, *viâ* Antigua, "where," says the Rev. T. M. Harris,[1] "finding some old Boston Masons, he went to work and made the Governor, and sundry other gentlemen of distinction, Masons, whereby from our Lodge sprung Masonry in the West Indies." Soon after his arrival in London, he was present at a meeting of the Grand Lodge—which was also attended by John Hammerton, Prov. G.M. of Carolina—January 31, 1739.

His death in 1740 left the province without a head, and an interregnum of some duration ensued, during which—so the Boston records tell us—Price presided and acted as Provincial Grand Master.

The vacancy was filled up, September 23, 1743, by the appointment of Thomas Oxnard, a merchant of character and influence. The deputation contains a recital, that "a Provincial Grand Master for North America, in the room of Robert Tomlinson," had been asked for, so it is highly probable, that the enlarged patent conferred on Oxnard—wherein the jurisdiction craved is duly granted to him—simply originated in a mistake, either on the part of the Grand Secretary, or on that of Governor Belcher, at whose instance the appointment is said to have been made. Nor can the error, if such it were, be styled an

[1] Constitutions, G.L. Mass., 1792. A biographical sketch of the compiler will be found in the "Proceedings" of the same body, 1874, pp. 185-93.

uncommon one, for the same comprehensive title was bestowed on Daniel Coxe, when the Deputy Grand Master proposed his health in 1731.[1]

The "Second Lodge in Boston" was constituted in the usual manner, on February 15, 1750. In the previous year, as we have already seen, Franklin received a Provincial Commission from Oxnard, and it will be convenient, therefore, if at this point the narrative is interrupted, while we pause to consider some of the more striking features in the system of Masonry which for nearly twenty years had existed side by side in the two Colonies of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania.

At each capital, Boston and Philadelphia, there was a Society of Masons, meeting sometimes as a Grand, and at other times as a Private Lodge. That the same characteristics were common to the two brotherhoods, we may fairly assume, which is so far an advantage, inasmuch as while our stock of information is but small regarding the one, we know absolutely nothing of the inner life of the other. To the extent possible, an outline has been already given of the early Masonry of Pennsylvania, and I shall now proceed to supplement that sketch, by some remarks of a kindred character.

Whether Henry Price was the first Master of the Lodge founded by him in 1733, is a matter of uncertainty, but he appears to have filled that position at the establishment of the Lodge of Masters, and Second Lodge of Boston, in 1738 and 1750 respectively. In the First Lodge only two degrees were conferred, the third not being given in it until 1794.

A separate set of minutes was kept of the *Master Masons' Lodge*, or, in other words, of the "Lodge of Masters." Independent records of the Third Degree were frequently kept in this country also. Mr. Norton estimates that between 1733 and January 2, 1739, the number of Masons identified with the "First Lodge in Boston" was 105, 15 of whom, he thinks, founded the Master Masons' Lodge, and 6 only were subsequently raised therein. From the latter period to September, 1751, 238 joined the Lodge, of whom 84 became Master Masons, so that many appear to have been content with the First and Second Degrees, just as we find was formerly the case in Scotland—where the practice was a very general one until late in the last century—and is still so in Germany. Thomas Oxnard (afterwards Pro. G.M.), who was Master of the Lodge in 1736, and again in 1737, was not raised to the degree of Master Mason until 1739.

The "Lodge" and the "Grand Lodge," at Boston, appear to have been regarded—at least during the first decade of their existence—as one and the same body, both at home and abroad. The letter of September 1, 1736, despatched in the lesser capacity to Lodge Glasgow Kilwinning, is signed by Price as G.M., while a communication dated June 27, 1739, "from the Grand Lodge at the Court-house in St John's," Antigua,—written by command of Governor Mathew, the Prov. G.M.,—was addressed, not to the G.L. of New England, but to the First Lodge of Boston. The latter body was styled the Mother Lodge of New England, and of America, by a committee of its members in 1741, the two titles being used in a correspondence with Governor Belcher and his successor Governor Shirley. Jonathan Belcher was Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire from 1730 to 1741, and it was in the latter year, when thanked for his protection by the First Lodge of Boston, that he placed on record his long connection with the Society, to which I have adverted on an earlier page.[2] Governor Shirley was not a Mason, nor did he avail of the sufficiently broad hint that he should become one, thrown out by the "MOTHER LODGE OF AMERICA,"[3] through their committee in 1741—"As it has been the Custom for men in

[1] *Ante*, p. 232. [2] *Ante*, p. 229; Chap XVI., p. 20. [3] *Sic*, in Boston Records, p. 390.

the most exalted Station to have the Door of our Society's Constitution always opened to them (when desired), we think it our Duty to acquaint your Excellency with that Custom, and assure you, that we shall chearfully attend your Excellency's Pleasure therein."

It is probable that at Boston, as well as in Philadelphia, the brethren assembled as a *Lodge* at all meetings except (on St John's Days, and) when officers were elected (or appointed). This was evidently the practice in the latter city, where, indeed, the possibility may be conceived of the expression "Grand Lodge" bearing in the first instance only the restricted signification of the *adjective*, without the meaning which is now conventionally ascribed to it in conjunction with the *noun*. Besides, we must not lose sight of the fact, that for half a century and more after the occurrences I am relating, there was nothing at all unusual in the assumption by a private Lodge of a prefix now only met with in connection with a governing body. So late as 1786, the Grand Lodge of Scotland found it necessary to ordain, that no Master should be addressed by the style or title of *Grand*, except the Grand Master Mason of that country.[1] The expression, "Mother Lodge of America," used in 1741 by a committee of the first Lodge in Boston, forcibly reminds us of the maternal title assumed under closely analogous circumstances by the Lodge of Kilwinning, the "Three Globes" at Berlin, and other European Lodges The members of the Prov. Grand Lodge of New England, so long as there was only one Lodge in the province, must have belonged to it, but they formed after all but a single brotherhood, though meeting at times in different capacities.

Oxnard went to England in the summer of 1751, and on October 7 of the same year a "Humble Remonstrance," signed by the Masters and Wardens of the First, Second, Third, and Masters' Lodges of Boston, was addressed to the G M of England, in which it was requested that a "Full and Plenary Commission to act as Grand Master in and over all the Lodges in North America" might be granted to him and his successors. On January 20, 1752, the D.G.M. (M^{c}Daniel) convened a meeting of the Prov. Grand Lodge, to decide who should take the chair under Old Regulation XXI. It was moved that the right belonged to Henry Price, but on a vote being taken whether two of the Brethren should be sent to desire him "to come and resume his office, it passed in the negative." Whether the movement, or the opposition thereto, grew out of any ill feeling, or whether Oxnard's appointment had any connection with it, cannot now be determined. Price did not resent the vote, for he was present at the next meeting, and at the Festival, at each of which M^{c}Daniel presided

On June 26, 1754, Oxnard died after a lingering illness, his funeral, attended by the Prov. Grand Lodge, taking place on the 29th; and on the 12th of the following month two brethren were appointed by the Deputy Grand Master to wait upon Price and request him to resume his office as G.M.,—which he did on the same day.

On October 11, 1754, a Committee was elected to obtain the appointment of "Jeremy Gridley, Esq^{r}., Counsellor at Law." The petition to the G.M. of England, signed by M^{c}Daniel (D.G.M. under Oxnard) and six others, recites that on the decease of Oxnard, Henry Price, "formerly G. Master, reassumed the chair *pro tempore*," and expresses the desire of the members that "all future Grand Masters should be deputed for three years only," this being clogged, however, with a proviso for the continuance in office of the Prov. G.M. at the will of the P.G.L. Mention is also made in the petition of the origin of

[1] Laurie, 1859, p. 139; Lyon, p. 331; Constitution and Laws of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, 1881, p. 6.

Masonry "here" (*i.e.* Boston) in 1733, "and in the year following" (it continues), "our then G.M., Price, received orders from G.M. Crawford to establish masonry *in all North America*, in pursuance of which the several Lodges hereafter mentioned have rec' Constitutions from us."[1] They likewise craved "due precedency, and that in order thereunto our G.M. elect may in his deputation be styled G.M. of all North America."

Price wrote—August 6, 1755—in support of the petition, describing his services as Prov. G.M., and how he was succeeded by Tomlinson, and the latter by Oxnard, when the chair reverted to him again, "according to the Constitutions." He declared, that with his consent, all the Brethren in North America had made Choice of their Bro^r., Jeremy Gridley; after which he mentions the payment of the fee of three guineas, per Capt. Phillips, to the Rev. John Entick, and expresses surprise at receiving no acknowledgment.

Price, with pardonable pride, records the great success of Masonry in America since his settling there. "No less than forty Lodges," he says, have "sprung from my first Lodge in Boston." "Therefore," he proceeds, "we desire that our deputation may be made out for, or over, *all North America.*"[2]

At this point it may be convenient if the narrative is interrupted by a list of the Lodges warranted at any time by Price or his successors, so far at least as their names have been preserved in documents now extant. The following table has been compiled from the "Boston Records," and an asterisk denotes in each case that the Lodge is mentioned *for the first time* among those represented or otherwise at a meeting of the Grand Lodge. Thus, the Lodge in Virginia, which appears under the year 1766, was probably that in which Washington received the light of Masonry at Fredericksburg in 1752; and it is scarcely possible that such a cluster of Lodges could have been formed in a single year (1766) without some allusion to their charters or fees of Constitution appearing in the proceedings of the Grand Lodge. There was certainly one other Lodge—American Union—which received a warrant from the same source of authority, but, as explained above, the list has been made up from actual entries in the official records of the G.L. of Massachusetts.

LODGES UNDER THE ENGLISH PROV. G.L. AT BOSTON.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,	1734.	Boston, Second Lodge of,	1750.
Portsmouth, New Hampshire,	1735.	" Third Lodge of,	1750.
Charleston, South Carolina,	1735.	Annapolis, Maryland,	1750.
Boston, Master's Lodge,	1738.	Halifax, Nova Scotia,	1750.
Antigua, West Indies,	1738.	Newhaven, Connecticut,	1750.
Annapolis, Nova Scotia,	1738.	Philadelphia,[4] Pennsylvania,	1752.
Newfoundland,	1746.	New London, Connecticut,	1753.
Newport,[3] Rhode Island,	1749.	Middletown, "	1754.

[1] The Lodges referred to are the first twelve—omitting the *second* Lodge at Philadelphia—of those outside Massachusetts, shown in the table of Lodges (on the next page), warranted by Henry Price or his successors.

[2] The italics are mine. In the same letter, Price states that he received a deputation for *North America* from Lord Montague in April, 1733, and held it for *four* years; that he was succeeded in his office by Tomlinson and Oxnard; and that he has "some remote thoughts of once more seeing London with all Brethren in the Grand Lodge after twenty-two years' absence."

[3] Warrant of Confirmation, 1753.

[4] "Aprill 10th, 1752.—For the Lodge att Philadelphia Bro^r. M^cDaniel appeared and paid for their Constitution £31,, 10,," (Boston Records, p. 20). This payment, amounting to about two gui-

Lake George,* Canada,	1757.	Prince Town, New Jersey,	1765.
Louisburgh, 28th Foot,	1758.	Norwich,* [Connecticut?],	1766.
Crown Point, Canada,	1758.	Virginia,*	1766.
Providence, Rhode Island,	1757.	Salem,*	1766.
Newport (Master's Lodge),	1759.	St. Christopher,* West Indies,	1766.
Marblehead, Massachusetts,	1760.	Barbadoes,* "	1766.
Surranam,* [Dutch Guiana],	1761.	Pitt County,* North Carolina,	1766.
Hartford, Connecticut,	1762.	Newbury, [Massachusetts?],	1766.
Falmouth,[1] Massachusetts,	1762.	Newfoundland,* Second Lodge of,	1766.
Elizabeth Town, New Jersey,	1762.	Wallingford, Connecticut,	1769.
Quebec,*	1764.	Sherburne, Massachusetts,	1771.
Crown Point, Provincial Troops,	1764.	Guildford, Connecticut,	1771.
Waterbury, Connecticut,	1765.	Boston, 4th Lodge of (Rising Sun),	1772.

Gridley's deputation, dated April 4, 1755, was granted prior to the receipt of Price's letter. It conferred authority over "all Such Provinces and Places in North America and the Territories thereof, *of which no Provincial Grand Master is at present appointed.*" The commission winds up with an exhortation to the holder to remit the sum of three guineas to the Grand Treasurer, in London, for every Lodge he should constitute.

It will be observed that the deputation of 1755 to Gridley was a qualified one, in respect to his appointment for "all America." Not so, however, the one sent to Oxnard of 1743, which simply specifies his title to be "Provincial Grand Master of North America." I assume, nevertheless, that in reality Oxnard possessed no further powers than were bestowed on Gridley, viz., to act as Prov. G. M. in North America, in districts or territories for which no Prov. G.M. had been appointed; for we may rest assured that neither of these two representatives of the Grand Lodge of England in the Western Hemisphere, had any authority over the Prov. G.M.'s of Pennsylvania, New York, and South Carolina, who had been appointed from home during their respective tenures of office.[2]

Attorney-General Gridley—an initiate of the St. John's Lodge, May 11, 1748—was installed as Prov. G.M. by Henry Price on October 1, 1755, with great pomp and ceremony, the two brethren, "clothed with their jewels and badges, walking together" in the procession to Trinity Church, after the Masonic meeting held in the Concert Hall in Boston.

Jeremy Gridley, who at the time of his decease was Attorney-General, a member of the General Court, and a Justice of the Province, Colonel of the First Regiment of Militia, and President of the Marine Society, died September 10, 1767. The Provincial Grand Lodge in the following month requested Price to reassume his old office, and on October 23 he was invested with the Jewel of Grand Master by John Rowe, D.G.M., who addressed him in the following words:—"You, (to the Satisfaction of all the Lodges[3]) have had the Honour of first introducing Masonry into these Parts of the World, and intentionally, for the good of Masonry, have resign'd the Chair of Grand Master to three Successors, whom Providence has deprived us off."

neas and a half actual money, must have been made on behalf of the Lodge chartered at the meeting presided over by Franklin in 1749.

[1] *Ante*, p. 219.

[2] Of this there is distinct evidence in the case of Gridley, who, in 1762, only consented to warrant a Lodge at Elizabeth-town, New Jersey, on receiving information that Daniel Coxe had died before the grant of his own deputation. *Cf. ante*, p. 233.

[3] The words within parentheses may either be a merely complimentary phrase, or they may import that Price had made good *a disputed title* to the "Honour" upon which he was congratulated?

The Feast of St John the Evangelist was observed December 30, 1767, Henry Price presiding. The same day, as Grand Master, he executed a commission to Thomas Cooper as D.G.M. of North Carolina, "by virtue of the power and authority committed to [him] by Lord Viscount Montague, Grand Master of Masons."

At an adjourned Grand Lodge held January 22, 1768, on the nomination of the Grand Master (*pro tem.*), John Rowe (D.G.M., and Treasurer) was elected to the office of "Grand Master of Masons for North America," 12 out of 16 votes being recorded in his favor, whereupon he was saluted as G.M. elect.

A committee of nine was appointed to write to England for the patent, and, having settled the text of the communication on January 25, 1768, signed the petition accordingly. The appointment was solicited for three years only, but with certain reservations, which, as in the former instance, would have rendered nugatory the provision for a restricted term of office.

The petition winds up with the following clause:—

"Whereas Masonry in America originated in this Place Anno 5733, and in the year following, our then Grand Master Price received Orders from Grand Master Craufurd to establish Masonry in all North America, in Pursuance of which the several Lodges hereafter mentioned have received Constitutions from us.[1] We therefore crave due Precedency, and that in Order thereunto, Our Grand Master Elect may, in his Deputation, be styled Grand Master of all North America."

Then follow the signatures of the petitioners (or Committee), and after these, there is a postscript or memorandum which reads:—

"2d Lodge, or No. 2 in Boston, Constituted February 15, 1749 [O.S.], meets the 3d Wednesday in every month at the British Coffee House, in King Street."

"New Haven Lodge, in Connecticut, Constituted in November, 1750, kept at the Golden Lion in that Town."

"Providence Lodge, in Rhode Island Government, Constituted January 18, 1757, meets the first and third Wednesday of every month."

"Marblehead Lodge, in this Government, Constituted March 25, 1760."

A letter dated January 27, 1768, was forwarded at the same time by Price, addressed to the G.M., Grand Officers, and Brethren, "in Grand Lodge assembled," stating that "the money now sent to you is for the Constitution of four Lodges in America, which I pray may be Registered in the Grand Lodge Books; the money would have been paid long before, but some unforeseen accidents prevented." It will be seen that no explanation is really given with regard to the delay in remitting to England fees which, on the writer's own showing, had been in arrear from 1750. Virtually, indeed, it was the first "return" made by the Prov. Grand Lodge since 1733; but Price expresses a hope that "the said Lodges will not be denied their Rank, according to the Time of their Constitution, notwithstanding the above Omission;" and for particulars the Grand Master is referred

[1] Hugh McDaniel, chairman of the Committee, was made a Mason in the First Lodge, January 30, 1735, less than eighteen months after the organization of the Grand Lodge by Price. In June, 1736, he was elected Senior Warden of the First Lodge, which constituted him a member of the Grand Lodge, and continued to represent that Lodge as Warden or Master until 1744, when he was appointed Deputy Grand Master. Thus (it is contended), he must have been thoroughly informed of the early history of Masonry in New England and of the Provincial Grand Lodge.

to "the Letter from the Grand Committee of the Grand Lodge here, which goes by the same hand that presents this to you."

Price then goes on to say that "several other Lodges have been Constituted by the Grand Lodge here in different parts of America, who have not yet Transmitted to us the Stated Fees for their Constitution." Payment, however, was promised on the amounts being received, so that such Lodges might "likewise be Registered." He next recites the oft-told tale of his having been appointed Prov. G.M. of New England by Lord Montacute in 1733, and that in the year 1735 [1734] his commission was extended over all North America by Lord Crauford. On inquiry, however, he found that "said Deputations were never Registered, though [he himself] paid three Guineas therefor to Thomas Batson, Esqr., then Deputy Grand Master, who, with the Grand Wardens then in being, signed [his] said Deputation." He then proceeds with the claim that his own patent was the first ever issued "to any part of America"—here, as we see, plainly ignoring the earlier appointment of Daniel Coxe, as officially stated in the editions of the Constitutions for 1738, 1756, and 1767. "So," he continues, "would submit it to your Wisdom and Justice whether said Deputations should not be Registered in their proper Place, without any further Consideration therefor, and the Grand Lodge here have Rank according to Date, as it has (by Virtue of said Deputations) been the foundation of Masonry in America, and I [Henry Price] the Founder." The letter concludes with the following:—

"*P.S.*—R^t Worshipful, I herewith send you an Attested Copy of my said Deputation in the Grand Lodge Book of this Place, under the Hand of our Grand Secretary, whose Signature you may depend upon as genuine. H. P."

The copy of this epistle in the Boston Records, contains two misstatements, which have been much criticized—one, the name (Montacute), wrongly assigned by Price to Lord Montague; and the other, his assertion with regard to the extension of his powers, in 1735. But the first is easily explained on the supposition that his clerk (or amanuensis) must have followed the spelling given by Entick (Constitutions, 1756), and both are to a great extent neutralized by the fact that the petition which accompanied the letter states the name of Lord Montague correctly, and dates the extension of powers at 1734.[1]

But the letter has other features which demand our attention. It is, for instance, a curious circumstance that the attested copy of Price's deputation was made from a *transcript*, and not from the original; while the alleged payment to D.G.M. Batson stands in need of some further explanation, as it is doubtful whether any fee was paid at that time by a Prov. G.M. for his deputation, and the sum of three guineas does not represent the ordinary amount which he was required to contribute at a subsequent period.

William Jackson, who took the petition and letter to England, carried also with him a recommendation from the Grand Lodge in Boston, dated January 22, 1768—signed by

[1] Another copy of the letter is preserved in the archives of the Grand Lodge of England. In this the name of Lord Montague is correctly spelt, while the words ascribed to Price with regard to his Grand Lodge are, that it had been "the Foundations of Masonry in America." Four original letters from Henry Price to the Grand Secretary of England are in the same custody. These are dated June 3 and December 20, 1769, and January 29 and May 16, 1770. The letter of June 3, 1769, is in duplicate. Each of the others is endorsed "L^r. from the P.G.M. for America." With one unimportant exception (December 20, 1769), copies of the letters are given by Gardner. In every case Price's own handwriting is limited to his signature.

Henry Price, G.M., and his Grand Wardens—to their "Mother Lodge" in England. He returned to Boston with a deputation for John Rowe, who is styled "Provincial Grand Master for all North America, and the Territories thereunto belonging, where no other Provincial Grand Master is in being," issued by order of the Duke of Beaufort, G.M., and dated May 12, 1768.

We are told that "the Deputation of Rowe contains a complete and thorough vindication of Price."[1] It recites that he was "constituted Provincial Grand Master for North America" by Viscount Montague, April 13, 1733, and that "He Resigning, Recommends John Rowe."

From this, according to the same commentator, there is no appeal; but putting aside the notorious fact that the historical value of recitals in Masonic charters is very much in keeping with that of the preambles of ancient statutes,[2] the misstatements with regard to locality, date, and the resignation of Price, seem to me to carry with them their own condemnation.

John Rowe outlived Henry Price—who died in 1780—and continued to hold the office of Prov. G.M. until his own decease in 1787. But from about the date of the *former's* appointment until 1804, the name of the *latter* was annually shown in the Calendar of the Grand Lodge of England as "Provincial G.M. for North America." Why it was persistently kept there throughout this long period—and there is distinct evidence that in 1792, if not before, the grand Secretary in London was informed of Price's death—is, in my opinion, only another example of the gross carelessness of the executive of the Grand Lodge of England with regard to the foreign and Colonial Lodges on the roll of that body. The explanation given by Gardner is, that the Grand Officers, desirous of repairing "the injury which had been done to the fame of Henry Price, purposely retained his name upon the Official Calendar for thirty-six years, a period of time equal to that which had elapsed from the time of his appointment in 1733 to the date of his recognition in 1768!"

This far-fetched scheme of reparation need not be seriously discussed. It will be wiser to balance one error of the Grand Lodge publications against the other. From this we may safely arrive at the conclusion, that the omission of Price's name in the Constitutions of 1738, 1756, and 1767, is of no greater historical value than its insertion in the Calendars of 1770-1804.

It remains to be stated that Rowe's name does not appear in any English Calendar as Prov. G.M., also that there are no communications in the archives at Boston addressed to him in such capacity.

In reply to Price's letter of January 27, 1768, Grand Secretary French wrote a long letter, dated November 29, in the same year. French succeeded Samuel Spencer, whose protracted illness was the cause of the delay. The Grand Secretary consented to register the four Lodges as desired, but requested that in future an account might be forwarded

[1] Gardner, p. 53—in a review of whose "Address," however, Mr. Jacob Norton observes—"The petition for the First Lodge of Boston stated that Price's deputation was dated April 13, 1732, and in the year of Masonry 5732, but both dates were altered several years afterwards into 1733 and 5733" (Freemason, vol v., 1872, p. 483). The final 3 in each case certainly appears—from a *facsimile* of the petition—to have been originally a 2. As a motive for the alteration, the tardy discovery by Price of the fact that Viscount Montague only became Grand Master on the *nineteenth* day of April, 1732, has been suggested?

[2] *Cf.* Chaps. VII., p. 372; XIX., p. 191.

immediately of every Lodge, when constituted, as otherwise it could not be expected that they should rank in their order of precedency. Why Price's name was not to be found in the list of Prov. G.M.'s he expressed himself unable to explain, but his letter goes on to state, "These mistakes might have been long since rectified, if you had kept up, according to your Charter, a regular annual correspondence with the Grand Lodge. However, as it appears by some loose papers[1] in my possession that you had resigned in favor of John Rowe, [the Grand Master] desires you will forward a letter to me relating to this point, per first opportunity, that the Provincialship may be properly settled, with an account of the date of his warrant. No deputation which has been granted since your appointment for any part of America can affect you, as their authority can only extend over those provinces where no other Provincial Grand Master is appointed." Here we find French asking for the date of Rowe's patent, evidently not being aware of its having been signed earlier in the same year by his predecessor (deceased). This shows what little interest was taken at that time in Masonry beyond the seas. The Grand Secretary also informs Price that no deputation granted since his own could affect his status. This assertion was simply ridiculous, as the later deputations to Oxnard, Gridley, and Rowe gave them authority over all parts of North America for which no Prov. G.M. was appointed; consequently Price's position was wholly ignored, and indeed was not officially recognized (except indirectly) until 1768, in Rowe's patent, by which, however, Price himself was superseded.

To the request of the Duke of Beaufort, G.M., as communicated through Thomas French, Price replied—June 3, 1769—in the following words:—"It would be tedious to explain the matter of my resigning as Provincial Grand Master; I recommended our Right Worshipful Brother John Rowe to be Provincial Grand Master of New England, but you cannot find that I ever gave up my own Appointment over all North America: this . · . · . I shall explain to you . · . · . face to face in London, some time in the Fall . · . · . then we may settle the Provincial Grand Masters and Rank the Lodges properly."

Yet the writer of this letter had himself particularly requested that the deputation to Gridley might be "made out for all North America," and on the decease of that Brother, nominated John Rowe for the vacant appointment. Price, it is quite evident, was not possessed of a very retentive memory, but it is only fair to recollect that his age at that time exceeded the three score and ten, which, the Scripture informs us, is the ordinary span of man's activity.

The letter last cited was acknowledged by James Heseltine—appointed Grand Secretary April 28, 1769—who in a communication dated September 6, 1769, requests Price to forward certain proceedings of the Grand Lodge of England "to the Lodges in America, except those in Canada, North and South Carolina, to which Lodges [he had] forwarded the

[1] A copy of this letter is to be found in the MS. volume of records (p. 120), to which I have already referred. In the same book (p. 3) are the following curious entries in the handwriting of Grand Secretary French :—

"N.B.—The Deputation of Bro^{r}. H. Price has never come to my hand, but among other loose papers I have found the following memorandum. [Signed] THO^{s}. FRENCH.

"Viscount Montague, G.M.

"Henry Price, Esq., P.G.M. for all North America and the territories thereunto belonging, Dated April 13th, 1733, desire the favour to resign his Provincialship in favour of John Rowe, Esq., to be Provincial G.M. over North America where no other Provincial is appointed.

BEAUFORT, G.M.

"He resigning recommends John Rowe, Esq. We therefore do hereby con— . . . . ."

same [himself]." This letter was addressed to "Henry Price, P G.M. for America," and it indicates clearly that—Canada and the Carolinas alone excepted—his authority was understood in England to extend over the whole Continent. With one further allusion I shall bring to a close my extracts from this correspondence. On January 29, 1770, Price wrote to Heseltine, and once more expresses an intention of soon visiting London, when he purposes to "Give the Grand Lodge a true State of Masonry in America."

Price attended the Prov. Grand Lodge for the last time on January 28, 1774. There were but three Communications held after this prior to the siege of Boston, when the meetings of all the Lodges were suspended. At the last of these—January 27, 1775—Richard Gridley presided as D.G.M., and was again *nominated* to that office, but at his own request a ballot was taken, which resulted in his being unanimously *elected*.

In 1776, the diary of John Rowe records, under June 25, "dined with the Brethren of the Lodges under my direction." The next evidence brings us to 1783, in which year—February 7—the First and Second Lodges of Boston amalgamated; the Third Lodge seems to have passed quietly out of existence, but the Fourth, which was originally an offshoot of St. John's, rejoined its parent Lodge in 1791. In 1784, according to a local almanac, there were thirty Lodges under the St. John's and twenty under the Massachusetts, Grand Lodges. In the same year, the African Lodge—No. 459—Boston, received an English charter, and St. Andrew's split into two parts, one (with the warrant) separating from, and the other adhering to, the Massachusetts Grand Lodge. The latter became the "Rising States Lodge," with the rank of No. 1, and in 1809 united—under the old name—with the former, which in that year was readmitted within the fold.

John Rowe died in 1787, and meetings of the St. John's Grand Lodge were held on February 7 and August 4 of that year under the presidency of Richard Gridley, D.G.M., with John Cutler (a former grand officer[1]) as S.G.W. The latter—after whose name again appear the letters "S.G.W."—took the chair "as Grand Master" on July 29, 1790, when a Grand Lodge was held for "the Choice of new G. Officers," and a Grand *Junior* Warden, Treasurer, and Secretary were elected. Further meetings took place November 25, 1791, January 13, and March 2 and 5, 1792, at all of which Cutler presided, and on the last occasion is described as "D.G.M." This date—March 5—is that of the Union of the two Grand Lodges in Boston, the initiative with regard to which was taken by the junior body in 1787, though nothing came of it until 1792, when seven electors from each of the Grand Lodges, under the chairmanship of Paul Revere, D.G.M. of the younger Society, made choice of John Cutler as the first Grand Master of the "Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts."[2]

The following American Lodges were placed on the English Register, and without exception continued to figure annually in the official lists until 1813. The first date in each

[1] J.G.W., 1767; S.G.W., 1771.

[2] The same works quoted as my authorities for the sketch of Masonry in Pennsylvania, have also been used in the section just concluded. In addition I have consulted the Pocket Companions (London and Dublin), 1735; E. G. Storer, Early Records of Freemasonry in Connecticut, 1859; W. S. Gardner, Address upon Henry Price, 1872; New England Freemason, vol. i., 1874, pp. 57, 281, 312, 380; Proc. G.L. Mass., 1883, pp. 150-193; and the Boston Records, 1886. Throughout the remainder of the chapter, the works already cited must also be regarded as my authorities, as in order to avoid a multiplicity of references, no book or author will be cited *for the second time* in a note, unless there is some special reason for so doing.

case is that from which the Lodge was allowed to rank, but the second denotes the actual year of its original appearance in the published Calendar.

LODGES ON THE ROLL OF THE GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND, 1733–89.

No.			No.		
126,	St. John's, Boston, Massachusetts,	1733-34.	141,	2d Lodge, Boston, Massachusetts,	1750-69.
139,	Solomon's, Savannah, Georgia,	1735-36.	142,	Marblehead Lodge, Massachusetts,	1760-69.
236,	Royal Exchange, Norfolk, Virginia,	1753-54.	143,	New Haven, Connecticut,	1750-69.
205,	Swan, Yorktown, Virginia	1755-56.	224,	Providence Lodge, Rhode Island,	1757-69.
213,	Wilmington, North Carolina,	1754-56.	448,	Zion Lodge, Detroit [*Michigan*[1]],	1764-73.
247,	Prince George, Winyaw, S.C.,	1743-60.	457,	Williamsburg Lodge, Virginia,	1773-74.
248,	Union, Charleston, S.C.,	1755-60.	458,	Botetourt Lodge, Virginia,	1773-74.
249,	Masters Lodge, Charleston, S.C.,	1756-60.	465,	Unity, Savannah, Georgia,	1774-74.
250,	Port Royal Lodge, Beaufort, S.C.,	1756-60.	481,	Grenadiers, Savannah, Georgia,	1775-75.
251,	Solomon's, Charleston, S.C.,	1735-60.	488,	Union, Detroit [*Michigan*],	1775-78.
272,	St. John's, No. 2, New York,	1757-62.	459,	African Lodge, Boston, Mass.,	1784-85.
299,	St. Mark's Lodge, S.C.,	1763-63.	465,	St. John's [*Michigan*],	1784-86.
346,	Joppa Lodge, Maryland,	1765-66.	517,[2]	Fort William Henry [*N.Y.*],	1787-89.
403,	White Hart, Halifax, N.C.,	1767-67.	520,	New Oswegatchie [*N.Y.*],	1787-89.

Returning to Pennsylvania, it has been already shown that this was the first of the American States in which a stationary Lodge was established by the Ancients or Schismatics. We have also seen how the older system of Masonry was completely swept away in this part of the continent by the preference accorded to the Lodges working *four* degrees. The Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, "acting by virtue of a warrant from the [Schismatic] Grand Lodge of England, was closed for ever," September 25, 1786, and on the following day, "at a Grand Convention of thirteen Lodges," was established as an independent Grand Lodge.

The annexed table gives a list of the Lodges formed in the United States by warrants from the British Islands, other than those issued by the original G.L. of England. A solitary Lodge, formed in Virginia by the G.O. of France, has also been included.

LODGES OF EUROPEAN ORIGIN, EXCLUDING THOSE UNDER THE G.L. OF ENGLAND.[3]

Boston (St. Andrew's),	Mass.,	81 S.,	1756.	East Florida (Grant's),	Fla.,	143 S.,	1768.
Blandford,	Va.,	82 S.,	1756.	Boston,	Mass.,	169 A.,	1771.
Fredericksburgh,	Va.,	[ ] S.,	1758.	Philadelphia (St. John's),	Pa.,	177 S.,	1774.
Tappahannock,	Va.,	[ ] K.	1758.	Charleston,	S.C.,	190 A.,	1774.
Philadelphia,	Pa.,	69 A.	1758.	Falmouth.	Va.,	[ ] K.,	1775.
Charleston (Union Klwng),	S.C.,	98 S.,	1760.	New York,	N.Y.,	210 A.,	1779.
Philadelphia (P.G.L.),	Pa.,	89 A.,	1761.	"	"	212 A.,	1780.
Charleston,	S.C.,	92 A.,	1761.	" (P.G.L.),	"	219 A.,	1781.
New York,	N.Y.,	399 I.,	1763.	Portsmouth (Sagesse),	Va.,	[ ] Fr.,	1785.
Norfolk (St. John),	Va.,	117 S.,	1762.	Charleston,	S.C.,	236 A.,	1786.
Baltimore,	Md.,	656 I.,	N.D.				

The territory forming the present State of Michigan was retained (as a part of Canada) by Great Britain after the War of Independence, and in 1796 ceded to the United States.

[2] The localities in which Nos. 517 and 520 were originally constituted, only ceased to be Canadian territory about the year 1796.

[3] *Ante*, p. 215. The first entry in each line gives the locality, after which (when known) the name of the Lodge is shown within a parenthesis. With the abbreviations used to distinguish the various States American readers will be familiar, but for the information of others, it may be stated, that Mass. denotes *Massachusetts;* Va., *Virginia;* Pa., *Pennsylvania;* S.C., *South Carolina;* N.Y., *New York;* Fla., *Florida;* and Md., *Maryland.* The letters placed between the numbers of the

I shall now pass to the remainder of the thirteen or original States of the Union, taking them in the order of their connection with Freemasonry. The statistics of all the American Grand Lodges, so far as these can be conveniently grouped, it may be observed, will be found at the close of the chapter.

NEW YORK.—The first Provincial G.M. was Daniel Coxe (1730), after whom came Richard Riggs, 1737; Francis Goelet, 1751; George Harrison, 1753; and Sir John Johnson, 1767. The earliest Lodge of which any record has been preserved was in full working order, and had probably existed for some time, on January 24, 1738. During his long administration Harrison warranted at least eleven Lodges, and five others, meeting at New York City, are also supposed to have been constituted by him. Sir John Johnson, who was not installed until 1771, appointed Dr. Peter Middleton his D.G.M., and the authority of the latter continued during the war. A Lodge at Schenectady, St. John's Regimental, and Military Union, were warranted by the last-named Prov. G.M. or his Deputy.

The military occupation of New York by the British in 1776, and the erection of a Masonic Province by the "Ancients" in 1871, has already been related. After the war the body so established abandoned its provincial character, and assumed the title of Grand Lodge of New York. The "Grand Cheque Word" is mentioned in the proceedings of December 3, 1794, as having "continued in use for a longer time than was at first intended, and it was resolved to change it." In 1823 there was a schism, but the two Grand Lodges united in 1827. A few years later, however, further dissensions occurred, and the "St. John's Grand Lodge" was established September 11, 1837. In 1848 a law was passed by the G.L. of New York depriving Past Masters—except each "immediate" P.M.—of their votes. This was repealed in a highly irregular fashion in March, 1849, and on June 5 following, the G.M.—Willard—declaring the law of 1848 to be a part of the constitution, on the motion of the acting J.G.W.—Isaac Philips—and amid great uproar, a Provisional Grand Master and other Grand Officers were elected in dumb show. After this there were three Grand Lodges, and it will be sufficient to state that two earliest in point of date amalgamated in 1850, and were joined by the "Philips" Grand Lodge in 1858.

Lodge Pythagoras of New York—instituted June 24, 1841—at first sided with the Philips party, but afterwards joined the "Willard" Grand Lodge, having in the interim applied to the G.L. of Hamburg for a charter, which was granted in 1851, and in the same year the Lodge returned its original warrant to the G.L. of New York. Eventually, however, it resumed its old place under the jurisdiction of origin, and thus happily terminated a suspension of intercourse between the Grand Lodges of Hamburg and New York. Two further Lodges were warranted in the same way[1] by the former body, but have died out or joined the latter, which has now on its roll twenty-eight Lodges working in the German language, with a membership of 3208.

NEW JERSEY.—Although the "earliest Grand Master in America" resided in this colony, there is no record of a Lodge having been chartered by him, or of his having performed any official act as the owner of a Deputation. Neither of the Grand Lodges of England were directly, though both were indirectly, represented in this territory. The first Lodge was warranted at Newark from New York in 1761; and two others sprang up

Lodges and the dates of their constitution represent, as in the last chapter, the different sources of origin. There is only one addition to the previous list, viz., "Fr.," which here signifies *Grand Orient of France*, by which body a Lodge was established in Portsmouth, Virginia, in 1785.

[1] Chap. XXVII., p. 36.

under charters from Boston in the next and following years. A similar number of Lodges was then established by the Prov. G. Lodge of Pennsylvania (*Ancients*), in 1767, 1779, and 1781. The Grand Lodge of New Jersey was organized by a convention of Master Masons on December 18, 1786, and in the following year—April 2—the Lodge of 1767 was given the first place on the roll, the others balloting for their numbers, which resulted in the Lodge at Newark drawing the No. 2.

Georgia.—The Charity of the Society was solicited in the Grand Lodge of England—December 31, 1733—to enable the trustees of the new colony "to send Distressed Brethren to Georgia, where they may be comfortably provided for." In 1735, a deputation to Mr. Roger Lacy, for constituting a Lodge at Savannah, was granted by Lord Weymouth. This—the *second* American Lodge on the English roll—was doubtless the body referred to by Whitfield in his diary, where he records under June 24, 1738 (Savannah), "was enabled to read prayer and preach with power before the Freemasons, with whom I afterwards dined." In all, three English warrants were issued for Savannah. Grey Elliot was appointed Prov. G.M. by Lord Aberdour (1757-61), and he was succeeded by the Hon. Noble Jones about the year 1772.

In 1784, a Lodge was chartered by the G.L. of Pennsylvania at Savannah, and on December 16, 1786, the Grand Lodge of Georgia was organized. The details are wanting, but according to Mackey, "Samuel Elbert, the last Prov. G.M. [whose name I have elsewhere failed to trace], resigned in favor of William Stephens, who was elected the first Grand Master."

South Carolina.—The first Provincial Grand Master was John Hammerton, appointed by the Earl of Loudoun in 1736. After this the office appears to have become elective, as James Graeme—Chief Justice of the colony in later days—who held it on December 27, 1737, was again chosen Grand Master for the ensuing year. Chief Justice Leigh succeeded to the charge of the Province in 1754, and was succeeded by Benjamin Smith under a patent dating between 1758 and 1762.

Five Lodges are shown in the Engraved List of 1760, the earliest of which was probably identical with the Lodge at Charleston constituted by Henry Price in 1735. A sixth Lodge was placed on the English roll in 1763, and about the year 1768 Egerton Leigh became Prov. G.M. This worthy, it is stated, was in England in 1777, in which year the Prov. G. Lodge elected the Hon. Barnard Elliot "Grand Master of Masons in the State." The new ruler died in the following year, and no meetings of the "Grand Lodge" took place in 1779 and 1780. In 1781, on the death of Leigh, the Provincial G. Lodge—wholly ignoring its own proceedings of 1777—met and elected John Deas, Prov. G M.[1] Elliot's election is open to some doubt, but there is none with regard to the Provincial Grand Lodge awaking from its slumber, and continuing to assemble until after the peace. Indeed, the English patent granted to Deas was dated November 26, 1788, which will harmonize with the supposition that without any formal act beyond a mere change of title, the body over which he presided became what was ultimately styled the "Grand Lodge of Moderns" in the State.

The rival system was represented by eight Lodges, warranted between 1760 and 1786 — one by the G.L. of Scotland, and three and four respectively by those of Pennsylvania and England (*Ancients*). Some of these combined, and on March 24, 1787, erected a

[1] Mackey, Hist. of Masonry in South Carolina, and Encyclopædia of F.; Proc. G.L. Mass., 1877, p. 29; and Keystone, December 5, 1885.

"Grand Lodge of Ancient York Masons." In 1808 the two Grand Lodges united, but again separated in the following year, and a permanent union did not take place until 1817, when the two bodies were merged into one, under the name of "The Grand Lodge of Ancient Freemasons."

New Hampshire.—One Lodge was warranted in this State by Henry Price (1736), and four by the Massachusetts G. Lodge—the latter in 1780, 1784, and (two) in 1788 respectively. The G.L. of New Hampshire was organized on July 8, 1789—there being at the time only three Lodges in the State—by one Deputy from the Lodge of 1736, and four from that of 1784—five Deputies from two Lodges.[1]

Rhode Island.—The two Lodges, established under warrants from Boston in 1749 and 1757, met and formed the Grand Lodge on June 25, 1791. The early history of Masonry in this State has only one feature of interest, namely, the decision of the Grand Master of North America in 1759, that the warrant granted by Oxnard to the Newport Lodge in 1749 was an insufficient authority to confer more than the first two degrees of the Craft.

Maryland.—Lord Baltimore, who was proprietary Governor from 1715 to 1751, resided in the Province from 1732 to 1734. This nobleman was made a Mason in 1730, and seven years later assisted in forming the "Occasional Lodge," at which Frederick, Prince of Wales, was initiated;[2] but with these exceptions his Masonic record is a blank, and it is altogether unknown whether or not he was a supporter of the Craft in America. Lodges were warranted from Boston in 1750, England in 1765,[3] and three—in 1759, 1761, and 1763—of uncertain origin. Ten more—the first dating from 1766, and the last from 1782, derived their existence from the Prov. G.L. of Pennsylvania. A Lodge at Baltimore (without date) is shown on an Irish list, and it is traditionally asserted that there were two others of foreign origin—besides a Lodge near Newmarket, in 1776. The former are assigned to Georgetown and New Bremen, with the dates of 1737 and (before) 1789 respectively. The earlier of these—supposed to have been composed of Scottish Masons—is believed to have opened a branch Lodge at Joppa in 1751. The Lodge at New Bremen is said to have derived its constitution from Germany Robert Molleson was Prov. G.M. under England in 1776, and Henry Harford in 1783; but there is no evidence to show that either of them exercised any authority under the appointment.

The Grand Lodge of Maryland was organized July 31, 1783, by a convention of five Lodges, there being eight in the State at the time, all of which were on the roll of the G.L. of Pennsylvania. Four years later—April 17, 1787—actuated by a laudable desire not to err, but if at all on the side of caution, the same number of Lodges again met in convention and *re-organized* the Grand Lodge, choosing the same Grand Master and Grand Secretary as on the previous occasion.[4]

Connecticut.—Seven Lodges were chartered in this State by Oxnard and his successors at Boston—the first in 1750, the last in 1771; three by the Prov. G.M. of New York—in 1762, 1765, and 1766; and six by the Massachusetts Grand Lodge. A seventeenth Lodge, King Solomon's, at Woodbury, of unknown registry, was in existence when, "in pursu-

[1] W. S. Gardner, Address, March 8, 1870.

[2] Chaps. XII., p. 134; XVI., p. 40. [3] No. 346, afterwards (1782) No. 35, Pennsyl. *Cf. ante*, p. 218.

[4] Schultz, *passim*. The G.L. of Pennsylvania, in 1783, doubted the regularity of the G.L. of Maryland, as being formed without a warrant, though at the same time they frankly confessed their inability to decide "from what authority a warrant could be issued."

ance of a recommendation of a committee of thirteen Lodges of the State, holden at New Haven on March 18, 1783," delegates from twelve Lodges met in convention, and formed what was virtually a Grand Lodge, though in lieu of the usual Grand Officers they elected a Moderator and Clerk. Of these Lodges, four held warrants from Boston and three from New York—under the older sanction; four from the Massachusetts G.L. (*Ancients*); and one (King Solomon's) has left behind it no trace of its origin. From this time it was arranged that General Conventions should be held half-yearly; but on July 8, 1789, a Grand Lodge was duly formed with the usual solemnities, the same number of Lodges being represented as in 1783.[1] The delay receives some explanation from the Early Proceedings of the G.L. of New York, the officers of which body were appointed—February 4, 1784—"a committee to determine the most eligible mode for the Grand Officers Elect of the State of Connecticut obtaining a Grand Warrant from the Grand Lodge in England."[2]

VIRGINIA.—From lists already given in this chapter, it will be seen that four Lodges were established by the G.L. of England, and two each by the Grand Lodge and Lodge Kilwinning of Scotland. One Lodge received a charter from Boston, and the jurisdiction of Ireland is also supposed to have been represented in the State. The Prov. G.L. of Pennsylvania (*Ancients*) established Lodges at Winchester, 1768; Alexandria, 1783; and Portsmouth, 1784. H. P. Thornton was Prov. G.M. under the original G.L. of England about the year 1764, and Peyton Randolph in 1774. In this State it was customary, in the absence of a warrant from any Grand Lodge, for a competent number of Master Masons to obtain a written authority to assemble, which document operated as their warrant. It has also been inferred that in many instances the degrees of Masonry were imparted to non-military persons in Field (or travelling) Lodges, who received a warrant to confer these degrees on others in lieu of a certificate of enrolment.[3]

The Grand Lodge of Virginia was established October 13, 1778, by a Convention at which four Lodges were represented. This assumed, however, the form of a Lodge, and the Master and Wardens of Williamsburg Lodge presided. John Blair, Past Master of the same Lodge, was elected Grand Master, and duly installed. There was an invasion of the jurisdiction by the Grand Orient of France in 1785, in which year a warrant was issued to some brethren in Portsmouth, and again in 1849, when a new Lodge was established at Richmond; but on the latter occasion the charter was recalled at the request of the G.L. of Virginia, and the Lodge advised to apply for one to the local authorities, which was done.

NORTH CAROLINA.—Lodges in this State appear in the English Lists of 1756 and 1767, and under the year 1766 in the Boston Records. In 1767—December 30—Thomas Cooper was appointed by the Prov. G.M. of North America D.G.M. of North Carolina, with power to congregate the brethren into one or more Lodges. A year or two later, Joseph Montford became Prov. G.M. under the G.L. of England, and, it is said, constituted St. John's Lodge at Newbern in 1771. According to Mackey there were nine (and to another authority, ten[4]) Lodges in the State in 1787, all of which were represented at the organization of the Grand Lodge on December 9 of that year.

DELAWARE.—Five Lodges in this State received warrants from Pennsylvania, the first

[1] Storer, Freemasonry in Connecticut, pp. 57-63.

[2] Barker, Early Hist. G.L. of New York, p. 22. *Cf.* the last note but one.

[3] Dove, Hist. G.L. Virginia, and Virginia Text Book. *Cf. ante*, pp. 221, 253, 259.

[4] Proc. G.L. Illinois, 1884.

in 1765 and the last in 1802. There was also, if we may believe some authorities,[1] the Union Lodge, which is said to have been erected by the G.L. of Scotland about the middle of the last century. Of this, however, there is no trace in the official lists of that body. Four Lodges combined to organize the Grand Lodge on June 6, 1806; but it was refused recognition for some time by the G.L. of Pennsylvania on the ground that less than *five* Lodges having been represented the brethren had not "formed themselves in that regular way pointed out by the ancient Constitutions."

The remaining States and the territories of the Union will now be noticed according to the order in which Grand Lodges have been established in them, and after they have all been passed in review, a table will be given showing the number of Lodges and the aggregate of members (or Master Masons) under the several jurisdictions.

VERMONT.—Lodges were established in this State by the "Massachusetts G.L." in 1781 and 1785, the first of which was authorized to meet at Cornish, Vermont, but appears to have been held at Charlestown, New Hampshire. For a period of four years, ending in February, 1782, both sides of the Connecticut river were to some extent common territory; but after that date, when the boundaries were better defined, the Lodge moved to Windsor, Vermont, and took the name of Vermont Lodge, No. 1. The third Lodge was erected by Sir John Johnson, Prov. G.M. Lower Canada, who granted a warrant to Thomas Chittenden, Governor of the State, and others, in 1791. This is a little remarkable, as showing that neither the Provincial G.M. of a part of Canada (and who had held a similar position in New York), or the Chief Magistrate of an American commonwealth, then believed that the War of Independence had severed the Masonic connection between the parent power and the newly created States on the northern continent. Two further Lodges were established by the G.L. of Connecticut in 1793 and 1794.

The representatives of these five Lodges met in Convention, October 10; a Grand Lodge was organized October 14; and that body duly held a meeting, October 15, 1794. In no State of the Union did the anti-Masonic party, as a political power, exercise so much influence as it did in Vermont. The Grand Lodge was compelled to suspend its labors in 1833 (or 1836), and all the Lodges under its jurisdiction surrendered their charters. The Grand Lodge resumed work in 1846.[2]

KENTUCKY.—Five Lodges were established under warrants from the G.L. of Virginia, the earliest of which—erected in 1788—was the first Lodge instituted west of the Alleghany Mountains. These Lodges met in Convention, and—October 16, 1800—organized the Grand Lodge, by which body warrants were shortly after issued for parts of Tennessee, Mississippi, Indiana, Ohio, and Missouri.[3]

OHIO—"American Union" met for the last time as an Army Lodge, April 23, 1783, and was ordered "to stand closed until the W. Master should call them together."[4] This occurred in 1790, when a colony from New England having become established north-west of the Ohio, the Lodge was reopened at Marietta by Jonathan Heart, the Master, with Benjamin Tupper and Rufus Putnam officiating as Wardens.[5] In the same year "Nova

[1] *Cf.* Macoy, Masonic Directory.

[2] Records G.L. Vermont, 1794-1846 (printed 1879); Proc. G.L. Canada, 1857, p. 125; and J. H. Drummond, Hist. and Bibl. Memoranda (New England Freemason, vol. i., 1874, p. 131).

[3] R. Morris, Masonry in Kentucky, 1859. [4] Storer, p. 48; *cf. ante*, pp. 222, 223.

[5] Jonathan Heart was appointed, April 29, 1783, by the "Grand Convention" of Connecticut,

Cæsarea" was chartered at Cincinnati by the G.L. of New Jersey; but the warrant, which was not received until 1795, was returned in a somewhat irregular manner in 1805, and some of the members obtained in lieu thereof an authorization to meet as the "Cincinnati" Lodge, No. 13, from the G.L. of Kentucky. These two Lodges, however, for all practicable purposes, must be regarded as one, since the members were reconciled in 1812, and all irregularities condoned. The third Lodge—Scioto—was erected by the G.L. of Massachusetts, also in 1805, and the fourth (for which I am able to assign a date and jurisdiction)—Amity—by that of Pennsylvania, in 1806. There were also, in 1808, two others—"Erie," No. 47, and "New England," No. 48—and all the Lodges enumerated, or a total of six—Cincinnati, No. 13, being named, and Nova Cæsarea, No. 10, not—are stated to have been represented at the organization of the Grand Lodge on January 6 of that year.[1] By other authorities the number of Lodges participating in this movement has been reduced to five[2] by the omission of "New England, No. 48," which agrees with the official version,[3] though as this includes "Nova Cæsarea," and leaves out "Cincinnati," while, as a matter of fact, it is certain that the former had been superseded by the latter,[4] I am inclined to discredit it.

District of Columbia.—This territory—the seat of the Federal Government—is enclosed by the States of Maryland and Virginia, from which jurisdictions it received in all five warrants of constitution. The Grand Lodge was organized, December 11, 1810, by four Lodges, one only standing aloof from the movement. This was "Alexandria Washington," No. 22,[5] which is at the present time both within the Masonic and the territorial jurisdiction of Virginia.

Louisiana —A Lodge—La Consolante Maçonne—was established at New Orleans by the Lodge Anglaise de Bordeaux, in 1764. After a long interval, in 1793-94, refugees, chiefly from the island of Guadaloupe, established the Lodges Perfect Union and Polar Star, the former working the "York," and the latter the French or Modern Rite, and holding warrants from the G.L. of South Carolina and the Mother Lodge "la Parfaite Sincérité" of Marseilles respectively. Polar Star, it may be observed, was reconstituted by the G.O. of France in 1804, and the G.L. of Pennsylvania in 1811. The first Lodge under a warrant from Philadelphia was erected in 1801, and the last—Polar Star—making nine in all, in 1811, but in several instances the charters issued were virtually warrants of confirmation, authorizing brethren who had previously met in Lodges beyond the limits of Louisiana, or under other Masonic jurisdictions, to work in subordination to the G.L. of Pennsylvania. In 1804, many fugitives arrived from San Domingo, and among them the members of La Reunion Desirée (Port au Prince), who obtained a duplicate charter from the G.O. of France in 1806, but being desirous of working according to the "York Rite," changed it in 1808 for a warrant empowering them to meet under their original title, as a daughter Lodge of Pennsylvania.

"to visit each of the Lodges in that State, in order that there might be uniformity in the mode of working." He retained the position of Master, on the revival of "American Union," until August, 1791, when he joined the army of St. Clair, and was killed in the following November at the battle of Fort Recovery.

[1] J. H. Sutor, Hist. L. of Amity, No. 5. Ohio, 1879.

[2] Mackey, p. 543; Mitchell, p. 605.

[3] Proc. G.L. Ohio, 1880, p. 123.

[4] Hough, pp. 110, 116, 132, 143.

[5] *Ante*, p. 226.

The first Lodge that worked in the English language was "Louisiana," established by the G.L. of New York in 1807; and the second, "Harmony"—the latest but one of the Philadelphian Lodges—warranted in 1810. Nor were there any others until 1826, when both of these had ceased to exist.

In 1811, Polar Star obtained a Philadelphian warrant, and a new Lodge—Bienfaisance—was erected by the Grand Consistory of Jamaica; the latter, however, soon after affiliated with Lodge Concord, under the G.L. of Pennsylvania.

In 1812, there were seven Lodges in full activity at New Orleans—Perfect Union (S.C.), Louisiana (N.Y.), Charity, Concord, Perseverance, Harmony, and Polar Star (Pennsylvania). Of these all but Louisiana and Harmony—the two English-speaking Lodges—took part in the organization of the Grand Lodge, June 20, 1812. Afterwards the French novelties obtained the upper hand, and there was much confusion. Seven Lodges were chartered in the State by the G.L. of Mississippi, February 21, 1848; and on March 8, next ensuing, these formed a second Grand Lodge. The Schism lasted until March 4, 1850, when a Union was effected.[1]

Tennessee.—The Lodges in this State, with the exception of one that derived its origin from Kentucky, were all held under warrants from North Carolina until the close of 1813. In that year—December 27—by order of the G.M. of North Carolina, a convention was held, at which eight Lodges were represented, and the Grand Lodge of Tennessee was organized.

Indiana.—The Grand Lodge was formed, January 12, 1818, at which date there were eight Lodges in the State—one under Ohio, the remainder deriving their authority from Kentucky. Five of these were represented on the occasion.[2]

Mississippi.—Three Lodges were established by the G.L. of Kentucky—the first in 1801—and two by that of Tennessee. The Grand Lodge of the State was organized by the representatives of three of these Lodges, July 27, 1818.

Maine.—This became an independent State in 1820, and a Grand Lodge was organized by twenty-four Lodges on June 1 of that year. Maine had previously been within the territorial as well as the Masonic jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and the Grand Lodge of the latter State very gracefully consented to an equitable division of the Charity and other funds, when so large a cluster of daughter Lodges separated amicably from her.

Missouri.—Lodges were erected in this State by the Grand Lodges of Pennsylvania in 1807 and 1808; Tennessee, in 1816 and 1819 (2); and Indiana, in 1820. Three of these met in convention, April 23, 1821, and organized the G.L. of Missouri.[3]

Alabama.—The Grand Lodge was organized June 14, 1821, by seven[4] or nine[5] Lodges, the latter being the number then existing in the State. These are said to have been warranted by the Grand Lodges of Tennessee and North Carolina,[6] but the only point with regard to their origin that seems quite clear from the authorities is, that *one* was chartered by the G.L. of South Carolina in 1819.

Michigan.—Three Lodges at Detroit received warrants from the Grand Lodge of England. The earliest of these, Zion, affiliated with the Prov. G.L. of Lower Canada in 1794, and the G.L. of New York in 1806, remaining on the roll of the latter until the for-

[1] Daruty, p. 89; Scot., *passim*. *Cf. ante*, pp. 152, 157-161.
[2] Proc. G.L. Indiana, 1886, p. cxii. [3] World Wide Register, p. 242.
[4] Proc. G.L. Illinois, 1884, p. iv. [5] Mackey, p. 52; Macoy, p. 17. [6] Mitchell, p. 630.

mation of the G.L. of Michigan in 1826. The last-named body became dormant in 1829, and was revived in 1841; but this step being deemed irregular by the other American jurisdictions, a majority of the Lodges again met in Convention, and organized the present Grand Lodge in 1844. The G.L. of Michigan is stated to have been formed by four out of five Lodges in the State.

FLORIDA.—This peninsula was ceded to Britain in 1763, and Masonry obtained a footing from Scotland in 1768. The 14th Foot, in garrison at St. Augustine, 1776, was ordered a renewal of its charter—No. 58—by the Ancients in 1777; and a second warrant for the same place was granted by them—which failed to reach its destination—in 1778. After the war Florida again became Spanish territory, and, July 12, 1783, a warrant was issued from Pennsylvania "to St Andrews Lodge No. 1, *late* of West Florida," and then at Charleston, S.C. A Lodge was next established at St. Augustine from Georgia in 1806, but suppressed by the Spaniards in 1811. The country was sold to the United States in 1819, and in 1820 and 1824 warrants not fated to endure were granted from South Carolina. In 1826, however, three Lodges—from Tennessee and Georgia—were established and took root, all uniting in the organization of the Grand Lodge on July 5, 1830.

TEXAS.—Three Lodges were erected in this territory by the G L. of Louisiana, the first in 1835. These united to form the Grand Lodge of Texas, December 20, 1837.[1] By one writer, however, it is affirmed that two additional Lodges, holding warrants from the G.L. of Mississippi, participated in this movement.[2]

ARKANSAS.—Owing to the loss of its early records there is much confusion with regard to the formation of a Grand Lodge. Mackey and Hyneman[3] date the event in 1832, and three Lodges are said to have united for the purpose; but, according to a Committee of the G.L., it is traditional that Masonry was introduced into Arkansas by the Spanish more than a century ago, and that the present Grand Lodge was formed in 1838 by four Lodges, two holding warrants from Louisiana, and one each from Alabama and Tennessee.[4]

ILLINOIS.—A Grand Lodge was established in 1823, which became extinct in 1828, but was reorganized, April 6, 1840, by six chartered Lodges, an equal number not being represented, one of which was dormant, and three held dispensations only.

The remaining Grand Lodges, which I am compelled by exigencies of space to pass over very briefly, were organized by a majority[5] of the Lodges in the respective States or territories as follows, the actual number of Lodges represented on each occasion being shown between the name of the Grand Lodge and year of its formation:—

Wisconsin, three, 1843; Iowa, four, 1844; California, three, 1850; Oregon, three, 1851; Minnesota, three, 1853; Kansas, three, 1856; Nebraska, three, 1857; Washington, four, 1858; Colorado, three, 1861; Nevada, eight, 1865; West Virginia, nine, 1865; Montana, three, 1866; Idaho, four, 1867; Utah, three, 1872; Indian Territory, three, 1874; Wyoming, four, 1874; Dakota, six, 1875; New Mexico, three, 1877; and Arizona, four, 1881.

[1] W. W. Reg., p. 405; Mackey, p. 811.
[2] Mitchell, p. 649.
[3] Encycl., p. 915; W. W. Reg., p. 62.
[4] Cited in Proc. G.L. Canada, 1873, p. 421.
[5] In the Indian Territory and New Mexico, however, there were six and seven Lodges respectively, and in each case the Grand Lodge is said to have been "legalised" by an additional Lodge joining shortly after its formation.

STATISTICAL TABLE.

Grand Lodges.	Number of Lodges.	Number of Members.	Grand Lodges.	Number of Lodges.	Number of Members.
Alabama,	280	7,726	Mississippi,	293	8,422
Arizona,	5	353	Missouri,	522	25,821
Arkansas,	368	10,452	Montana,	24	1,234
California,	218	14,260	Nebraska,	107	5,979
Colorado,	49	3,756	Nevada,	22	1,095
Connecticut,	110	14,940	New Hampshire,	76	8,144
Dakota,	50	2,644	New Jersey,	154	12,403
Delaware,	21	1,457	New Mexico,	10	553
Dist. of Columbia,	21	3,032	New York,	715	72,318
Florida,	80	2,302	North Carolina,	207	8,211
Georgia,	277	11,024	Ohio,	469	29,345
Idaho,	11	495	Oregon,	70	3,261
Illinois,	691	40,015	Pennsylvania,	380	37,175
Indiana,	505	22,548	Rhode Island,	35	3,597
Indian Territory,	17	653	South Carolina,	172	5,477
Iowa,	394	21,309	Tennessee,	411	14,755
Kansas,	236	13,277	Texas,	486	18,690
Kentucky,	496	14,823	Utah,	8	474
Louisiana,	129	3,826	Vermont,	101	7,940
Maine,	182	20,077	Virginia,	240	9,013
Maryland,	82	4,896	Washington,	39	1,703
Massachusetts,	227	27,590	West Virginia,	83	3,542
Michigan,	351	27,045	Wisconsin,	200	12,968
Minnesota,	145	8,677	Wyoming,	6	43

Totals:—48 Grand Lodges; 9775 Lodges; and 569,304 Members.

Negro Masonry.

The Black Masons, whose initiation in 1775 has been recorded under that year in the preceding chapter, applied to England for a charter—their Lodge having then existed for eight years—in 1784. Their request was granted, September 29, 1784, but the warrant did not arrive in Boston until 1787. It bore the number 459, and the title, "African Lodge." Prince Hall—born 1748, died 1807—who was the first Master, established a Lodge by his own authority at Philadelphia in 1797, and a second at Providence, R. I., shortly afterwards. The three Lodges formed a Grand Lodge in 1808. The "African Lodge" was not shown in the English lists after 1813, but it did not formally declare its independence of foreign control until 1827. In 1847 there were three colored Grand Lodges, one at Boston and two in Pennsylvania. These met in convention and organized a National G.L., which has since met triennially. Thirty-one Grand Lodges in different States of the Union are mentioned in the statistics before me, which show a total of 694 Lodges, and 17,909 members. These colored or "lesser Grand Lodges," have been more or less recognized as legally constituted bodies, in France, Italy, Germany, Hungary, Peru, and Liberia; and in Ohio, a resolution by the White, acknowledging the regularity of the Black Grand Lodge, in that State, was only lost by fifty-eight votes—the numbers being 332 to 390—in 1875. The case of the "Negro Mason in America" has been ably stated by Mr. Samuel Clark, "G.M. of Colored Masons of the State of Ohio," from whose pamphlet and the other authorities at my disposal, I am inclined to think that the claim of the Black Mason to be placed on a footing of equality with the White one, is destined to pass through a somewhat similar ordeal in America to that which has bee· (in part) undergone by the famous Jewish question in Germany.[1]

[1] Mas. Mag., vol. iv., p. 503; Clark, The Negro Mason in Equity, 1886 [the letters "R.W.," were prefixed to the Master's title in *all* Lodges under the original G.L. of England, and Prince Hall was at no time vested with any higher authority, or the existing records would attest it]; Lewis Hayden,

Anti-Masonry.

In August, 1826, it became noised abroad that William Morgan, then residing near Batavia, in the State of New York, was about to publish a work in which the secrets of Masonry were to be revealed. Morgan was arrested on a charge of theft in September and lodged in jail for a night. The next day he was released, placed in a coach, and (with his own consent) taken to Fort Niagara, a distance of 115 miles. There he was confined for a few days by his abductors in a room formerly used as a powder magazine, after which all traces of him disappear, and what was his real fate has never been ascertained. The indignation of the community was aroused, the excitement spread, and the public did not pause to discriminate. Finally the whole fraternity were regarded as in some measure implicated in the transaction. A current of feeling so strong and so deep was soon turned to political purposes. An anti-masonic party was at once formed, and before long had converts in every part of the Union. Several of the Grand Lodges suspended their labors, and in the State of Vermont all the Lodges made a voluntary surrender of their charters. For ten years the Craft languished, but the era of persecution was brought to a close about the year 1836.

National Conventions.

Congresses or Conventions have been held, by Delegates from Grand Lodges, in Washington, 1842, 1855; Baltimore, 1843, 1847; Lexington, Kentucky, 1853; and Chicago, 1859. Their Proceedings were published.

Grand Chapters.

Grand Chapters exist, I believe, in all the States or Territories in which there are Grand Lodges. There is also a General Grand Chapter—organized in 1798—and to this the greater number of Grand Chapters are in nominal subjection.

Caste among Masons, 1866; War of Races, 1868; and Masonry among colored Men in America, 1871; Proc. (*colored*) G.L. Boston, 1875; 1883-84. Ontario, 1883.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE DOMINION OF CANADA, AND NEWFOUNDLAND.

WILLIAM DOUGLAS was appointed Prov. G.M. for the coast of Africa and the islands of America in 1737, and Robert Commins for Cape Breton and Louisbourg in 1746. The earliest Lodges, however, in the vast territory to which the name of Canada has at any time been applied, were established by warrants from New England. The Merchant's Lodge, Quebec, was shown in the Engraved List for 1762, and in the later issue of 1770 appears at the head of seven Lodges—Nos. 220–26—one of which was at Montreal, and the remainder—including a Sea and a Field Lodge, in H.M.S. Canceaux, and the 52d Foot respectively—at Quebec. All these, though six are first shown in the list for 1770, were allowed to rank from 1762. About the same year,[1] the Hon. Colonel Simon Frazer was appointed Prov. G.M. of Canada, and his successors were —Milborne West, 1763-64; John Collins, 1768-69; Colonel Carleton, 29th Foot (provisionally), 1786; and Sir John Johnson, 1788.

Further Lodges in Lower Canada (Montreal) were erected by the Original G.L. of England in 1787 (2), and 1793; and four in all in Upper Canada, by the same body, the first in 1787 and the last in 1793. In 1791 the country was divided into the territorial provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. A single stationary Lodge—No. 265 Quebec, 1791 —was established directly by the "Ancient" (or Schismatic) G.L. of England, but by the issue of Provincial warrants for Upper as well as Lower Canada in 1792, its influence and authority in British North America gradually increased, to the detriment and finally to the utter extinction of the Lodges under the older sanction. In 1794, as we have already seen,[2] the brethren under the two systems cordially united in an address to Prince Edward, afterwards Duke of Kent. In 1799, the number of Provincial Lodges in Canada, under the Ancient (or Atholl) banner was—Upper Canada (Niagara), fourteen; Lower Canada (Quebec), sixteen. None of the Lodges erected by the older G.L. of England were carried forward at the Union; nor were any on the local lists brought on the roll of the United G.L. until 1822, in which year a batch of twenty-one—Nos. 754-774—is shown in the Calendar, as being held in Upper Canada. Nine Lodges meeting in Lower Canada—Nos. 780-788—appear in the same way in the list for 1824. These results were due to the action of the Duke of Sussex, in applying the *new* laws to the *old* "Atholl" Provinces, by the appointment from home of Provincial Grand Masters for Upper Canada, Quebec, and Montreal.

[1] *Ante*, p. 169, note 1.

[2] Chap. XIX., p. 215.

Forty-one additional Lodges were warranted from England in the former Province—1843-57—and eight in the latter—1823-55. A Scottish Lodge was established at Quebec in 1819, another at Montreal in 1847, and a second at Quebec in 1851. Sixteen Lodges were warranted by the G.L. of Ireland, the first (at Kingstown, U.C.) in 1821, the last in 1855.

From 1791 to 1840, there were two distinct British Provinces, styled respectively, Upper and Lower Canada. In the latter year, a legislative union was effected, but the distinction between the Provinces was preserved, one (U.C.) being called "Canada West," and the other (L.C.) "Canada East."

The evils of a divided control, a diversity of working, and an imposition of rulers not of their own selection, were endured for many years, if not with contentment, at least with equanimity, by the Canadian Craft. But in 1855, the cup of indignation overflowed, and their communications and remittances to the G.L. of England eliciting neither response or acknowledgment, the brethren hoisted the standard of revolt. At this time there were eighty-three Lodges in Canada—fifty English and fourteen Irish, in Canada West; and twelve English, two Irish, and two Scottish, in Canada East. Forty-one of these Lodges, fifteen Irish, one Scottish, and twenty-five English (fifteen in Canada West, and ten in Canada East), were represented by their delegates on October 10, 1855, when the Grand Lodge of Canada was organized. The English Prov. G.L. of Canada West at first discountenanced the movement; but on July 8, 1857, committees of the Grand and Prov. Grand Lodges met, and endeavored to effect a fusion of the two bodies. This, however, fell through, and on September 9 following the Prov. G.L. declared its independence, assuming the title of "Ancient Grand Lodge of Canada." After this, there were two Grand Lodges, until July 14, 1858, when articles of Union having been agreed to, the junior association was dissolved—its Grand Officers and Lodges being accorded their relative rank and seniority in the Grand Lodge of Canada. The united body was formally recognized by the G.L. of England in December of the same year, and on March 23, 1859, the Earl of Zetland, in a letter to Grand Master Wilson, acknowledged the jurisdiction of the G.L. of Canada over all Canada, claiming, however, for the Lodges still adhering to their original allegiance in Quebec and Montreal, their full privileges as individual Lodges, together with the rights and privileges of their Provincial Grand Lodges, which stipulation was agreed to, without the slightest demur, by the G.M. of Canada in his reply, dated April 23.

The Dominion of Canada was formed in 1867. Canada West became "Ontario," and Canada East, "Quebec." The federal union also included Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and to these was added, in 1869, the vast territory of the Hudson's Bay Company—now the Province of Manitoba. In 1871, the league was augmented by the addition of British Columbia, and in 1873, by that of Prince Edward's Island. The only portion of British North America not yet included in the confederation is Newfoundland, but as it is certain in time to throw in its lot with the Dominion, provision was made for its admission in the Act of Union of 1867.

It is somewhat confusing that the jurisdiction of the "G.L. of Canada" only extends over what is now the Province of Ontario, and the more so, since two other bodies—not admitted within the family of Grand Lodges—one composed of white and the other of colored Masons, have taken the title of "Grand Lodge of Ontario."

QUEBEC.—For some little time after the political changes of 1867, the formation of a Grand Lodge for the Dominion was "in the air." But the idea having become imprac-

ticable through the action of the Masons in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, in forming Grand Lodges for those Provinces, the example thus set was followed in Quebec—October 20, 1869—by the representatives of twenty-one out of thirty-seven Lodges meeting within its territorial limits. The first Lodge on the roll was originally in the 46th Foot (227, I.); and the two next in the Royal Artillery (Nos. 213 and 241, A.). Three English Lodges, at Montreal, under a D.G.M., appointed in 1849, have hitherto declined to affiliate with the Grand Lodge, and the G.L. of England, while interposing no obstacle to a transfer of their allegiance, wisely holds that the point is one which those Lodges are entitled to settle according to their own judgment, without pressure of any kind.

Nova Scotia.—Lodges at Annapolis Royal and Halifax are said to have been formed from Boston in 1738 and 1750. The later of the two is probably identical with No. 109 on the Engraved List for 1770—where it appears for the first time—with the date of 1749?

Erasmus James Phillips was appointed Prov. G.M., and two Lodges were warranted by the Schismatic G.L. of England in 1757. Three others—Nos. 155, 156, and 211—sprang up under the same sanction, the first two in 1768, and the third in 1781. In the year last named three out of these five Lodges were extinct, and the "Ancients" were only represented by Nos. 155 and 211, St. Andrew's and St. John's,[1] by whose joint act four dispensations were granted, thus bringing up the number to six. A Prov. G.L. was organized under a renewed (but virtually a new) warrant in 1784—its subordinates numbering nineteen in 1789 and thirty-two in 1807. In 1813 the only Lodges carried forward on the Union roll were Nos. 155 and 211 (now 1 and 2, N.S.), and the Prov. G.L. continued to exist as before, electing its G.M. yearly, paying tribute to none, and exacting the respect due to any independent Grand Lodge, until 1822, when its proceedings were styled irregular by the G.M. of England. John Albro, the Prov. G.M. at that time, was annually re-elected until 1829, when he received a Patent from England, and in the same year seventeen Lodges—Nos. 828-44—were removed from the local to the general list. Nineteen others were added to the English roll between 1840 and 1868. Scotland entered the field in 1827, and Ireland in 1845. From the latter country only two warrants were received, but under the former a Province was erected, by ten of whose daughter Lodges a Grand Lodge was established, June 21, 1866. This, on June 24, 1869, formed a Union with the Prov. G.L. under England—twenty-five Lodges on each side (and one Scottish one, or fifty-one in all), taking part in the *regular* organization of the G.L. of Nova Scotia. A single (English) Lodge adhered to its original allegiance, of which the G.M. of Nova Scotia remarks (1880)—"working side by side with us, a healthy emulation is produced, and both parties are the better for it."

In Cape Breton—now a dependency of Nova Scotia—a warrant was granted by Richard Gridley in 1758 (Louisbourg); and Lodges were afterwards erected by the "Atholl" G.L., 1801; three by the G.L. of England, 1844-68; and one under a Scottish warrant in 1858.

New Brunswick.—Two military Lodges were brought with them by the Loyalists in 1783,[2] but the first stationary Lodge was established by dispensation of Nos. 155 and 211

[1] Captain (afterwards Sir John) Moore was initiated in St. John's, March 12, 1781.

[2] Held in the New Jersey Volunteers (No. 2, N.Y.), and The Prince of Wales' American Regiment, respectively. The Lodge in the latter claimed to work under an Irish warrant—No. 535—really granted to the 30th Foot (but from whom they may have received *a copy*), and to have been "installed" in Lodge No. 512, 63rd Foot, in South Carolina.

(A.) in 1784. Warrants of the P.G.L. of Nova Scotia were issued to the latter, and one of the former (No. 2, N.Y.) in 1786 and 1789 respectively. An English warrant (from the Original G.L.) was also granted in 1789. Six further Lodges were added to the Provincial roll, 1792-1809; and eight, 1814-25. About the year 1827 a Grand Lodge was formed, independent of both Nova Scotia and England, but in 1829 the Grand Lodge at home asserted its supremacy, which was followed by submission. Between the latter year and 1865, twenty-two English Lodges were erected in the colony. Within the same period six Irish and three Scottish charters were granted. The Grand Lodge was organized October 10, 1867, by sixteen Lodges—twelve English, three Irish, and one Scottish; there being at the time twenty-six, viz., twenty English, three Irish, and three Scottish, in the Province.

PRINCE EDWARD'S ISLAND.—Military Lodges were formed under Nova Scotian warrants in 1781 and 1797. The last became a stationary Lodge, and with seven others was placed on the English roll, 1828-69. A solitary Scottish charter was issued in 1858, and the Lodge so formed, with seven on the registry of England, organized the Grand Lodge, February 24, and June 23, 1875.

BRITISH COLUMBIA.—In this territory and Vancouver's Island four Lodges were established under warrants from England, 1859-67; and five from Scotland, 1862-69. Eight of these organized the Grand Lodge, September 21, 1871.

MANITOBA.—Three Lodges were established in this Province by the G.L. of Canada (the first in 1870), and they united to form the G.L. of Manitoba, May 12, 1875. There was a schism in 1877, during which year and a part of the next there were two Grand Lodges in the Province, but a union was effected in 1879.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The two earliest Lodges on this island were established under warrants from Boston. Others were erected by the G.L. of England in 1784 and 1785, and five by its Schismatic rival, 1774-88. Eight English Lodges have been formed since the Union and two Scottish (1866-67). Each jurisdiction has its District Grand Master, with, in one case, six, and in the other two, Lodges, to supervise. At MIQUELON, a little island on the southern coast, a Lodge was erected by the G.O. of France in 1867, but is now extinct.[1]

STATISTICAL TABLE.

	Lodges.	Members.		Lodges.	Members.
Canada, ...	356	18,983	Prince Edward's Island,	14	428
Quebec, ...	68	2,822	British Columbia, . .	10	312
Nova Scotia, . . .	67	2,966	Manitoba, . . .	31	1,350
New Brunswick, . .	32	1,910	Newfoundland, . .	8	[ ]

[1] Authorities:—Brennan, Standard Hist., p. 359 *et seq.*; *Weekly Telegraph*, St. John, N.B., July 9, 1884; and the Proceedings of the various Grand Lodges of the Dominion, notably those of Canada, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward's Island—which, having been kindly sent me by Messrs J. J. Mason, W. F. Bunting, and G.W. Wakeford, respectively, I was enabled to peruse at leisure, and have derived much assistance from, in preceding chapters.

L'ENVOI.

"A VERY considerable claim to candor may be advanced in favor of this work. The number and difficulty of the subjects treated of—the compass of reading necessary to obtain materials to elucidate them—the singular felicity of avoiding undue prolixity or unsatisfactory conciseness—and the perplexity arising from the jarring opinions of learned men on many of these subjects, render it an arduous task for an individual to accomplish."—This plea was advanced by Samuel Burder, in the preface to his "Oriental Customs," and I shall adopt it as my own, on presenting my readers with the final volume of this History of Freemasonry. Not, indeed, that in strictness I am entitled to do so, for the assistance I have received from others, to whose names I gladly turn, has alone enabled me to *complete* a general history of the Craft, an undertaking alleged on high authority to be of so formidable a character that the span of ten men's lives was deemed too short a period for its execution.[1]

To Mr. C. G. C. Rennie, I am indebted for many valuable notes, which have been of general utility, and for his assistance in Chapters I., VI., X., and XII. The proofs of the entire work have been perused by Hughan, to whose judicious counsel I owe much, and who, besides rendering assistance of a general character throughout, undertook the main preparation of Chapters II., VIII., XVIII., and XXII. For the pictures of the German Steinmetzen, of the Companionage, and of Continental Masonry—Chapters III.-V., and XXIV.-XXVIII.—I am indebted to Speth, whose co-operation, moreover, was not circumscribed within these limits, but extended to other chapters, and to the perusal of the latter half of the proofs. To this friend I stand under a peculiar weight of obligation, from his familiarity with several modern languages, which, in the absence of his assistance, I must have personally acquired in order to consult the foreign literature of the Craft with the minuteness that was essential. The earlier proofs were read by Rylands, to whom I am indebted for the plates of arms and seals, and their description; also for many valuable suggestions and useful notes, especially in Chapters IX., XI. (§ vi.), XIV and XV. Nor must I omit to record the benefit I have derived from his special knowledge of manuscript literature. All the friends named (with the exception of Mr. Rennie, who is not a Freemason) are members of my own Lodge (Quatuor Coronati, No. 2076). So also is Woodford, the *Doyen* of British Masonic students, whose wise counsel, so often sought, has never been withheld, and whose ample library was placed freely at my disposal.

The Grand Secretaries of England, Ireland, and Scotland merit my most grateful acknowledgment of their invariable courtesy in replying to my frequent inquiries. To the

[1] Chap. I., p. 2.



PROMINENT MASONIC AUTHORS.

W. J. HUGHAN, P .·. SEN .·. G .·. DEACON OF THE GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND.

ALBERT G. MACKEY, 33°, AUTHOR OF MASONIC ENCYCLOPÆDIA. ROB. MORRIS, MASONIC "POET-LAUREATE" OF AMERICA.

G. F. FORT, AUTHOR OF "THE EARLY HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF FREEMASONRY."

C. T. McCLENACHAN, 33°, HISTORIAN OF THE GRAND LODGE OF NEW YORK.

information so amply supplied by the officers of foreign Grand Lodges I have borne testimony on earlier pages. Messrs. Wyatt Papworth, William Officer, H. D. Sandeman, T. B. Whytehead, Cæsar Kupfereshmidt, Joseph Todd, Wilhelm Begemann, W. F. Vernon, and Henry Sadler (whose unwearied attention to my requirements I cannot too warmly recognize), have also in various ways rendered me great assistance. Many others have likewise contributed to my store of facts, whose names have already been gratefully referred to in footnotes. Nor in candor should I omit to state how deeply I have benefited from the robust criticisms—*de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*—of a few writers, who, like Messrs. W. P. Buchan and Jacob Norton, "consider rather what is said, than who says it, and the consequence of the argument, rather than the consequence of him that delivers it," and would have great names bow to the authority of truth, not truth to the authority of great names. Lane's "Masonic Records," I regret to say, was published too late to be of any service to me; but had the work appeared a year earlier, my toil would have been much lessened.

APPENDIX.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE demands upon the Text have been so great, that I am compelled to bring the Appendix within much narrower limits than I had intended. This will necessitate the omission of some original matter; of a quantity of extracts from ancient records; and lastly, of many explanatory references. These, however, I hope, may be given in due season in a further or supplementary volume.

In the course of the History, the reader has been referred to the Appendix in vols. ii., 2, note 5; iii., 12, 91, 219, note 1; 245; and iii., 281, 293, note 4; 300, note 4; and iv., 62; but having to choose between the omission of matter already printed in works that are generally accessible, or of that lying comparatively in the dark, I have decided, under these limitations, to adopt the former alternative, and in the "Grand Mystery" and "Mason's Examination" my readers will at least have specimens of what I should have proceeded with on a far larger scale had there been the requisite space at my command.

Two plates of Medals are given in Vol. IV., and those who are desirous of investigating a subject of so much interest, will find their studies very pleasantly directed by Hughan in his "Masonic Register" (1878), and by Marvin in his ampler work, "The Medals of the Masonic Fraternity" (1880).

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

VOLUME I.

Page 11, note, 2 *add*, Lubbock, Origin of Civilization, 1870, p. 337; and Bancroft, Hist. U.S.A., 1885, vol. ii. p. 131.

Page 15, note 6, *to read*, Epigenes de Poesi Orph. Norimb., 1702, pp. 21, 22.

Page 16, note 2, *to read*, De Triplici Theologiâ Mysteriisque Commentatis, Paris, 1784.

Page 18, note 2, *to read*, Ad. Dion Perieg., 524 (Geogr. Graec. Min., p. 664).

Page 22, line 17, *for* will, *read* shall.

Page 73, line 5, *for* No. 18, *read* No. 19.

Page 76, line 23, *read*, MDCCXXII.

Page 88, line 27, *for* Burano, *read* Murano.

Page 107, line 27, *for* 56, *read* 90.

Page 108, line 2, *delete* "the" before facile princep; line 25 *for* p. 45 *read* p. 79.

Page 148, line 5, *for* Heinsch, *read* Heimsch.

Page 148, note 1, *add*, *cf.* Browne, Hist. of the Met. Church of St. Peter, York, 1847, p. 50, note 2.

Page 167, note 1, *add*, *cf. post*, vol. ii., p. 152; and Disraeli, Cur. of Lit., 1859, iii., p. 153.

Page 177, line 21, *to read*, The cradle of German architectural skill, but not the organization of the Steinmetz Guild, is to be found in the convents.

Page 179, line 26, 1829.

Page 224, Howling. *See* Brand, Pop. Antiq., 1870, ii., pp. 188, 189.

Page 231, line 7, *to read*, Between 1651 and 1648.

Page 251, line 27, factor.

Page 350, line 21, *for* "of," *read* "de."

Page 355, note 6, line 3, *read* (xxiii.); last line *to read*, See Vol. III., p. 18, note 2.

VOLUME II.

Page 2, The St. Clair Charters. These have been already printed by Lawrie and Lyon in their respective Histories.

Page 16, line 38, "prejudicially."

Page 59, last line, *for* speaking pynt, *read* founding pynt.

Page 60, line 27, *to read,* admitted a freeman.

Page 76, note 2, "Apprentice Steinmetz."

Page 109, note 2, *add,* Disraeli, Cur. of Lit., 1858 i. 135, 136.

Page 112, line 40, *for* antiquity, *read* mysticism.

Page 117, line 2, *for* on, *read* or;

Page 118, line 1, *delete* it.

Page 146, Papal Bulls.

"A monk of the abbey of St. Medard being on his death-bed, confessed with great contrition and repentance, that he had forged numerous Bulls of exemption in favor of various monasteries,—the abbey of St. Ouen in Normandy, and of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, being amongst the number, to the prejudice of the rights of their ordinaries" (Palgrave, Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, ii., p. ccxi.). See also, Walpoliana, ii., p. 63.

Page 153, note 5, There are also Free miners of the Forest of Dean.

Page 195, Descriptive List of the Old Charges.

Three additional MSS. have recently been discovered, which I have incorporated with the pre-existing list at the following numbers:—24*a*, "Dauntesy," 1690; 31*b*, "Probity," 1736; and 31*c*, "Crane," 1781. The dates given are approximate only. All are written on paper, the last named consisting of two fragments, and the others being in book form. 24*a* was published by Mr. W. H. Rylands in the *Keystone*, Philadelphia, March 20, 1886; and as it possesses many common features with the "Supreme Council" MS. (24), I have placed it after that document in the numerical list. 31*b* has been transcribed by Hughan, and printed in the *Freemason*, January 30 and February 13, 1886. It consists of ten pages of MS., bound up with a copy of "The Book M., or Masonry Triumphant," 1736, in the possession of the Probity Lodge, No. 61, Halifax, Yorkshire. As the age of the MS. appears to correspond pretty closely with that of the printed book, its value is not great. The text is similar to that of the Lansdowne (3) and Antiquity (23) MSS. 31*c*, consisting of two fragments or loose sheets, was discovered by Mr. J. C. Robinson, of Chester, among the papers of the Rev. T. Crane, deceased, in 1884, and by him published in the *Freemason* of that year (pp. 476, 486, 497, 507, 522,) to which I refer my readers for the reasons which appear to justify the classification of the "Wren" (37) and the "Crane" (31*c*) MSS. as separate and distinct authorities.

Page 326, note 4, last line, *to read,* p. 152 Vol. I note 2.

Page 367, line 8, *to read,* traditional history; line 27, *for* aphorism, *read* aphanism.

Page 368, note 1, line 5, Sir G. Lewis.

VOLUME III.

Page 10, Alnwick Records. The works in which an abstract of these has appeared, are indicated in the 3d note.

Page 15, note 7. This is qualified by the fuller argument in the next chapter at p. 109.

Page 91, General Regulations and Members of Lodges in 1724-25. The former are given in most histories of Masonry, and reprints of the Constitutions of A.D. 1723 have been issued in both England and America. The names of the latter I am simply unable to find room for in the present work.

Page 106, Dr. Anderson.

The Rev. Mr. Craven, of Kirkwall, Orkney, informs me that on the fly-leaf of a copy of the "Royal Genealogies," in the University of Aberdeen, he has found, apparently in

the handwriting of the author, the following:—"Almam Matrem Academiam *Mareschallanam* hoc libro donavit ejusdem auctor.—Jacobus Anderson, D.D."

Page 108, Masonic Catechisms.

These may be conveniently divided into three groups—all of which have their especial points of interest—the first extending over the period 1717-27, the second having its first exemplar in 1730, and the third beginning with the year 1760. The earliest collection comprises Sloane MS. 3329 (*temp. incert.*) the Mason's Examination, 1723; the Grand Mystery and the Briscoe MS., 1724; and the Mason's Confession (*temp. incert.*, but supposed to date from 1727, though only printed in 1755). Of these the only two not accessible to the general reader are given at a later page—the Mason's Examination, transcribed by myself from the *Flying Post or Post Master*, No. 4712, April 11 to April 13, 1723, and the Grand Mystery, 2d edition—really printed in 1724, though dated 1725—containing an interesting account of the Gormogons, which is reprinted from *the only known copy in existence*, at present in the Dresden Royal Library, through the courteous assistance of Dr. W. Begemann, of Rostock. The second group commences with "The Mystery of Freemasonry," published in the *Daily Journal*, August 15, 1730 (of which the salient features were given by Franklin, under the same name, in his *Pennsylvania Gazette*); after this came Masonry Dissected, by Samuel Prichard, of which four editions were published in the same year—the first on October 20; and the *Daily Journal* of December 16 has, "This day is published—'A defence of Masonry, occasioned by a Pamphlet call'd *Masonry dissected*'" (*ante*, ii., p. 356, note 2). Passing to the third group, in 1760—February—we meet with "A Master Key to Freemasonry;" and—April—"The Three Distinct Knocks;" 1762—March—Jachin and Boaz; 1764, Hiram, or the Grand Master Key; 1765, Shibboleth, or Every Man a Freemason; and, 1766, Solomon in all his Glory, and "Mahabone, or the Grand Lodge Door Open'd." Dr. W. Begemann, of Rostock, to whom I am indebted for many of the preceding details, will shortly bring out a work entitled "Catechisms and Usages of English Freemasons of the Eighteenth Century," to which the curious reader is referred.

Page 117, Hiram Abif.

This name is given in the Inigo Jones MS. (i., 63; ii., 244, 365), which document—in the opinion of Dr. Begemann—was manufactured *after* 1723, "as its chronology is taken from Anderson's Constitutions of that year, while the letters of Solomon and Hiram were copied *verbatim et literatim* from an English translation of Josephus, dated 1670." The same critic assigns no higher antiquity than (at the utmost) the year 1722, to Sloane MS. 3329 (ii., 279, 316, 356,) and considers that both the demand and the supply of such writings could have had no earlier beginning than 1720.

In these conclusions I hesitate to concur, at least without further consideration, for they appear to me to suggest a qualification of my previous judgment of Harleian MS. 1942 (ii., 210), in the *simulated antiquity* of which document—like that of the Leland-Locke (i., 489), in Inigo Jones, and the Sloane MSS.—we may possibly find (if Dr. Begemann's views will bear investigation) an explanation of what has hitherto appeared insoluble, when associated with the remote date, which, by experts in writing, has been somewhat arbitrarily assigned to it.

Page 124, note 10.

A curious superstition is recorded of the fisherman of the Daii—a river in Tongking. If a fish jumps into the boat, it is a very bad omen; and to avert impending evil, it is necessary to cut the fish into two and throw it into the water again (J. G. Scott, France and Tongking, 1885, p. 207.)

Page 189, Early Atholl Records.

Further documentary evidence has recently been brought to light by Mr. Henry Sadler, and published by Lane, who at once identified a long-missing register ("Masonic Records," preface, p. xii.). A series of articles arising out of the same discovery, from the pen of Mr. G. B. Abbott, appeared in the *Freemason*, commencing in vol. xix., p. 196; and Mr. Sadler is now preparing for the press his own views with regard to the origin of the "Ancients."

Page 3, line 13, *for* respect, *read* repeat.
Page 7, line 25, *for* we, *read* he.
Page 21, line 6, Domaskins.
Page 97, line 14, 1767-73.
Page 159, line 17, 1789. This was the date of Preston's restoration to his Masonic privileges.
Page 167, note 2, *for* York, *read* Eboracum Lodge, No. 1610.
Page 175, line 8, a period after "(No. 134);" *and to continue*, On May 21, 1772, he instituted, etc.
Page 186, heading of Chapter, "According to *the* Old Institutions."
Page 219, note 1. *See* Introductory Note.
Page 245, Foreign Deputations. *See* Introductory Note.
Page 253. Articles of Union. These are given in Preston's "Illustrations of Masonry," also in Hughan's "Masonic Memorials" and "Masonic Register."
Page 268, line 13, The Emulation Lodge of Improvement was founded October 2, 1823.
Page 281, Statistics of English Masonry. *See* Introductory Note.
Page 293, The Grand Masters of Ireland. *See* Introductory Note.
Page 300, note 4. *See* Introductory Note.
Page 53, line 29, *for* 44th, *read* 55th.
Page 336, line 21, *to read*, "entered" at Kilwinning or some other Scottish Lodge previous to the era of Grand Lodges.
Page 367, line 40, *to read*, "Observantia Lata."

VOLUME IV.

Page 1, C. F. Scheffer.

The name of this nobleman is shown in the Engraved List for 1770 as Prov. G.M. for Sweden, and is continued in the "Freemason's Calendar" until 1794. In a letter dated April 10, 1886, Mr. Robert Dickson, G.S., Sweden, informs me—"The Grand Lodge of Sweden was constituted December 25, 1759. Its first Grand Master was Carl Frederick von Eckleff till 1777. Baron Carl Frederick Scheffer was S. P. and Deputy G. Master 1761-77. The authorities are hopelessly at variance, and we can only assume that in all probability Scheffer succeeded Fullman, as *English* Prov. G.M. in 1769?

Page 30, Dr. Jaenisch.

Here I was misled by Nettelbladt, see p. 226.

Page 62, note 5. *See* Introductory Note.

Page 90, Union of German Freemasons.

Out of this sprang "the Lessing Union of German Freemasons," founded in 1884. Its organ is the *Bauhütte*, and its Corypheus, Herr Findel. The aims and tendencies of the new "bund" are not regarded with favor by the Diet of German Grand Lodges.

Page 164, Porto Rico. "In 1821, authority was given by the G.L. of Massachusetts for a French Lodge at Mayaguez" (Proc. G.L., 1869).
Page 167, The Lesser Antilles. *See* pp. 252 and 253.
Page 191, Dutch Guiana. *See* p. 252.

THE
Grand MYSTERY
OF THE
FREE MASONS
DISCOVER'D.

WHEREIN

Are the several QUESTIONS put to them at their *Meetings* and *Installations.*

As also, Their OATH, HEALTH, SIGNS, and POINTS, to know each other by.

As they were found in the Custody of a FREE-MASON who Dyed suddenly.

And now publish'd for the Information of the PUBLICK.

The SECOND EDITION.

To which are ANNEXED,

Two LETTERS to a FRIEND;

The *First,* Concerning the Society of *FREE-MASONS.*

The *SECOND,*

Giving an Account of the Most Ancient Society of *GORMOGONS,* in its *Original, Institution, Excellency,* and *Design:* Its *Rules* and *Orders,* and the Manner of its Introduction into *Great Britain.* With an intire Collection of all that has been made Publick on that Occasion. Together with the supposed Reason of their *Excluding the Free-Masons,* without they previously undergo the Form of *Degradation, &c.* Now first set forth for the *Satisfaction* and *Emolument* of the *Publick.*

Ambubajarum collegia, Pharmacapolæ,
Mendici, Medici, balatrones, hoc genus omne. HOR.
——— *Mulus scabit Mulum.* ———

LONDON:
Printed for A. MOORE, near St. *Paul's* 1725. [Pr. 1s.]

THE

Grand Mystery *of FREE-MASONS* DISCOVER'D.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS Piece having been found in the custody of a FREE-MASON, who died suddenly, it was thought proper to publish it in the very Words of the Copy, that the Publick may, at last, have something Genuine concerning the Grand Mystery of *Free-Masons*.

There was a man at *Louvain*, who publish'd, That he had, with great Toil and Difficulty, found out, overcome, and tamed, and was now ready at his Booth, to shew, at the Rate of Six Stivers a-piece, the most hideous and voracious Monster, the Common Disturber of Mankind, especially in their Adversity.

People flock'd from all Parts to see this Monster: They went in at the Fore-Door; and after they had seen the Creature, went out at the Back-Door, where they were ask'd, Whether the Monster was worth seeing? And as they had, at their Admittance into the Booth, promised to keep the Secret, they answer'd, It was a very wonderful Creature; which the Man found his Account in. But, by some Accident, it was divulged, that this wonderful Creature prov'd to be a LOUSE.

But to proceed to the Subject in Hand; we shall first present our Readers with

THE FREE-MASON'S SIGNS.

A GUTTERAL ⟩ A PEDESTAL ∠ A MANUAL ⌜ A PECTORAL ✕

EXAMINATION UPON ENTRANCE INTO THE LODGE.

PEACE be here.

Answer. I hope there is.

Q. What a-Clock is it?

A. It's going to Six, or going to Twelve.

Q. Are you very busy?

A. No

Q. Will you give, or take?

A. Both; or which you please.

Q. How go Squares?

A. Straight.

Q. Are you Rich, or Poor?

A. Neither.

Q. Change me that?

A. I will.

Q. In the name of, *&c.* are you a Mason?
What is a Mason?

A. A Man begot of a Man, born of a Woman, Brother to a King.

Q. What is a Fellow?

A. A Companion of a Prince.

Q. How shall I know you are a Free Mason?

A. By Signs, Tokens, and Points of my Entry.

Q. Which is the Point of your Entry?

A. I Hear and Conceal, under the Penalty of having my Throat cut, or my Tongue pull'd out of my Head.

Q. Where was you made a Free-Mason?

A. In a just and perfect Lodge.

Q. How many make a Lodge?

A. God and the Square, with Five or Seven right and perfect Masons, on the highest Mountains, or the lowest Valleys in the World.

Q. Why do Odds make a Lodge?

A. Because all Odds are Mens Advantage.

Q. What Lodge are you of?

A. The Lodge of St. *John.* ∆

Q. How does it stand ? ✠

A. Perfect East and West, as all Temples do.

Q. Where is the Mason's Point ?

A. At the East-Window, waiting at the Rising of the Sun, to set his Men at Work.

Q. Where is the Warden's Point ?

A. At the West-Window, waiting the Setting of the Sun, to dismiss the Entred Apprentices.

Q. Who rules and governs the Lodge, and is Master of it ?

A. *Iruh*, ✠ *Iachin.* } or the Right Pillar.

Q. How is it govern'd ?

A. Of Square and Rule.

Q. Have you the Key of the Lodge ?

A. Yes, I have.

Q. What is its Virtue ?

A. To open and shut, and shut and open.

Q. Where do you keep it ?

A. In an Ivory Box, between my Tongue and my Teeth, or within my Heart, where all my Secrets are kept.

Q. Have you the Chain to the Key ?

A. Yes, I have.

Q. How long is it ?

A. As long as from my Tongue to my Heart.

Q. How many precious Jewels ?

A. Three ; a square Asher, a Diamond, and a Square.

Q. How many Lights ?

A. Three ; a Right East, South, and West.

Q. What do they represent ?

A. The Three Persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

Q. How many Pillars ?

A. Two ; *Iachin* and *Boaz.*

Q. What do they represent ?

A. A Strength and Stability of the Church in all Ages.

Q. How many Angles in St. *John's* Lodge ?

A. Four, bordering on Squares. ∆ ✠

Q. How is the Meridian found out ?

A. When the Sun leaves the South, and breaks in at the West-End of the Lodge.

Q. In what Part of the Temple was the Lodge kept ?

A. In *Solomon's* Porch, at the West-End of the Temple, where the two Pillars were set up.

Q. How many Steps belong to a right Mason ?

A. Three.

Q. Give me the Solution ?

A. I will. - - - The Right Worshipful, Worshipful Masters, and Worshipful Fellows, of the Right Worshipful Lodge from whence I came, greet you well.

Response. That Great God to us greeting, be at this our Meeting, and with the Right Worshipful Lodge from whence you came, and you are.

Q. Give me the *Jerusalem* Word ?

A. *Giblin.*

Q. Give me the Universal Word ?

A. *Boaz.*

Q. Right Brother of ours, your name ?

A. *N.* or *M.*

Response. Welcome, Brother *M.* or *N.* to our Society.

Q. How many particular Points pertain to a Free-Mason ?

A. Three ; Fraternity, Fidelity, and Taciturnity.

Q. What do they represent ?

A. Brotherly Love, Relief, and Truth, among all Right Masons ; for which all Masons were ordain'd at the Building of the Tower of *Babel*, and at the Temple of *Jerusalem.*

Q. How many proper Points ?

A. Five ; Foot to Foot, Knee to Knee, Hand to Hand, Heart to Heart, and Ear to Ear.

Q. Whence is an Arch deriv'd ?

A. From Architecture.

Q. How many Orders in Architecture ?

A. Five ; the *Tuscan*, *Dorick*, *Ionick*, *Corinthian*, and *Composit.*

Q. What do they answer ?

A. They answer to the Base, Perpendicular, Diameter, Circumference, and Square.

Q. What is the right Word, or right Point of a Mason ?

A. Adieu.

THE FREE-MASON'S OATH.

You must serve God according to the best of your Knowledge and Institution, and be a true Liege Man to the King, and help and assist any Brother as far as your Ability will allow: By the Contents of the Sacred Writ you will perform this Oath. So help you God.

A FREE-MASON'S HEALTH.

Here's a Health to our Society, and to every faithful Brother that keeps his Oath of Secrecy. As we are sworn to love each other, the World no Order knows like this our Noble and Antient Fraternity: Let them wonder at the Mystery.

Here, Brother, I drink to thee.

SIGNS TO KNOW A TRUE MASON.

1. To put off the Hat with two Fingers and a Thumb.
2. To strike with the Right-Hand, on the Inside of the Little-Finger of the Left three Times, as if hewing.
3. By making a Square, *viz.* by setting your Heels together, and the Toes of both Feet straight, at a Distance, or by any other Way of Triangle.
4. To take Hand in Hand, with Left and Right Thumb close, and touch each Wrist three Times with the Fore-Finger each Pulse.
5. You must Whisper, saying thus, The Masters and Fellows of the Worshipful Company from whence I came, greet you all well.
   The Other will answer, God greet well the Masters and Fellows of the Worshipful Company from whence you came.
6. Stroke two of your Fore-Fingers over your Eye-Lids three Times.
7. Turn a Glass, or any other Thing that is hollow, downwards, after you have drank out of it.
8. Ask how you do; and your Brothers drink to each other.
9. Ask what Lodge they were made Free-Masons at.

N.B. In the Third of King *Henry* VI. an Act of Parliament was pass'd, Whereby it was made Felony, to cause Masons to confederate themselves in Chapiters and Assemblies. The Punishment is Imprisonment of Body, and to make Fine and Ransom at the King's Will.

TWO

LETTERS

TO A

FRIEND.

The *FIRST*, Concerning

The Society of FREE-MASONS.

The *SECOND*, Giving an Account of

The Most Ancient Order of *GORMOGONS*,

IN

Its *Original*, *Institution*, *Excellency*, and *Design*: Its *Rules* and *Orders*, and the Manner of its Introduction into *Great Britain*.

With an intire Collection of all that has been made Publick, on that Occasion. Together with the supposed Reason of their *Excluding the Free-Masons*, without they previously undergo the Form of *Degradation*, *&c.*

Now first set forth for the *Satisfaction* and *Emolument* of the *Publick*.

——*Nullo penetrabilis astro,*
Lucus erat.—— VIRG.

LONDON:
Printed for A. MOORE, near St. *Paul's*. *M.DCC.XXV.*

A

LETTER to a FRIEND,

CONCERNING

The Society of FREE-MASONS.

SIR,

The Command, you have been pleas'd to lay upon me, is not to be discharged in a few Words: You require of me, To give you an Account of the *Fraternity* (as you are pleas'd to term it) which call themselves FREE-MASONS; together with my Opinion about *them*, and their *Tenets*.

This, *SIR*, will cause some little Time to be spent; first, In Enquiry after their *Tenets;* and then, in maturely judging, and reasoning upon 'em: for rash and unpremeditated Determinations, in *such* Matters, will only expose their Authors; and give Strength and Reputation to the opposite Parties.

As for their *Tenets*, they seem to be all Riddle and Mystery, to every Body but themselves; and I make a Doubt, whether or no, they be able to give any fair and satisfactory Account of 'em. By what I can learn, they are under an *Oath*, or some solemn obligatory *Tie*, not to make known, or divulge their *Arcana* to any, except to the Members of their own Society. This, I presume, is because they are either so nonsensically *ludicrous*, and *foolish*, or else so horribly *lewd*, and *blasphemous*, that they will not endure a Publick Censure.

They sat an huge Value upon themselves, in regard of being *Free Masons:* entertaining strange, aukward Notions of the Word *Mason;* such as it never had belonging to it, in *Hebrew*, *Greek*, *Latin*, *English*, or, I believe, in any Language under Heaven. They seem to be listed under the Patronage of *Hiram*, the King of *Tyre*, who was doubtless an *Heathen;* unless converted to *Judaism* after his Acquaintance with *Solomon:* Which is, at best, but a groundless *Chimæra*, and *Supposition;* for the *Scriptures*, which are the only Authentick Records of those Matters, have taken no notice at all of it.

They tell strange foppish Stories of a *Tree*, which grew out of *Hiram's Tomb*, with wonderful *Leaves*, and *Fruit* of a *monstrous Quality;* although, at the same Time, they know neither where, nor when he dy'd; nor any thing more of his Tomb, than they do of *Pompey's*. But, to stop the Mouths of their ignorant, crackbrain'd Disciples (such as *Ale-house-keepers*, *Botchers*, *Corn-cutters*, &c.) some of their principal Θαυματεργοι, lugg 'em by the Ears with a bombast Gypsie-like Jargon, which they call *Arabick:* although I am morally certain, That not one of the Society knows any more of the *Arabick* Language, than I do of the CHINESE.

Upon the Account, SIR, of this stupendous *Bocardo*, they assume to themselves the August Title of *Kabalists;* or rather, as I submissively conjecture, *Cabal-lists: i.e.* A Knot of whimsical, delirious Wretches, who are caballing together, to extirpate all manner of *Science*, *Reason*, and *Religion* out of the World.

To explain the senseless and irrational Mode of their Proceedings, I shall ask you, or them, or all the World; Whether 'twas ever known, that Men of common Sense and Discretion, did profess themselves to be of an Imployment or Occupation, which they know nothing at all of? As for Instance, SIR, would you not take that Man to be qualified for *Bedlam*, that should call himself a *Gold-Smith*, when his Business is to *mend Shoes?* and would it not make you laugh, to hear a Fellow call himself a *Lapidary*, when he gets his Living by *sweeping of Chimneys?* Yet this is exactly the Case of *Free Masons;* Every Member, forsooth, is a *Free Mason;* although there be some *Divines*, or rather, if they were perfectly understood, *Dry-Vines*, some *Petti-foggers*, some *Clyster-pipe Men*, *Thread-makers*, *Taylors* and *Weavers*, and an huge Bead-roll besides, of Men calling themselves *Masons*, who know no more how to lay a Brick, or a Stone, as it should be laid, than they know how to make a *Hog* play upon a *Flute*, or a *Horse* understand *Algebra*.

There are several amongst 'em, who write themselves *S. T. P.* which some are apt to imagine, stands for *Sacrofanctæ Trinitatis Persecutores;* for it is observable, That the Creed of St. *Athanasius* is treated very scurvily and opprobriously amongst divers of their Principals; and the Divinity (nay, even the Divine Accomplishments of our Saviour) are handled by some of those Wretches, with a most shameful Buffoonry and Contempt. Remarkably eminent for this, is a certain *Renegado Papist;* who has formerly wrote a nonsensical *Farrago* about the

Plague : and makes the World believe, That he'll undertake to translate the Works of a certain Classick ; and, no doubt, in that Case, will render them nine time more ridiculous and unintelligible than any Man alive is able to do.

That, SIR, which gives the greatest Gloss, and Lustre to their Cabal, is this, *viz.* That they have artfully drawn some Great Names, into their wild, latitudinarian Measures : This I cannot in the least wonder at ; for Great Men, are but *Men*, and as apt to run into giddy, whimsical Schemes, as their Inferiors. Excellent was the Observation of the *Buzite*, *Job* xxxii. 9. where he says, *Great Men are not always Wise :* and I really look upon some certain Gentlemen among them, however otherwise dignified and distinguished, to be just such another Decoration to the *Free Masons*, as *Julian* and *Maxentius* were to *Atheism ;* or *Constantius* and *Valens*, to the *Arian Heresy.*

I protest, SIR, I had like to have forgotten one Man, who makes a most Il-Lustrious Figure amongst 'em ; and stiles himself R.S.S. and L.L.D. He makes wonderful Brags of being of the *Fifth Order :* I presume (as he is a *Mason*) he means the *Fifth Order* of *Architecture ;* which is otherwise call'd, The *Compound Order :* and by it one would be tempted to imagine, that the Doctor is a *Composition* of all sorts of *Maggots* and *Enthusiasm.* One thing there is, which makes me more bold in affirming this ; and this is it——The Doctor pretends, he has found out a Mysterious, *Hocus-pocus* Word, which belongs to the *Anathema* pronounc'd against *Ananias* and *Saphira*, in the 5th Chapter of the *Acts ;* and he farther pretends, That against whomsoever he (as a Member of the *Fifth Order*) shall pronounce this terrible Word, the Person shall instantly drop down dead, as they did. I cannot imagine how the Doctor came by this powerful Word ; unless he found it in *Rablais's Pantagruel ;* or in Dr. *Fuller's Dispensatory ;* which are two great Repositories of incomprehensible Nonsense. I'll take all the Care I can, to keep out of the Doctor's Way ; for I am sure if he meets me, and knows me, out comes the great MILLESYLLABICUM, and I'm as dead as *William the Conqueror.*

But now, SIR, to draw towards a Conclusion ; and to give my Opinion seriously, concerning these prodigious *Virtuosi ;*——My Belief is, That if they fall under any Denomination at all, or belong to any Sect of Men, which has hitherto appear'd in the World, they may be rank'd among the GNOSTICKS ; who took their Original from *Simon Magus:* These were a Set of Men, which ridicul'd not only *Christianity*, but even *Rational Morality ;* teaching, That they should be *sav'd* by their *capacious Knowledge*, and *Understanding* of no Mortal Man could tell what. They babbled of an *amazing Intelligence* they had, from no-body knows whence They amus'd, and puzzled the hare-brain'd, unwary Crowd, that follow'd 'em, with *Superstitious Interpretations*, of *extravagant Talismanical Characters*, and *abstruse Significations*, of uncommon *Kabalistick Words ;* which exactly agrees with the Proceedings of our *Modern Free Masons.*

I am inclinable to believe, That by the Word MASON, they mean a *Builder*, and they take the Word BUILD, in a *Figurative* and *Metaphorick* Sense ; as it is us'd *Acts* xx. 32. and in many other Places of the New Testament : in which Places the Word *Build*, is us'd to signify the *Founding* and *Establishing* of the *Christian Church.* If this be their Meaning, 'tis no Breach of Charity to presume, that these Gentlemen are *Masoning* and *Building up* something, that it were heartily to be wish'd they would let alone ; for I must take the Freedom to say, That there are *Schisms* and *Fractions*, more than enough already, in our most Excellent Religion.

SIR, I shall trouble you with nothing more at present, than just to observe, That if the *Tenets* of these Men, do contain any thing that is conducive to the *Improvement* of *Manners*, the *Honour of God*, or the *real Advantage of Mankind ;* they are guilty of an unpardonable piece of Injustice, to conceal such beneficial *Dogmata* from the World. But if, contrariwise, they advance any thing, which is, or may be *Detrimental* and *Pernicious*, it is great Pity, it is not made Publick ; that it might be expos'd, censur'd, and taken care of, for *Diu crescentes nugæ, floreant in miserias.*

I am, SIR,

Your most Humble Servant,

VERUS COMMODUS.

P.S. SINCE my writing this, I have seen a little Tract call'd, *The Grand Mystery of the Free Masons Discover'd ;* which, as I take it, gives us a Genuine Account of the Questions severally put to the Members of that Society, at their *Admission*, *Meetings*, &c. As also of their *Oath*, *Health*, *Signs*, *Points*, &c. and this I inclose, that you may have a farther Light into this pretended *Mysterious* Fraternity. Whereby, also, you will perceive what an unintelligible *Jargon* these People make a Mystery of.

LETTER II.

Giving an ACCOUNT of the

Most Ancient ORDER of *GORMOGONS*,

IN

Its *Original*, *Institution*, *Excellency*, and *Design:* Its *Rules* and *Orders*. and the Manner of its Introduction into *Great Britain*.

With an intire Collection of all that has been made Publick on that Occasion. Together with the supposed Reason of their *Excluding the Free-Masons*, without they previously undergo the Form of *Degradation*, &c.

SIR,

SINCE my last, the Venerable Order of GORMOGONS having been brought into *England*, by a *Chineze Mandarin*, of great Dignity and Note in his own Country, I could not deny myself the Pleasure to give you as particular an Account as has come to my Knowledge, of what has been done and publish'd since his Arrival, relating to the Establishing that Society in this Island.

You, Sir, are not to be informed, That the *Chineze* pretend to have Accounts of Time and Transactions, many Thousand Years before *Adam;* And I am now to acquaint you, That their first Chief Monarch, or Emperor, as he has since been called, who, tho' *European* Historians frequently call him by another Name, was commonly in *China*, known by that of CHIN-QUAW-KY-PO, is the Institutor of this Order, for the Reward of Merit, and Encouragement of Science, into that *Kingdom of Philosophers*, many Centuries before *Adam*. And I must needs confess, That as their only Boast is not their *Antiquity*, but that they chiefly aim to establish their Order on the MERIT of their Members; they bid fair totally to eclipse the other Society, which, without any other Regards than the Entrance-Fine, and consequential Gluttony, and Ebriety, promiscuously, and without Distinction, admits the Worthy and the Unworthy.

This Order, it seems, as well as the other, has a SECRET, and, as I am inform'd, it is of a very extraordinary Nature; but what, I am well assur'd, is neither shocking to *Decency*, to *Humanity*, or to *Morals*, tho' I cannot penetrate into the Nature of it. As the Cultivating of Arts and Sciences is the principal End of its Institution, Gentlemen of Wit and Parts, who are Members of it, entertain the Society with such Productions, either of their own, or others, as are truly Curious, whether in Prose or Verse, in every Science, as well Mechanical as Liberal. And for this Reason, ingenious Mechanicks are far from being excluded, each being encouraged, in his own particular Way, to excel. Nor do they, it seems, disdain to divert and entertain one another with a pleasant Song, so as it is not contrary to Decency and good Manners, and turns not upon Party or Politicks.

And this leads me to tell you, That the only Point of Conversation which is expresly prohibited, is that of the Politicks of their own Country; which is a most excellent and necessary Rule, because, as the Society consists of ingenious Men of all Persuasions, and no body is excluded for his private Opinion, Disputes might otherwise arise, which would create Feuds and Animosities among them: The propagating the contrary of which, is, it seems, a fundamental Article among them.

After the Qualifications of the Person are examin'd into (which, I am told, is extremely strict) and approv'd, the Terms of Entrance are very easy: Instead of Three, Four, or Five Guineas, which the Masons require for Admission, they only deposite such a Sum as they shall think proper above so many **Rupees*.

FRUGALITY is one extraordinary Injunction with them, that so they may avoid the Rocks on which others too frequently split: And the little easy Forfeitures and Fines of Entrance, are deposited in the Hands of a HUPU, or Treasurer, to be disposed of either to Charitable Uses, whenever any calamitous Case offers, or for the Encouragement of Arts and Sciences; Reserving a Proportion thereof towards a General Feast, whether Quarterly, Half-Yearly, or Yearly, I cannot say, in order to cement and consolidate the Union of the several Chapters.

The Officer who presides in Chief over the whole Body or Order, must be a Man of Quality and Learning, and is called, as I am told, *Sub-Oecumenical Volgee*. He is represented by another Great Officer, stiled *Deputy Volgee*, who under him governs the Society. There is a Third Great Officer who acts as *Præses* over each particular *Chapter*, and governs all Affairs therein,

* *Rupee* is a *Chineze* Coin about the Value of 2*s*. 6*d*. Sterling.

conformable to the *General Statutes* of the *Order*. But the Name of this Officer (for 'tis not made a *Secret*) I have forgot; only that it is, as all the rest, of *Chineze* Extraction.

By this Knowledge, which I have been able to come at, tho' I have not the Honour to be a GORMOGON, you will observe, Sir, the Excellency of the Order; and that they are not *asham'd* to let People know, in some Measure, the laudable *Ends* and *Purposes* of their *Institution*. I say, *In some Measure*, because it must be confess'd, they are very tenacious of the Great and Important SECRET of their Society, into which it is morally impossible, that anybody but a thoroughly-graduated GORMOGON can penetrate. You will also have the greater Opinion even of their SECRET, tho' 'tis past the Comprehension of the *Vulgar World*, inasmuch as you will observe, that they put on no affected Grimaces, in order to palm upon the Publick, the most *insignificant Trifles* for the *profoundest Mysteries;* nor do they treat *real* and *venerable Mysteries* as *Trifles*.

Having thus given you an Account of what I have been able to collect, relating to this Society, I come now to entertain you with the several Pieces that have been publish'd relating thereto. The first of which is from the *Daily Post* of the 3d of *September* last; tho' I am informed, that this Order was begun in *England* long before, and several Worthy Gentlemen had form'd themselves into a Body, under the *Auspices* of the *Mandarin* HANG CHI; and did not intend to make Publick their Institution. But, it seems, some *over-busy* Persons having got a Knowledge of a few Particulars, which were made no *Secret* of, and that the Assembly was held at the *Castle Tavern* in *Fleetstreet*, they, being minded to rally the *Free-Masons* at the same time, published the following Advertisement.

WHEREAS the truly Ancient and Noble Order of the GORMOGONS, Instituted by CHIN-QUAW-KY-PO, the first Emperor of *China* (according to their Account) many Thousand Years before *Adam*, of which Order the great Philosopher CONFUCIUS, was *Oecumenical Volgee*, has lately been brought into *England* by a *Mandarin*, and he having admitted several Gentlemen of Honour into the Mystery of that most illustrious Order, they have determin'd to hold a Chapter at the *Castle-Tavern* in *Fleetstreet*, at the particular Request of several Persons of Quality. This is to inform the Publick, that there will be no *drawn Sword at the Door*, nor *Ladder in a Dark Room*, nor will any *Mason* be received as a Member, till he has renounced his *Novel Order*, and been *properly degraded*. *N. B.* The *Great Mogul*, the *Czar of Muscovy*, and Prince *Tochmas*, are enter'd into this Honourable Society, but it has been refus'd to the Rebel *Meriweys*, to his great Mortification. The *Mandarin* will shortly set out for *Rome*, having a particular Commission to make a Present of this Antient Order to his *Holiness;* and it is believ'd the whole *Sacred College* of *Cardinals* will commence GORMOGONS. Notice will be given in the Public Papers the Day the *Chapter* will be held.

After this, several Gentlemen, who before had not heard of this Order, came to the *Castle-Tavern* to inquire into the Fact; and among the rest the Author of the PLAIN DEALER (a Gentlemen of great Sagacity and Genius, as may be gather'd from the Excellent Papers wherewith he obliges the curious World every *Monday* and *Friday*) having in Person come to inquire concerning it, and meeting with the *Mandarin's* Secretary and Interpreter, received from him so satisfactory an Account of the Matter, and was so pleased with the Institution, that he desir'd to be admitted a Member. But *unhappily* for the *Gentleman*, and to the *great Regret* of the *Interpreter* also, he happen'd to be a *Free-Mason*, and so could not be admitted without being solemnly *Degraded*, and formally renouncing that Society. Tho' that Gentleman was much mortified hereupon, not being able to persuade himself to be the *first* to give the Example of *Degradation*, yet he departed with such a favourable Idea of the Institution, that in his very next *Plain Dealer*, he began with a fine Dissertation on the Effects of *Credulity* and *Imposture;* for which I refer to his Excellent Paper, and then addressed himself to his Brethren of the *Apron* and *Trowel*, in a very Pathetick Manner. In the mean Time, the Interpreter being no less pleased with the Conversation, Curiosity, and Frankness of this Gentleman, gave the *Mandarin* an Account of it; Whereupon the illustrious HANG CHI (as he is call'd) being pleas'd with his Interpreter's Description of the Gentleman, vouchsafed to write him a Letter, to persuade him to be *degraded*, and offering to him, in that Case, the Honours of the Order, in a Manner so concise, and so polite, as seems to be peculiar to the Chiefs of the *Eastern Nations*, and at the same time communicated to him a Letter from another *Great Mandarin* named SHIN SHAW, at *Rome;* giving an Account of the good Reception the Order meets with in that once Imperial City. The *pathetick Expostulations* of the *Plain Dealer*, to his *Guilty Brethren*, as he calls 'em; The Letter of HANG CHI, that of SHIN SHAW, and the *Plain Dealer's* Answer, are all as follows, taken from that Paper of the 14th of *September*. No LI.

I WILL not be so partial to my own *Brotherhood*, I mean the Worshipful Society of FREE *and* ACCEPTED MASONS, as to forbear rebuking them, on this Occasion, for the unaccountable Pother and Noise they have lately made in the World. What Stories have been told to amuse, delude, and engage the *Credulous?* And how many have been drawn into the *Fraternity*, that have no Business there, to the manifest Detriment of their own Affairs, and Disadvantage of the Publick? What Reflections, what Reproach, have we brought upon Ourselves, and upon our *Ancient Order*, by making so many Proselytes, in so cheap and prostituted a Manner? It afflicts me sensibly, when I see so many idle, vain, and empty Coxcombs introduced into our *Lodges*, and made privy to our *Secrets*. I have often enter'd my Protest against this Abuse, in private Society; and must use the Freedom to offer this Memorial, in the Publick Character I bear. 'Tis my Opinion, that the late Prostitution of our *Order*, is next to the betray-

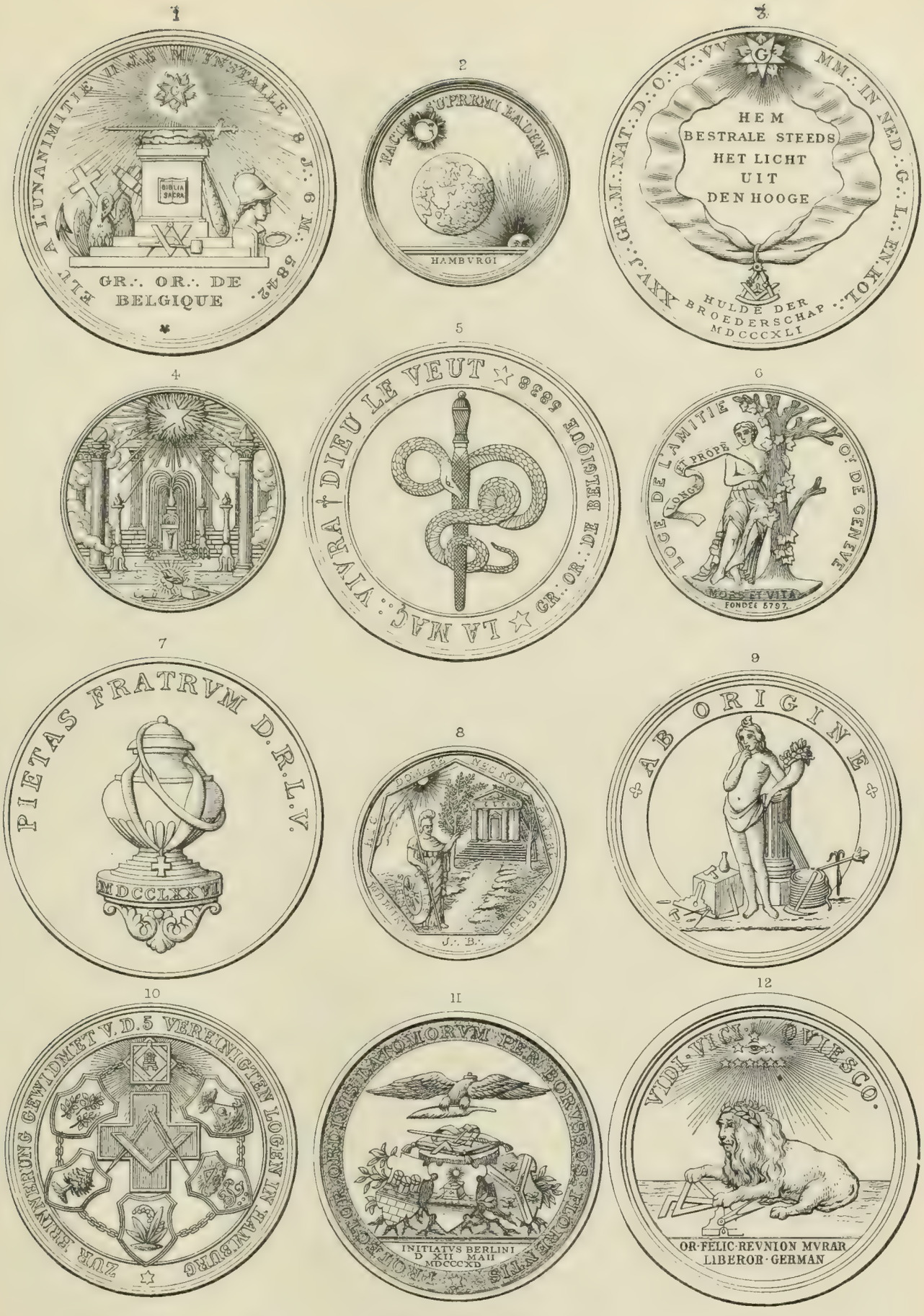


Plate II Masonic Medals.

1. Obverse Grand Orient of Belgium, De. Facqz. de Ath. G.·.M.·.1842.
2. Obverse Hamburg Medal, 1733.
3. Reverse G.·.L.· of the Netherlands, Prince William Frederick G.·.M.·.
4. Obverse Grand Lodge of Holland Medal, 1808, 50th Anniversary.
5. Obverse G.·.Grient of Belgium, 1838.
6. Obverse Lodge of Friendship, Geneva, 1839.
7. Reverse Von Hund Funeral Medal, Strict Observance, 1776.
8. Reverse Loge des Arts, reunis, O.·.de Rouen, 1808.
9. Reverse Lord Sackville Medal, the Earliest Masonic Medal.
10. Reverse Five United Lodges of Hamburg Medal 1873.
11. Reverse Frederick William of Prussia Medal, 1840
12. Reverse Medal Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, G.·.M.·.1782.

ing of it. The weak Head of *Vintners*, *Drawers*, *Wigmakers*, *Weavers*, &c. admitted into our *Fraternity*, have not only brought Contempt upon the Institution, but do very much endanger it. Complaints have been made against the Abuse, even by Strangers and indifferent Persons: And I have heard it ask'd, Why we don't admit *Women*, as well as *Taylors*, into our *Lodges?* I profess, I have met with as *sufficient* Heads among the *Fair Sex*, as I have in the *Brotherhood:* And I have some Reasons to fear, that our *Secrets* are in Danger of being expos'd. There is, in the Conduct of too many, since their Admission, the

———————*Cæcus amor sui,*
Et tollens vacuum plus nimio Gloria verticem
Arcanique Fides prodiga, perlucidior vitro;

which is expressly prohibited by our Excellent *Rules* and *Constitutions;* and which is the very Characteristick of the Fools, that were received into the *Lodges* at *Rome*, in the Days of *Augustus Cæsar;* and whereof our Brother *Horace* complained vehemently, in an Ode to *Varus*, who was then the *Grand Master*. But whatever Freedoms others may imagine they may lawfully and discreetly use, my Conscience cannot brook them.

———————NON EGO TE - - - - -
INVITUM QUATIAM: NEC - - - - -
SUB DIVUM RAPIAM - - - - -

My Female Readers, and, I'm afraid, some of the *Brotherhood* too, may stop here, and stare, as if I had blabb'd out the whole *Mystery* in these Lines. My Friend *Tony Jyngle*, happening to cast his Eye upon this Paper, when I was writing it, ask'd me, Whether the above Words, and Dashes, wou'd not be *decypher'd* into the famous *Mason Word?* But I must leave Folks, that know no better, to their *Wonder;* and proceed to assure my guilty *Brethren*, that they have promoted *Superstition and Babbling*, contrary to the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, by their late Practices and Condescentions. Alarming Reports, and Stories of raising the DEVIL, of WITCHES, LADDERS, HALTERS, DRAWN SWORDS, and DARK ROOMS, have spread Confusion and Teror. Trade and Business, and *Family Duty*, have been shamefully neglected: And, if the Government does not put the Laws against us in Execution, it will be an extraordinary Favour, or *Oversight*. For my own Part, I am so faithful a Subject, and have the Weal of the good People of *England*, and of *Our Ancient Order*, so much at Heart, that I have resolv'd never to countenance a *Lodge* again, unless the *Grand Master* puts a Stop to these Proceedings, by a speedy and peremptory Charge to all the *Brotherhood*. I do not say, I will utterly forsake, far less divulge the tremendous *Secrets* of our *Society:* But I wish I could honourably enter into *Another*, that seems to be *better* establish'd, and regulated.

And, now that I have hinted at *another Society*, or *Order*, I must entertain my Readers with Two Letters; the first is address'd to myself, and the last, written from *Rome*, to the Author of the first.

HANG CHI *to the* British PLAIN DEALER: *Health.*

Sage SIR,

BY the Help of my *Secretary* and *Interpreter* I peruse all your Lucubrations; and write this Epistle, to assure you of my Esteem.

I am inform'd, that you have taken Notice of the *Advertisement* publish'd in the News Papers; and that you call'd at the *Castle Tavern* in *Fleetstreet*, to be satisfy'd of the Truth of my Arrival in this Place. Your Enquiry, and the Conversation you had with my Secretary, gave me Occasion to gratify you farther; and I am proud to distinguish one of your Merit, in the Manner I intend.

The *Laws* and *Constitutions* of the most ancient and illustrious *Order* of *GORMOGONS* oblige us to be very *cautious* and *frugal*, in admitting *new Members*. Remarkable *Virtues* have always recommended the Candidates. No Rank, Station, or Condition of Life, intitles a Person to be of our *Fraternity*. We know no *Prejudice*, nor *Partiality*, in conferring this Honour; and all the *Interest* in the World to procure it, would be fruitless, without *Merit*.

My Residence here will be but short. It cannot therefore be expected, that I should invite many worthy Persons to enter into our *Order;* nor dare I render it cheap and contemptible, by admitting every Pretender: But I know several Persons of Quality and Fashion in this Place, who truly deserve to be received, and to whom I have promis'd the Distinction.

I shall consider it as an Honour and Ornament to our *most ancient* and illustrious *Order*, which is the Ornament of all its Members, if you, *Sage Sir*, will be pleas'd to accept the Privileges, that I am empower'd to bestow on the *Deserving*. I confess, you must be DEGRADED, as our Laws require, and renounce, and abandon, the Society of *Masons*, in the first Place: But, as your great Judgment must distinguish the Excellence of our *Order* above *that other*, I hope you will prefer being a *Fellow* with *Us*. Nothing wou'd more sensibly concern me, when I leave *London*, than not to be able to transmit your Name in the List, that I must send to the OECUMENICAL VOLGEE in *China*.

I am, Sage SIR,

Your Affectionate Friend,

HANG CHI.

SHIN SHAW *to* HANG CHI *in* LONDON: *Health.*

Most Illustrious Brother and Friend,

I Congratulate you on the speedy Progress you have made from the Court of the *Young Sophy* in *Persia*, and your safe Arrival in the Isle of *Britain*. Your Presence is earnestly expected at *Rome*. His *Holiness* is fond of our *Order*, and the *Cardinals* have an Emulation to be first distinguish'd. Our Excellent Brother GORMOGON and Brother *Mandarin*, CHAN FUE, is well, and salutes you. Since my last, I had Advices from *Pekin*, which confirm former Accounts, that our Emperor is an open Enemy to the *Missionary Jesuits:* But I pray, their Disgrace in *China*, may not provoke the *Europeans* to use *Us* ill. Take Care of your Health. Farewell.

SHIN SHAW.

I thankfully acknowledge the Honour done me, by the illustrious *Mandarin* HANG CHI; and, tho' I cannot prevail with myself to be DEGRADED, in the *Manner* required by the *Laws* and *Constitutions* of the Order of GORMOGONS, I approve, and applaud, their judicious and strict Virtue, in admitting none, but whom *Merit* recommends, into the Fellowship of the OECUMENICAL VOLGEE. Moreover, I propose the good Conduct, and Regularity of the GORMOGONS, as a Pattern to the *Free* and *Accepted Masons*, for the Future: And, if I shall be enabled to make any useful Discoveries for the Service of the *Brotherhood*, they may depend on my watchful Fidelity.

[*Thus far the Author of the* Plain-Dealer.]

I cannot guess why so excellent and laudable a Society as this of the GORMOGONS, should think it worth their while to make it an Article to exclude the *Free-Masons*, or that they should condescend to take so much Notice of them: Except there be any Truth in what I have heard reported, and to which I cannot give intire Credit, having never heard it from a *Graduated Gormogon*. The Report is this, That the *Mandarin* has declared, that many Years since, Two unhappy busy Persons, who were *Masons*, having obtruded their idle Notions among the *Vulgar Chineze*, of *Adam*, and *Solomon*, and *Hiram*, and I can't tell who besides, being Craftsmen of their Order, and offering to assert, that *Adam* was the first Man, which in *China*, is, it seems, received as a *Heterodox Notion*, and that the great *Chin-Quaw-Ky-Po*, the Institutor of the Order of *Gormogons*, was of *later* Date, many Centuries, than that Patriarch; and having, besides, deflower'd a venerable OLD Gentlewoman, under the Notion of making her an *European* HIRAMITE (as they called it) they were taken up, and obliged to recant, in Publick, their Absurdities, and afterwards, with Characters on their Breasts, denoting their Offence, and their Violence on the *Old Woman*, were hang'd Back to Back, on a Gibbet, erected for that Purpose, 60 Foot high, in the middle of a spacious Plain, some Miles from the great City *Nangking*, where their Bodies were left to be Food to the Fowls of the Air; And ever since, it has been an Article among the *Gormogons*, to exclude the Members of that Society, without they first undergo a solemn *Degradation*, *&c.* But this Story I leave as I find, for you to believe or reject as you please; having never heard it, as I have said, from the Mouth of a *Gormogon*. Tho' methinks, the Business of the OLD Gentlewoman affords, as our Weekly Politicians say, Mater of Speculation; and, at the worst, I hope the inraged Matron went too far in her Evidence, and was rather *saluted* than *violated*.

But however this be; the good Order and Regulations of the Society of *Gormogons*, have so much alarm'd the *Masons*, and convinc'd them of the Necessity of correcting the Abuses which have crept into their Fraternity, that we soon after had the Pleasure to read the following Advertisement, suppos'd to be publish'd by them, in the *Daily Journal*, on which I shall leave it to you, Sir, to make what Remarks you think fit.

ON *Michaelmas Day*, being the 29th of this Instant *September*, a *New Lodge* will be open'd, at the *St. Alban's Tavern*, in *St. Alban's Street*, for regulating the *Modern Abuses*, which have crept into the *Ancient Fraternity* of *Free-Masons;* where 'tis desired, that all the *old real Masons* will be present, to accompany their Founders, viz. *Jabel*, *Jubel*, *Tubal Cain*, and their Sister *Nahama*, also *Nineveh*, *Marcus*, *Gracchus*, *Euclid*, *Hierom*, *Charles Martin*, *Athelstone*, and their good Friend St. *Alban*, who *loved Masonry well.*

'Tis desired, that all *Fathers*, *Masters*, and *Wardens* of *Lodges*, who have discover'd no *Secrets* but to the *Brotherhood*, will be present. None under *Seven* will be admitted, and such as come, are to enter the *Lodge*, on the *bare Hand* and *Knee*, as usual.

Thus, Sir, have I given you all I know, or can collect, relating to this Affair; and if ever you hear from me again on this Subject, it will be in a few REMARKS on that empty Book called, *The Constitutions*, &c. *of the Free-Masons*, written, as I am told, by a *Presbyterian Teacher*, and pompously recommended by a certain Reverend *Orthodox*, tho' *Mathematical* Divine. In the mean time, I remain,

SIR,

Your very Humble Servant,

VERUS COMMODUS.

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE the closing this Letter, I have had the Pleasure to receive an Account, which I much desir'd, of the *Derivation* of the Word GORMOGON; and, as it is very Curious and Significant, and is not made a Secret of, I could not but inform you of it. It is, it seems, a *Compound Word* in the *Chineze* Tongue, signifying, A Person made Illustrious by *Social Love*, by the *Excellency* of his *Genius*, and by the *Antiquity* of his *Descent:* For GOR, in that most expressive Language, signifies *Brother*, or *Friend*, the most valuable Title on Earth; MO is a Word of Eminence, prefix'd to a Name or Thing, to distinguish its *Excellency;* and GON, signifies *Antiquity* or *Length of Continuance:* And it is observable, That the Province of MO-GON in *China*, which was formerly the Residence, Birth-place, and Paternal Inheritance of the Great *Chin-Quaw-Ky-Po* (as its Name [MO-GON] denotes *The most Excellent and most Ancient Kingdom*) is one of the most plentiful and flourishing Provinces of that vast Empire.

In short, Sir, I am so pleas'd with this excellent Society, that I shall only wait for your Return from the Country, not doubting but you will join your Interest with me, that we may be recommended as Members (however otherwise unworthy I may be!) of this Ancient Order.

By this Time you will Laugh with me at the Pretensions of the *poor Masons* (who, I am told, now sculk about, and meet in Corners) since, as they pretend to derive their Ancientry from *Babel*, they seem to confess, that they found their *Order* on *Confusion;* And indeed, I am much pleased, with what I heard an ingenious GORMOGON express on this Occasion, with which I shall conclude. "We are not displeas'd, said he, That these *Hewers* of *Stone*, and *Drawers* "of *Water*, these *mere Pretenders* to nothing more than *Labour* and *Mechanicks*, who boast so "much of their *Hod-man-ship*, should pretend to derive their Originals from any Place, where "they have *happen'd to read* of *Buildings* or *Monuments* of *Antiquity*, or from *Babel*, from "*Noah*, or even from *Adam:* We could even permit them to go still *higher*, and deduce their "*Rise* before the Earth itself was created, among the *Infernal Founders* of PANDEMONIUM, "for the Erecting of which they might quote the Authority of the Great *Milton;* and, as a *far-fetch'd Antiquity* is their *only Pride*, so might they, with *equal Justice*, and *equal Reputation* "to themselves, derive their Original from that *Infernal Capital*, as from *Babel.* But let them, "said he, shew us once, That *Merit*, in the First Place, or ought tending to *Edification*, to "*Morals*, to *Improvement* of those *Arts* and *Sciences*, which they lay so proud a Claim to, are "any Part of their Consideration; or, Secondly, That any *Free-Mason*, after his Commence-"ment, became either a *wiser* or a *better Man;* or, Thirdly, That *Cain*, *Nimrod*, *Semiramis*, "and the Founders of *Babel*, are not rather the Examples which they follow; and I'll give my "Vote, that they shall be admitted *Gormogons* without *Degradation*, and be no longer the "*standing Jest* of the *Vulgar*, and the *Derision* of *Men of Sense.*"

He concluded with a severe Sting, "That those Persons who saw the Masons go reeling "Home, at unseasonable Hours, after a *Meeting* or a *Lodge-Night*, would not question their "following the Example of *Noah*, in that Instance, at least, of his *getting drunk* with the Fruits "of his own *Plantation*, and discovering his *Nakedness*, to *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet.*"

FINIS.

A MASON'S EXAMINATION.

The earliest of the "so-called" exposures of Freemasonry appeared in the *Flying Post* or *Post Master*, No. 4712, from Thursday, April 11, to Saturday, April 13, 1723. From 1723 to the present era, hundreds of these "Examinations" and "Catechisms" have seen the light, and it may be stated generally, that they bear a strong "family likeness" to the original "revelation," which is subjoined.

The (so-called) "exposure" of 1723 professes, of course, to have been compiled from the papers of a "deceased brother"—a "formula" with which readers of more recent "Catechisms" will be familiar, and which implies that our Masonic ancestors of 150 years ago had, even then, forestalled our German brethren of to-day in the use of printed or written rituals; students will, however, find several points of interest presented in the "Examination" under notice, *e.g.*:

The allusions to the Second Degree (though this was then only conferred *in* Grand Lodge), to the *Mark* of a Master Mason, and to the *Pattern of an Arch*—the first mention of the word "Arch" in connection with Freemasonry, it may be here observed—occur in the Constitutions of 1723, at the close of Dr. Anderson's exordium.

[FROM THE FLYING POST, No. 4712.—A.D. 1723.]

To the Author of the Flying Post.

The Ancient Fraternity of *Free and Accepted Masons*, has thro' all Ages been justly esteemed the only One Society, which hath inviolably observed and kept those two essential and fundamental *Pillars* of all good Fellowship, *Taciturnity* and *Concord;* there being but one single instance since the Beginning of Time, that a *Free Mason* betray'd the *Grand Arcanum* of the Society; namely, *Samson*, who indeed proved a mere *Judas*, and was punished accordingly.[1]

This has been a Matter of much Speculation to the rest of Mankind, and hath occasioned various Reasonings and Disputes.

It is indeed agreed on all hands, that *Masonry*, the most *Substantial* Part of *Architecture*, is of singular Use and Ornament: that *Free Masons* are no prying inquisitive Busie-bodies, but honest industrious Persons, who desire only to excel in their own Profession; that the *Worshipful Society* are no Innovators in Religious Affairs, no perjured Plotters or Conspirators against the established Government: that they in no way interfere or clash with any other Society or Corporation, however dignify'd or distinguish'd; for all which excellent Qualifications, a reasonable Person would be willing to pay their *Persons*, their *Lodges*, their *Constitutions*, all due Respect and Honour.

But so it is, there are Men of Shallow Capacities, Blabbers of Secrets, who, because they have lost or misused their own retentive Faculties, envy and hate those who retain the Gift of *Secrecy* and *Fidelity;* these mean Wretches have of late Studied a Thousand Practices to bring this *Worshipful Society* into Contempt and Obloquy, and are egg'd on by some silly Women, who (because for good Reasons their Sex are by the Constitutions judged incapable of *Fellowship*) are, therefore, nettled and seek Revenge. These are the Persons who trump up many foolish and idle Signs, Gestures, and Practices, and vouch them for the very *Basis* and *Ground-plot* of *Free-Masonry*. The enclosed is a sample of their Malice, and which they pretend was left in Writing by a *Fellow Mason* lately deceased; but, in very Truth, is a Senseless Pasquinade, highly derogatory to the Honour of the whole *Body*, and each *Worshipful Fellow*, many of whom daily stand in Presence of Kings, and are Cloathed with Titles, Dignities, and Honours.

I shall not take upon me to vindicate the high Reputation of the *Fraternity*, their numerous *Lodges* stand in no need of *Props* and *Buttresses* for their support; neither will their *Members*, by any Arts or Contrivances, be induced like Fools and Children to divulge the Lessons and Instructions given by their Masters and Wardens; but will have a constant Eye to that memorable Saying of Wise King *Solomon* in his Time *Grand Master* of *Masonry* and *Architecture*, and which pointed to *Samson's* Fate aforementioned—*A prating Fool shall fall.—I am*, &c.

When a Free-Mason is enter'd, after having given to all present of the Fraternity a Pair of Men and Women's Gloves and Leathern Apron, he is to hear the . . . belonging to the Society read to him by the Master of the Lodge. Then a Warden leads him to the Master and Fellows; to each of whom he is to say—

I fain would a Fellow-Mason be,
As all your Worships may plainly see.

After this, he Swears to reveal no Secrets of the Worshipful Fraternity, on Pain of having his Throat cut, and having a double Porrion (Portion ?) of Hell and Damnation hereafter. Then he is blind-folded, and the ceremony of ——— is performed. After which he is to behold a Thousand different Postures and Grimaces, all of which he must exactly imitate, or undergo the Discipline till he does.

After this the word *Maughbin* is whispered by the youngest Mason to the next, and so on,

[1] *Hence comes the saying on One who blabs all he knows*, He'll bring an old House on his Head.

till it comes to the Master, who whispers it to the entered Mason, who must have his Face in due order to receive it. Then the entered Mason says what follows :

An enter'd Mason I have been,
Boaz and *Jachin* I have seen ;
A Fellow I was sworn most rare,
And know the Astler, Diamond, and Square :
I know the Master's Part full well,
As honest *Maughbin* will you tell.

Then the Master says :

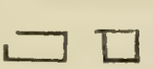
If a Master-Mason you would be,
Observe you well the *Rule of Three ;*
And what you want in Masonry,
Thy *Mark* and *Maughbin* makes thee free.

When you would enter a Lodge you must knock three times at the Door, and they'll challenge you.

Q. Are you a Free-Mason ?

A. Yes, indeed, I am.

Q. How shall I know it ?

A. By Signs and Tokens—  —from my Entrance into the Kitchen, and from thence to the Hall.

Q. What is the first Point of your Entrance ?

A. Hear and conceal, on Pain of having my Throat cut or Tongue pull'd out.

Then one of the Wardens will say—God's greeting be at this Meeting ; and with the Right Worshipful the Master, and the Worshipful Fellows, who keep the Keys of the Lodge from whence you came ; and you are also welcome, Worshipful Brother, into this Worshipful Society.

Then you salute as follows—

The Right Worshipful the Master and the Worshipful Fellows of the Lodge from whence I came greet you abundantly.

Q. What Lodge are you of ?

A. I am of the Lodge of St. Stephen's.

Q. What makes a just and Perfect Lodge ?

A. A Master, two Wardens, four Fellows, five Apprentices, with Square, Compass, and Common Gudge.

Q. Where was you made ?

A. In the Valley of *Jehosophet*, behind a Rush-bush, where a Dog was never heard to bark, or Cock crow, or elsewhere.

Q. Where was the first Lodge kept ?

A. In *Solomon's* Porch ; the two Pillars were called *Jachin* and *Boaz.*

Q. How many Orders be there in Architecture ?

A. Five : Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite, or Roman.

Q. How many Points be there in Fellowship ?

A. Six : Foot to Foot, Knee to Knee, Hand to Hand, Ear to Ear, Tongue to Tongue, Heart to Heart.

Q. How do Masons take place in Work ?

A. The Master S.E., the Wardens, N.E., and the Fellows Eastern Passage.

Q. How many precious Jewels are there in Masonry ?

A. Four : Square, Astler, Diamond, and Common Square.

Q. How many Lights be there in a Lodge ?

A. Three : The Master, Warden, and Fellows.

Q. Whence comes the Pattern of an Arch ?

A. From the Rainbow.

Q. Is there a Key to your Lodge ?

A. Yes.

Q. What is 't ?

A. A well hung Tongue.

Q. Where is it Kept ?

A. In an Ivory Box between my Teeth, or under the Lap of my Liver, where the Secrets of my Heart are not.

Q. Is there a Chain to it ?

A. Yes.

Q. How long is it ?

A. As long as from my Tongue to my Heart.

Q. Where does the Key of the working Lodge lie ?

A. It lies on the Right Hand from the Door two Foot and a-half under a Green Turf, and one Square.

Q. Where does the Master place his Mark on the Work ?

A. Upon the S.E. Corner.

To know an Entred Apprentice, you must ask him whether he has been in the Kitchen, and he'll answer, Yes.

To know an Entred Fellow, you must ask whether he has been in the Hall, and he'll say, Yes.

To know a Mason in the Dark, you must say, there is no Darkness without Absence of Light; and he'll answer, There is no Light without Absence of Darkness.

To compliment a Brother Mason, you put your Right Hand to the right side of your Hat, and bring your Hat under your Chin; then the Brother will clap his Right Hand to the right side of his Hat, and bring it to the Left Side under his Heart.

To meet a Brother, you must make the first Step with your Right Foot, the Second with your Left; and at the third you must advance with your Right Heel to your Brother's Right Instep; then lay your Right Hand to his Left Wrist, and draw the other Hand from your Right Ear to the Left under your Chin; and then he'll put his Right Hand to his Left Side under his Heart.

To Gripe, is when you take a Brother by the Right Hand, and put your middle Finger to his Wrist, and he'll do so to you.

To know a Mason privately, you place your Right Heel to his Right Instep, put your Right Arm over his Left, and your Left under his Right, and then make a Square with your middle Finger, from his Left Shoulder to the Middle of his Back, and so down to his Breeches.

When a Mason alights from his Horse, he lays the Stirrup over the Horse's Neck.

To call a Mason out from among company, you must cough three times, or knock against any thing three times.

A Mason, to show his Necessity, throws down a round Piece of Slate, and says, Can you change this Coin?

THE AMERICAN ADDENDA.

PART I.

THE HISTORY OF SYMBOLIC MASONRY IN THE UNITED STATES,

By JOSIAH H. DRUMMOND, *P.·. G.·. M.·. of Maine, and P.·. G.·. Com.·. Northern Supreme Council of the United States.*

PART II.

THE HISTORY OF ROYAL ARCH MASONRY IN THE UNITED STATES,

By JOSIAH H. DRUMMOND, *P.·. G.·. M.·. of Maine, and P.·. G.·. Com.·. Northern Supreme Council of the United States.*

PART III.

THE HISTORY OF KNIGHT TEMPLAR MASONRY IN THE UNITED STATES,

By T. S. PARVIN, *P.·. G.·. M.·. of Iowa, and Past Grand Recorder, G.·. E.·. K.·. T.·. of the United States.*

PART IV.

THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED SCOTTISH RITE MASONRY IN THE UNITED STATES,

By ENOCH T. CARSON 33°, *Deputy of Northern Supreme Council* 33° *for Ohio, and Past Grand Com.·. K.·. T.·. of Ohio.*

INTRODUCTION.

IT goes without saying that a history of Freemasonry in the United States, more extended than that which has been given by Gould in the earlier part of this work, adds much to its interest, and indeed, is almost absolutely necessary to make the work a desirable one for American Freemasons.

With this in view, the American publishers arranged with me to undertake the preparation of the History of Symbolic and Royal Arch Masonry in the United States; they also engaged Sir THEODORE S. PARVIN, of Iowa, to prepare the History of Masonic Knighthood, and Ill. ENOCH T. CARSON, 33°, of Ohio, to prepare the History of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, in this Country. Bros. Parvin and Carson will speak for themselves in relation to their part of the work.

When I came to collect the materials for the History of Symbolic Masonry in the United States, I soon found that the general and usually accepted history of particular jurisdictions was defective and in many cases absolutely erroneous. Accordingly I laid aside what others had written, and for my facts went to the published Proceedings and records of Grand Lodges. While this largely increased the labor involved, it insured a much greater degree of accuracy: moreover it led to the preparation of matter to more than double the amount contemplated and promised; but the publishers decided to include the whole in this work, trusting to an increased sale to reimburse them for the additional outlay.

The publishers deserve to be amply repaid by the craft for the sacrifice they make, as they make it because they believe the craft will reap a large benefit from it. I can say this, for be the value of my work great or small, they are moved by a desire to serve the craft and take this course in the belief that they are doing so.

In the preparation of my part of the work, I have spared no pains to obtain the facts from authentic sources, neither have I confined myself to a mere statement of events and dates. I have had it in view, in particular, to bring out the usages of the craft bear-

ing upon the jurisprudence of Freemasonry, especially in the early days of its existence in this country.

The present system of law relating to the craft, like the Common Law, has been drawn largely from usage: indeed, it followed as a matter of course, that an Institution, jealous of committing to writing anything in relation to it, would be governed by the usage in the past. Its early "Books of Constitutions" were largely a statement of the proceedings of the Grand Lodge, and in those proceedings precedents were followed with great exactness.

It will be seen that, in several respects, the usages of the *old* Grand Lodge of England differed from those of the "Ancient Grand Lodge," and the effect of that difference can be plainly traced in the respective Grand Lodges, which sprang from them: in scarcely any, however, have the usages peculiar to one prevailed exclusively. In almost all cases the usages of both the parent Grand Lodges have been modified, in consequence of there being in the same jurisdiction Lodges derived from the two different sources.

Pennsylvania more closely adheres to the usages of the "Ancient Grand Lodge" than any other jurisdiction, and in some respects, her laws, derived from usage, differ from those of any other Grand Lodge.

It is believed that it will be exceedingly interesting to the Masonic student to trace the different usages in the different jurisdictions, and in preparing this history, that matter has been kept in view.

It is very likely that all will not agree in the conclusions which I have drawn from certain facts, but I have endeavored, in all cases, to give the facts upon which my conclusions are based.

JOSIAH H. DRUMMOND.

PORTLAND, ME., 1889.

PART I.

HISTORY OF SYMBOLIC MASONRY IN THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GRAND LODGE SYSTEM AND THE LAW OF TERRITORIAL JURISDICTION.

THE introduction of Masonry into America was soon followed by consequences which mark an era in the history of the Institution, of scarcely less importance than the organization of the Grand Lodge system in 1717. The multiplication of Grand Lodges, and the assertion of the doctrine known as the "Law of Territorial Jurisdiction," were the direct result of establishing Lodges in this country, and have had much to do with the immense growth of Masonry throughout the world. The organization of Grand Lodges in every State was really an outgrowth of the idea of Territorial Jurisdiction. Originally the government of a Lodge (so far as the Lodge *did* govern) was personal: and the government of the Grand Lodge was of the same character; it governed the Lodges and members of its obedience without regard to any territorial limits.

This Jurisdictional Law, like most other old Masonic Laws, is a deduction from the fundamental principles of the Institution. It has grown, rather than been made. While it is called the *American* Law of Jurisdiction, it is properly so called only because that in this country it was first formulated, and circumstances have called for its extensive application. But the idea did not originate here. When commissions were first issued to Provincial Grand Masters to form Provincial Grand Lodges, the territory over which those officers were to exercise authority was specified in the commission; and an examination of Chapter XXXI. shows conclusively that it was intended to confine the powers of the Provincial Grand Master to the territory thus specified, and that great care was taken to avoid conflict of jurisdiction. Thus the commission of Daniel Coxe was for New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and that of Henry Price was for New England: and while for a time there was a Provincial Grand Master for North America, as early as 1755 the appointment was for "such provinces and places in North America and the territories

thereof, of which no Provincial Grand Master is at present appointed." The commission of Coxe went still further, for while he was appointed for New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, his term of office was limited to two years, and his commission further provided that at the expiration of that time, the brethren in any or all of these Provinces might elect a Grand Master for their particular Province. Thus, as early as 1730, the idea of Territorial Jurisdiction for Provincial Grand Lodges was entertained and put in practice by the Grand Lodge of England: and not only was the general idea then entertained, but that Grand Lodge then recognized the propriety of *each Province* having its own governing Masonic body, whose jurisdiction, moreover, should be exclusive in its territory.

In 1768, the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of England wrote to Henry Price:

"No deputation, which has been granted since your appointment for any part of America, can affect you, *as their authority can only extend over those Provinces where no other Provincial Grand Master is appointed.*"

When the division between the "Moderns" and the "Ancients" came, each party appointed Provincial Grand Masters without reference to appointments by the other; in fact, all the Grand Lodges in Great Britain claimed to exercise, and did exercise, concurrent jurisdiction in this country; but all had the same system, and all, so far as their own obedience was concerned, adopted the Law of Exclusive Territorial Jurisdiction. This doctrine of concurrent jurisdiction among themselves and exclusive jurisdiction as to other Grand Lodges, in the Dependencies of Great Britain, has been maintained by the British Grand Lodges to this day. It appears by a letter from the Grand Master of Scotland that, in 1762, the Boston Lodges holding under the Grand Lodge of England looked upon the establishment of St. Andrew's Lodge in Boston by the Grand Lodge of Scotland as an infringement of the jurisdiction of Jeremy Gridley, as Provincial Grand Master of North America; but the Grand Master of Scotland said,

"I do not doubt nor dispute his authority as Grand Master of all the Lodges in North America, who acknowledge the authority and hold of the Grand Lodge of England, as he certainly has a warrant and commission from the Grand Master of England to that effect. The Grand Master and Grand Lodge of Scotland have also granted a warrant and commission to our Rt. Worshipful Brother, Col. John Young, Esq., constituting and appointing him Provincial Grand Master of all the Lodges in North America who acknowledge the authority and hold of the Grand Lodge of Scotland. These Commissions when rightly understood can never clash or interfere with each other."

From the first creation of chartered Lodges in this country down to the Revolution, Masonry was governed through the Provincial Grand Lodge system, except that occasionally Lodges were chartered directly by the home Grand Lodge in provinces in which it had no Provincial Grand Lodge. When hostilities commenced, there were Provincial Grand Lodges, in real or nominal existence, in Massachusetts (for New England), New York, Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina and Georgia under the Grand Lodge of England ("Moderns"); in Massachusetts (for Boston and within one hundred miles thereof) under the Grand Lodge of Scotland; and in Pennsylvania under the "Ancient" Grand Lodge of England: in 1781, the Athol Grand Lodge established a Provincial Grand Lodge in New York.

During the Revolution, communication with the Mother Grand Lodges was largely interrupted, and in most cases wholly ceased. The situation was further seriously com-

plicated by the death or absence of many of the Provincial Grand Masters and the Division of the Craft on account of the war.

John Rowe, Provincial Grand Master of the St. John's Provincial Grand Lodge at Boston, was held to have proclivities in favor of the royalists, and though taking little, if any, part in the contest, was looked upon with suspicion by the patriots; the occupation of Boston by the British army, with other causes, prevented the holding of the communications of his Provincial Grand Lodge; after the evacuation of Boston the communications were not resumed, and the body did not meet during Rowe's life, the first meeting of which there is any record being held in 1787 to attend his funeral. Gen. Joseph Warren, Provincial Grand Master of the Scottish Provincial Grand Lodge in Boston, was killed at the Battle of Bunker Hill. Sir John Johnson, Provincial Grand Master of New York, having adhered to the royal cause, was forced to seek the protection of the British Army. The records of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania previous to 1779 were lost, undoubtedly in consequence of the troubles incident to the war, and that its meetings were interrupted, we may well presume. Sir Egerton Leigh, Provincial Grand Master of South Carolina, foreseeing the approaching storm, left for England in June, 1774. The Provincial Grand Masters of Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia exercised their functions, only spasmodically, if at all.

The Lodges were also affected; in many the members were divided, and some left, to return only after the war, and some, not to return at all. The result was, that many Lodges ceased to work; others worked only occasionally, as circumstances allowed; and in others, the work was scarcely interrupted. However, the condition of the Provincial Grand Lodge did not seem to affect its Lodges, but they seem to have gone on without concerning themselves about Provincial Grand Lodges or Provincial Grand Masters. They seem to have practically held that, having been created, they could go on in the discharge of their duties without the sustaining aid of any higher power whatever.

At first, all expected a restoration of relations with Great Britain; but when the Declaration of Independence was adopted, a new question was precipitated upon the Masons who adhered to the side of the colonies. While it might well be held that the existing lodges could continue to exercise their functions, the creation of new Lodges raised a very different question. The Provincial Grand Lodge in Boston, holding under the Grand Lodge of Scotland, was the first one called upon to meet this question. After the death of Warren, this body did not meet till December 27, 1776, when Joseph Webb, the Deputy, appointed and installed by Warren, presided. It met again February 14, 1777, when a petition for the charter of a new Lodge was presented and evidently discussed.

The idea of Territorial Jurisdiction in connection with Masonic Government had now become so firmly implanted in the minds of the Craft, that they evidently assumed that it was one of the laws of the institution. Independence in *civil* government naturally suggested independence in *Masonic* government. The circumstances in which the Craft were situated after the Fourth of July, 1776, brought home to every member, with great force, the importance of the question of their Masonic allegiance. They had been taught that obedience to lawful civil authority was one of the first duties of a Mason. They held, as citizens, that the Continental Congress was the lawful supreme civil authority: could they (they then asked) properly remain under the authority of a Grand Lodge, all the members of which held that their obedience as men was due to the British Crown,

of which they had just declared themselves independent? Especially when they were in arms to maintain that declaration? It was inevitable that they should conclude that *Masonic* government should be in accord with *civil* government.

The petition for the new Lodge was evidently fully discussed, and the question of its disposition was referred to a future meeting.

It was then

"Voted, that the Deputy Grand Master send a summons to all the Masters and Wardens under this Jurisdiction to assemble here on the seventh of March, 1777, in order to consult upon and to elect a Grand Master for this State in the room of our late worthy Grand Master deceased."

The meeting was held and adjourned to the next evening, March 8, 1777, when "on a motion made, voted, this Grand Lodge proceed to the choice of a Grand Master to act in that capacity till Friday, June next." Joseph Webb was chosen Grand Master and the other Grand Officers were elected. The charter was then granted. The heading of the charter sets out the new authority:

"To all the Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons.

"*To whom these presents shall come:*

"The most worshipful Joseph Webb, Esq., Grand Master of Antient Free and Accepted Masons, duly authorized and appointed and in ample form installed, together with his Grand Wardens, sends greeting."

Thus was formed the first sovereign Grand Lodge in this country. Its first act, after its organization, was the granting of the Charter of Berkshire Lodge. The record is very meagre, but at the same time suggestive of full discussion and careful consideration. Neither the reasons for the movement, nor the grounds upon which the proceedings were based, are stated in the record.

In a communication, in 1785, to the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, a committee of the Grand Lodge, composed in part of those who had been leading spirits in 1777, state the reasons for forming the Grand Lodge and the principles upon which the action was based as follows:

"In the year 1777 application for charters of erection and constitution having been made by a number of Masons to the Ancient Grand Lodge, of which the late Jos. Warren, Esq., had been G. M., as many of the officers of that Grand Lodge as could be assembled, met in form of a Grand Lodge, the Deputy Grand M. then in the chair. And after carefully attending to the constitutions and usages of Masons in all ages and the principles upon which that Grand Lodge existed, they were unanimously of opinion that they could not legally grant charters, because the late G. M., J. W., held his authority by virtue of a commission given to him only, as Provincial Grand Master, and to be revoked at the pleasure of the Grand Lodge of Scotland. Now the principal being dead the commission was of consequence vacated. They then assumed the powers of a Grand Lodge.

"From the foregoing, the principles then adopted by this Grand Lodge, upon which they have practiced and from which they have never seen occasion to recede, may readily be collected."

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

"As to applications for Grand Warrants, it was originally the opinion of this Grand Lodge that the only proper authority for constituting Grand Lodges in these sovereign States, was that which should be derived from the people—and that wherever a number of Lodges existed in a free, sovereign and independent State, those Lodges had a right of convening to erect a Grand Lodge, and it appears from the book of constitutions, that when by reason of revolutions in the State, or the neglect of the Grand Master or Grand

Lodge, communications had been for some time discontinued, the officers of the respective Lodges assembled, formed a Grand Lodge, and chose a Grand Master accordingly. Should the Grand Lodge of any one State delegate a power to Masons in another State to hold a Grand Lodge, it is clear that the Grand Lodge so constituted must be subjected to that from which the power was derived, a distinction which it was thought ought not to subsist between the Grand Lodges of these United States.

"The W. G. L. perceiving this, when associations were forming in another State, did not grant them a charter in the usual style, but a dispensation to hold a Lodge and make Masons till there should be a Grand Lodge in that State, an event which it was thought would probably take place in each of the states in the union."

The rule stated in the last sentence was rigidly adhered to, and when a charter for a "travelling" (military) Lodge was prayed for, the Grand Lodge in 1779

"Voted, a charter be granted them for holding regular Lodges, make Masons, pass and raise, in this State or any of the United States of America, where no other Grand Master presides: but in any other State, where there is a Grand Master, constituted by these United States, they are to inform him and receive his sanction."

For about five years the Grand Lodge pursued the even tenor of its way, granting charters and exercising all the functions of a sovereign Grand Lodge. In 1780 and 1781, some correspondence was had with the Provincial Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania in relation to the election of a Grand Master General, and the first question raised by the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts related to the powers to be entrusted to the Grand Master General, and the Grand Master in his reply said, "I am confident that the Grand Lodge in this State will never give up the right of electing their own Grand Master, and other officers annually." It was finally "voted, that any determination upon the subject cannot with the propriety and justice due to the craft at large, be made by this Grand Lodge until a general peace shall happily take place thro' this continent."

While the Grand Lodge was thus zealously guarding against any invasion of its sovereignty, there evidently was some question among the members of its obedience, especially the members of St. Andrew's Lodge, as to the legality of the Grand Lodge. St. Andrew's Lodge had assisted in forming the Grand Lodge, had been represented therein, and, when its Charter had been withheld from its possession, had petitioned for and received one from the Grand Lodge. But so it was, that at a special communication held June 10, 1782, a committee was appointed "to draught resolutions explanatory of the powers and authority of this Grand Lodge respecting the extent and meaning of its jurisdiction and of the exercise of any other Masonic authorities within its jurisdiction."

The Committee was an able one, being composed of Bros. Perez Morton, Paul Revere, John Warren, James Avery and John Juteau. At the December communication, the Committee presented their report, as follows:

"The Committee appointed to take into consideration the conduct of those brethren who assumed the powers and prerogatives of a Grand Lodge on the ancient establishment in this place, and examine the extent of their authority and jurisdiction, together with the powers of any other ancient Masonic institution within the same, beg leave to report the result of their examination founded on the following facts, *viz.*:—

"That in consequence of a petition from a number of brethren of this town to the Grand Lodge of Scotland, a Charter was granted them under the name of St. Andrew's Lodge, by the most Worshipful and Right Honorable Sholto, Charles Douglas, Lord Aberdour, and that by means of a subsequent petition of the said St. Andrew's Lodge, a Commission was made out and presented from the most Worshipful and Right Honorable George, Earl of Dalhousie, Grand Master of Scotland, to the late Most Worshipful Joseph

Warren, Esq., constituting and appointing him Provincial Grand Master of the Ancient and Honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, with power of granting charters of erection within one hundred miles of this metropolis, but that during the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge in form and manner thus appointed, three Lodges only were constituted by the authority thereof.

That the Commission from the Grand Lodge of Scotland granted to our late Grand Master, Joseph Warren, Esq., having died with him, and of course his deputy whose appointment was derived from his nomination being no longer in existence, they saw themselves without a head, and without a single Grand officer, and of course it was evident that not only the Grand Lodge, but all the particular Lodges under its jurisdiction must cease to assemble, the brethren be dispersed, the pennyless go unassisted, the craft languish, and ancient Masonry be extinct in this part of the world.

"That in consequence of a summons from the former Grand Wardens to the Masters and Wardens of all the regular constituted Lodges, a grand communication was held, to consult and advise on some means to preserve the intercourse of the brethren.

"That the political head of this country having destroyed all connection and correspondence between the subjects of these States and the country from which the Grand Lodge originally derived its commissioned authority, and the principles of the craft inculcating on its professors submission to the commands of the civil authority of the country they reside in, the brethren did assume an elective supremacy, and under it chose a Grand Master and Grand Officers, and erected a Grand Lodge with independent powers and prerogatives, to be exercised, however, on principles consistent with and subordinate to the regulations pointed out in the constitution of Ancient Masonry. That the reputation and utility of the craft under their jurisdiction has been most extensively diffused by the flourishing state of fourteen Lodges, constituted by their authority, within a shorter period than that in which three only received dispensations under the former Grand Lodge.

"That in the history of our craft we find that in England there are two Grand Lodges independent of each other, in Scotland the same, and in Ireland their Grand Lodge and Grand Master are independent of either England or Scotland. It is clear that the authority of some of these Grand Lodges originated in assumption, or otherwise they would acknowledge the head from whence they derived.

"Your Committee are therefore of opinion that the resolutions of the said present Grand Lodge were dictated by principles of the clearest necessity, founded in the highest reason, and warranted by precedent of the most approved authority.[1]

"Your Committee beg leave to recommend the following resolutions to be adopted by this Grand Lodge, and to be ingrafted into its Constitutions:

"1st. Resolved, that the brethren of the Grand Lodge, in assuming the powers and prerogatives of an independent Grand Lodge, acted on the most laudable motives and consistently with the principles which ought forever to govern Masons, the benefit of the craft and the good of mankind; and are warranted in their proceedings, by the practice of ancient Masons in all ages of the world.

"2nd. Resolved, that this Grand Lodge be forever hereafter known and called by the name of the Massachusetts Grand Lodge of Ancient Masons, and, that it is free and independent in its government and official authority of any other Grand Lodge, or Grand Master in the universe.

"3d. Resolved, that the sovereign power and authority of the said Grand Lodge be construed to extend throughout the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and to any of the United States, where none shall be erected over such Lodges only as this Grand Lodge shall there constitute.

"4th. Resolved, that the Grand Master for the time being be desired to call in all the charters which were held under the jurisdiction of the late Grand Master, Joseph Warren, Esq., and return the same with an endorsement thereon, expressive of their voluntary recognition of the power and authority of this Grand Lodge.

"5th. Resolved, that no person or persons ought or can (consistently with the rules of Ancient Masonry and the good order of the Craft) use or exercise the powers or prerogatives of an Ancient Grand Master, or Grand Lodge, to wit, to give power to erect Lodges of Ancient Masonry, make Masons, appoint superior or Grand officers, receive

[1] See Calcut p. 107. Mason's Pocket Companion 92, London Edition.

dues, or do anything which belongs to the powers or prerogatives of an Ancient Grand Lodge, within any part of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the rightful and appropriated limits to which the authority of this Grand Lodge forever hereafter extends."

The report "was read paragraph by paragraph, and after mature deliberation thereon the same was accepted and ordered to be recorded in the proceedings of the Grand Lodge." It was further ordered that the report be printed and a copy sent to each lodge "in order that it may be kept in, and considered a part of, the Book of Constitutions."

Bro. Juteau, one of the Committee and Master of "Perfect Union" Lodge, filed his dissent to the report and the resolutions, but both he and his Lodge adhered to the Grand Lodge. On the contrary St. Andrew's Lodge voted 30 to 19 against "acknowledging Massachusetts Grand Lodge independent of all Grand Lodges in the universe."

The matter was discussed between committees of the two bodies till January 29, 1783, when the Lodge notified the Grand Lodge that it considered the steps of the Grand Lodge inconsistent with Masonic principles, but by a vote of 22 to 14 decided to send up the Master and Wardens "until peace is declared with Great Britain." On the ninth day of March following, it protested against the Grand Lodge on the ground that Warren's commission died with him, and political changes have nothing to do with Freemasonry. Early in 1784, the Lodge decided by a vote of 29 to 23 to continue its adherence to the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

The twenty-three, headed by Col. Revere, received a Charter from the Grand Lodge for a Lodge by the name of "Rising States;" litigation followed, which seems to have been settled by a reference.

These circumstances occasioned further examination of the correctness of the proceedings of the Grand Lodge and of the principles upon which those proceedings were based. Several Lodges petitioned the Grand Lodge for permission to call a convention of the Lodges to consider the matter. The permission was given and a convention was held May 26, 1785. St. Andrew's and Tyrian Lodges declined to be represented; but delegates from twelve Lodges met and spent the day in debating the matter, and thereupon appointed a Committee to consider the various matters under consideration. At an adjourned session, the Committee reported as follows:

"I. The Committee appointed by the convention report,—having examined the charter originally granted to the Grand Lodge in this Commonwealth by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, they find the grant to have been made to the Grand Master by said Charter appointed and to him only, without any provision for a successor.

"II. That St. Andrew's, the Tyrian, the Massachusetts, and St. Peter's Lodges were the only Lodges which, at the commencement of the war, had existence under said Charter in this Commonwealth.

"III. That soon after the commencement of the war, and the death of the Grand Master, by the Charter aforesaid appointed, the craft was in danger of decay, from the circumstance of there being no Grand Lodge established, and all communication being cut off by the war with the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

"IV. At a meeting of the delegates from St. Andrew's, the Tyrian and St. Peter's Lodges (Massachusetts then from the circumstances of the war not having congregated), a Grand Lodge was established, and Grand Master Webb elected by the free suffrages of the Members assembled, and was commissioned accordingly, without any reference to, or consideration of the Charter from Scotland, other than as that gave existence to the said St. Andrew's, Tyrian, and St. Peter's Lodges.

"V. That this Grand Lodge was thus formed from the necessity of the case, for the purpose of enabling the brethren to carry out the design of Masonry, and for the purpose of constituting new Lodges.

"VI. That all the Lodges of Ancient Masons in the Commonwealth, as well as all represented in this convention, except the said St. Andrew's, Tyrian, Massachusetts and St. Peter's, were constituted by the authority of the said Grand Lodge, called the Massachusetts Grand Lodge, and that they are Lodges from, or by, no other authority whatever.

"VII. That this establishment was about two years since communicated to the Grand Lodge of Scotland, with a request of their sentiments on the subject, but no answer, that your Committee find, has ever been received.

"VIII. This your Committee report as a state of facts, and take leave to remark thereon, that if the said Grand Lodge is not a legal constitutional Grand Lodge, there are in this Commonwealth but four legal constituted Lodges of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, *viz.*, the said St. Andrew's, Tyrian, Massachusetts and St. Peter's, and all the others are spurious, as being derived from a spurious original.

"IX. But they are of opinion that the said Massachusetts Grand Lodge is a constitutional Lodge, as it appears from proceedings in the Book of Constitutions, that it has been the usage of Masons in free, sovereign and independent nations and states, when they thought it for the good of Masonry to establish Grand Lodges, with the authority of such.

"X. And it appears to your Committee perfectly consistent with the principle of Masonry, which is universal benevolence, with the usage of Masons in former ages, and with reason, that Masons in every free and independent state should have such power.

"XI. More especially that the said mentioned Lodges should of right have exercised that power when they did, as the benefits of Masonry in a time of war are most needed, and are of more immediate service to Masons, and there was no other mode in which the benefits could be extended.

"XII. Your committee are further of opinion, that an union and correspondence of all Ancient Lodges through the United States is an event much to be wished for by all good Masons, and that they think an opportunity is now offered for such union and correspondence by the letter from the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania.

"XIII. On the whole then, as there have been with some Ancient Lodges a doubt respecting the constitutionality of the Massachusetts Grand Lodge, and as (though we think it a constitutional Grand Lodge) there appears to us some defects in the regulations of the said Grand Lodge, to mention particularly but one, *viz.*: the circumstances of the Grand Master's nominating his successor, which we conceive is not perfectly consistent with freedom of election: your Committee therefore take leave to recommend that the several Ancient Lodges in this Commonwealth, and such as are represented in this convention, if they think proper, shall appear by themselves or proxies, at the Massachusetts Grand Lodge on the next grand feast, then and there perfectly to recognize the constitutionality of said Grand Lodge, choose new Grand officers, and make such alterations in the present regulations as to them shall appear expedient and proper to be made: and that the said Grand Lodge be then empowered to correspond with the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, and other Grand Lodges in the United States, and to form with them such union as may be thought for the good of Masonry in general."

The resolutions were acted upon separately and each carried, either unanimously or with but one dissenting vote, and the report as a whole was adopted with but one dissenting vote.

The proceedings do not appear to have been officially reported to the Grand Lodge, but they were published and disseminated at home and in other States. St. Andrew's Lodge, however, continued to maintain its former position, while the Lodge, composed of the members seceding from it, was very active in supporting the independent Grand Lodge.

During this time, another plan of Masonic government in this country had been proposed and discussed. While the Grand Lodge (St. John's) at Boston had suspended its meetings, Grand Master Rowe had not ceased entirely to exercise the functions of his office. On February 15th, 1776, he granted a Charter to a military Lodge in "the Connecticut line" by the name of "American Union Lodge" "now erected in Roxbury, or wherever your body shall remove on the continent of America, provided it is where no

Grand Master is appointed." This last clause was not a mere formality. The Lodge worked in Connecticut and New Jersey, where there was no Provincial Grand Master, without any other authority; but when it came to meet in New York, the record commences as follows:

"The American Union Lodge held by authority under the most worshipful John Rowe, Esq., Grand Master of all Masons in North America, where no special Grand Master is appointed, confirmed by the most worshipful Peter Middleton, M. D., Provincial Deputy Grand Master for the Province of New York, by the name of Military Union Lodge."

Middleton was the Deputy of Sir John Johnson. Thus it is seen that Grand Master Rowe, as well as the Scottish Provincial Grand Masters, recognized the Law of Territorial Jurisdiction; this Lodge chartered by him strictly adhered to it.

The "Minute Book" of this Lodge from February 5, 1779, to April 23, 1783, has been preserved, and published "nearly entire."[1] It celebrated the Festival of St. John the Evangelist, December 27, 1779. A large number of members and visiting brethren (among them General Washington) were present. A form of petition to the several Provincial Grand Masters, to be signed in behalf of the Army Lodges and the Masons in each line, for the appointment of a Grand Master for the United States of America, was submitted, approved and ordered to be circulated. The grounds of the movement are thus stated:

"With sincere regret we contemplate the misfortunes of war which have unhappily separated us from the Grand Lodge in Europe, and deprived us from the benefits arising therefrom, so essentially necessary for the well-being of Masonry, and which has in many instances been subversive of the very institution of the order. At the same time we lament that political disputes and national quarrels should influence the exercise of charity and benevolence, and their several virtues, so necessary for our present and future happiness. Yet, considering the present situation of our Lodges, and Masonry in general, the necessity for the honor of the craft, and the importance of enjoying the benefits of so valuable an Institution, that some exertions are made for checking the present irregularities, restoring peace and harmony to the Lodges, for opening a way to the enjoyment of the fruits of Benevolence, Charity and Brotherly Love, and for the reestablishment of the order on the ancient respectable foundation; which we conceive can never be done more effectually than by the appointment of a Grand Master in and over the United States of America.

"We therefore most earnestly request that the present Provincial Grand Masters, in the respective United States, would take some measures for the appointment of a Grand Master in and over the said thirteen United States of America, either by nominating a person proper for that office, whose abilities and rank in life shall answer the importance of that conspicuous and elevated station, and transmitting such nomination to our Mother Lodge in Britain, that the appointment may be made, or in such other manner as shall to them appear most eligible. And we further beg leave to express our wishes, that the several Provincial Grand Masters in these States would, in the intermediate time, enter into unanimous and vigorous measures for checking the growing irregularities in the society, cementing the different branches, erasing the distinction between Ancient and Modern in these States, that the Craft may be established in unanimity, the established principles of its institutions more universally extended, and that our conduct may not only be the admiration of men in this world, but receive the final applause of the Grand Architect of the universe in the other, where there is nothing but Light and Love."

It was also voted, that a committee be appointed consisting of one from each organization, to meet on the first Monday of February, 1780, to take the petition into consideration.

[1] Records of Freemasonry in Connecticut Vol. I., p. 14.

The Lodge, at its next meeting, unanimously approved the petition, and appointed its master as a "representative of this Lodge and the Connecticut Line." The Committee met accordingly, and, at "a convention Lodge from the different lines of the army and the departments, held in due form under the authority of the American Union Lodge at Morristown, the sixth day of March, in the year of salvation, 1780," presented the following report:

"At a Committee of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, met this 7th day of the second month in the year of salvation, 1780, according to the recommendation of a convention Lodge, held at the celebration of St. John the Evangelist:

"Present Bro. John Pierce, M. M., delegated to represent the Masons, in the military line of the State of Massachusetts Bay and Washington Lodge No. 10; Bro. Jonathan Hart, M. M., delegated to represent the Masons in the military line of the State of Connecticut and American Union Lodge; Bro. Charles Graham, F. C., delegated to represent the Masons in the military line of the State of New York; Bro. John Sanford, M. M., delegated to represent the Masons in the Military line of the State of New Jersey; Bro. George Tudor, M. M., delegated to represent the Masons in the military line of the State of Pennsylvania; Bro. Otho Holland Williams, M. M., delegated to represent the Masons in the military line of the State of Delaware; Bro. Mordica Gist, P. W. M., delegated to represent the Masons in the military line of the State of Maryland; Bro. Prentice Brown, M. M., delegated to represent St. John's Regimental Lodge; Bro. John Lawrence, P. W. M., delegated to represent the Brothers in the Staff of the American Army; Bro. Thomas Machin, M. M., delegated to represent the Masons in the Corps of Artillery.

"The Brothers present proceeded to elect a President and Secretary, whereupon Bro. Mordica Gist was unanimously chosen President, and Bro. Otho Holland Williams unanimously chosen Secretary of this Committee.

"The Committee proceeded to take into consideration an address to be preferred to the Right Worshipful Grand Masters in the respective United States, whereupon Bro. Williams presented the following address:

"*To the Right Worshipful the Grand Masters of the several Lodges in the respective United States of America.*

"UNION. FORCE. LOVE.

"The subscribers, Ancient Free and Accepted Masons in convention, to you, as the patrons and protectors of the craft upon the continent, prefer their humble address.

"Unhappily the distinctions of interest, the political views and national disputes subsisting between Great Britain and these United States have involved us, not only in the general calamities that disturb the tranquillity which used to prevail in this once happy country, but in a peculiar manner affects our society, by separating us from the Grand mother Lodge in Europe, by disturbing our connection with each other, impeding the progress and preventing the perfection of Masonry in America.

"We deplore the miseries of our countrymen, and particularly lament the distresses which many of our poor brethren must suffer, as well from the want of temporal relief as for a want of a source of light to govern their pursuits and illuminate the path of happiness. And we ardently desire to restore, if possible, that fountain of charity, from which to the unspeakable benefit of mankind owes benevolence and love. Considering with anxiety these disputes, and the many irregularities and improprieties committed by weak or wicked brethren, which too manifestly show the present dissipated and almost abandoned condition of our Lodges in general, as well as the relaxation of virtue amongst individuals.

"We think it our duty, Right Worshipful Brothers and Seniors in the craft, to solicit your immediate interposition to save us from the impending danger of schisms and apostacy. To obtain security from those fatal evils, with affectionate humility we beg leave to recommend the adopting and pursuing the most necessary measures for establishing one Grand Lodge in America, to preside over and govern all other Lodges of whatsoever degree or denomination, licensed or to be licensed, upon this continent; that the ancient principles and discipline of Masonry being restored, we may mutually and universally enjoy the advantages arising from frequent communion and social intercourse. To accomplish this beneficial and essential work, permit us to propose that you, the Right Worshipful Grand Masters, or a majority of your number, may nominate as most Worshipful Grand Master of said Lodge a brother whose merit and capacity may be adequate to a station so important and elevated, and transmitting the name and nomination of such brother, together with the name of the Lodge to be established, to our Grand Mother Lodge in Europe for approbation and confirmation, and that you may adopt and execute any other ways or means most eligible for preventing impositions, correcting abuses, and for establishing the general principles of Masonry; that the

influence of the same in propagating morality and virtue may be far extended, and that the lives and conversation of all true Free and Accepted Masons may not only be the admiration of men on earth, but may receive the final approbation of the Grand Architect of the universe, in the world wherein the elect enjoy eternal light and love.

"Signed in convention in Morristown, Morris County, this seventh day of the second month in the year of our Saviour 1780, Anno Mundi 5780. Which being read, was unanimously agreed to sign, and ordered to be forwarded with an extra copy of their proceedings signed by the President and Secretary, to the respective Provincial Grand Masters. And the Committee adjourned without day."

The report was discussed and unanimously approved. At the meeting in December, when the form of petition was approved, there were present *thirty-nine* members of the Lodge and *sixty-six* visiting brethren, nearly all from the army, and representing nearly all the States: the Committee represented at least seven of the States: and when the Lodge approved the report, *forty-seven* members were present. This movement was thus made by brethren, influential in number and position.

Immediately after the matter was first submitted to American Union Lodge, it was taken up by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, and was acted upon even before the Committee met. Indeed, from the records it might well be inferred that the movements by the Lodge and the Grand Lodge were entirely independent of each other; but Morristown, where the Lodge met, is sufficiently near Philadelphia to justify the inference that this action was soon known to the Grand Lodge; and as the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge in his letter to the Grand Master of Massachusetts says, "it has been a measure long wished for among the brethren, especially in the army, and from them the request came originally to us," it is quite certain that the movement by the Grand Lodge was in consequence of the action of the Lodge. But, be that as it may, at a Grand Lodge of Emergency held in Philadelphia January 13, 1780, five Lodges being represented, the matter was considered, and it was unanimously determined that "a Grand Master of Masons throughout the United States shall now be nominated on the part of this Grand Lodge." Upon proceeding to a ballot, George Washington was unanimously elected. It was thereupon ordered, that the minutes of the election be transmitted to the different Grand Lodges in the United States and their concurrence therein requested. A committee, with the Grand Secretary as chairman, was appointed to expedite the business by ascertaining the number of Grand Lodges in America, and the names of their officers, and by preparing circular letters "to be sent them as directed above, with all expedition." Still no progress was apparently made until July, when information was received that there was a Grand Lodge in Virginia and it was reported that there was one in Boston: it was ordered that further inquiry should be made in relation to the Grand Lodge in Boston, and the Grand Secretary was requested to write to the Grand Master of Virginia and enclose him one of the circular letters (which had been printed); and to request the concurrence of the Grand Lodge, if ancient Masons, "in the appointment of General Washington as Grand Master General of Masons in America." The Committee of the Army Lodges expected by the movement to obliterate all distinction between "Ancient" and "Modern" Masons, but the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania naturally limited the organization to "Ancient Masons," although as can now be seen that limitation would, of itself, have been fatal to the plan. The idea, too, of the Army Lodges seems to have been to have a National Grand Master and Grand Lodge, with Deputy Grand Lodges, similar to the previously existing Provincial Grand Lodges in the several States. The Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania did not seem to have at first a very definite idea of the nature of the organization which it was proposing. On October 16, 1780, the Grand

Secretary submitted a copy of a letter, bearing date August 19, 1780, which he had sent to Grand Master Webb of Massachusetts, and the reply thereto. As already stated, Grand Master Webb desired more definite knowledge of the proposed organization. He said:

"I am well assured that no one can have any objections to so illustrious a person as General Washington to preside as Grand Master of the United States, but at the same time it will be necessary to know from you his prerogative as such; whether he is to appoint sub-Grand or Provincial Grand Masters of each State: if so, I am confident that the Grand Lodge of this State will never give up their right of electing their own Grand Masters and other officers annually. This induces me to write to you now, before the result of the Grand Lodge takes place, and must beg an answer by the first opportunity, that I may be enabled to lay the same before them. I have not heard of any State except yours and this that have proceeded as yet, since the independence, to elect their officers, but have been hoping that they would.

"I do not remember of more Grand Masters being appointed when we were under the British government than South Carolina, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts, but now it may be necessary.

"I have granted a charter of dispensation to New Hampshire till they shall appoint a Grand Master of their own, which I suppose will not be very soon as there is but one Lodge in their State."

This led to a more careful consideration of the matter by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania: a Committee was appointed, of which the learned and accomplished Grand Secretary, William Smith, D. D., was Chairman, to draft a reply to Grand Master Webb. The Committee reported to the Grand Lodge the following draft of a reply, which was unanimously approved:

"Respected Sir and R. W. Bro.:

"Your kind and interesting letters of the 14th and 19th, by some delay in the post-office, came both to my hands together, and that not before the 10th inst. They were both read and maturely considered at a very full Grand Lodge last evening, and I have it in charge to thank you and all the worthy members of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts for the brotherly notice they were pleased to take of the proposition communicated to you from the Grand Lodge of this State.

"We are happy to find that you agree with us in the necessity of having one complete Masonic jurisdiction under some one grand head throughout the United States. It has been a measure long wished for among the brethren, especially in the army, and from them the request came originally to us, that we might improve the opportunity which our central situation gave us of setting this measure on foot.

"From these considerations, joined to an earnest desire of advancing and doing honor to Masonry, and not from any affectation of superiority or of dictating to any of our brethren, we put in nomination for Grand Master over all these States (and elected, so far as depended upon us) one of the most illustrious of our brethren, whose character does honor to the whole fraternity, and who, we are therefore persuaded, would be wholly unexceptionable. When our proposition and nomination should be communicated to other Grand Lodges and ratified by their concurrence, then, and not before, it was proposed to define the powers of such a Grand Master General, and to fix articles of Masonic union among all the Grand Lodges by means of a convention of committees from the different Grand Lodges, to be held at such time and place as might be agreed upon. Such convention may also have power to notify the Grand Master General of his election, present him his diploma, badges of office, and install with due form and solemnity.

"To you who are so well learned in the Masonic art, and acquainted with its history, it need not be observed that one Grand Master General over many Grand Lodges, having each their own Grand Masters, is no novel institution, even if the peculiar circumstances of the Grand Lodges in America, now separated from the jurisdiction from whence they first originated, did not render it necessary. We have also a very recent magnificent example of the same thing in Europe, which may serve in respect to the ceremonies of installation, as a model for us.

"I will copy the paragraph as dated at Stockholm, in Sweden, the 21st day of March last, as you may not perhaps have seen it.

"'The 19th of this month (March, 1780) will always be a memorable day to the Freemasons established in this kingdom, for on that day the Duke of Sudermania was installed Grand Master of all the Lodges throughout this kingdom, as well as those of St. Petersburg, Copenhagen, Brunswick, Hamburg, etc. The Lodge at St. Petersburg had sent a Deputy for this purpose, and others had intrusted the diploma of the installment to Baron Leyonhrefrud, who had been last year to Copenhagen and in Germany on this negotiation. This installment was attended with great pomp. The assembly was composed of more than four hundred members, and was honored with the presence of the king, who was pleased to grant a Charter to the Lodge, taking it under his royal protection, at the same time investing the New Grand Master with an ermined cloak; after which he was placed upon a throne, clothed with the marks of his new dignity, and there received the compliments of all the members, who according to their rank were admitted to kiss the hand, sceptre, or medal, struck to perpetuate the memory of this solemnity, which passed in Exchange Hall. It is said the king will grant revenues for the commanderies, and that this royal Lodge will receive each an annual tribute. This solemnity hath raised the order of Freemasons from a kind of oblivion into which they were sunk.'

"What the particular authorities of the Grand Master of these United States were to be, we had not taken upon us to describe, but (as before hinted) had left them to be settled by a convention of Grand Lodges or their Deputies. But this is certain, that we never intended the different Provincial or State Grand Lodges should be deprived of the election of their own grand officers, or of any of their just Masonic rights and authorities over the different Lodges within the bounds of their jurisdiction.

"But where new Lodges are to be erected beyond the bounds of any legal Grand Lodge now existing, such Lodges are to have their warrants from the Grand Master General, and when such Lodges become a number sufficient to be formed into one Grand Lodge the bounds of such Grand Lodge are to be described, and the warrant to be granted by the Grand Master aforesaid, who may also call and preside in a convention of Grand Lodges when any matter of great and general importance to the whole united fraternity of these States may require it. What other powers may be given to the Grand Master General, and how such powers are to be drawn up and expressed, will be the business of the convention proposed.

"For want of some general Masonic authority over all these States the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, *ex necessitate*, have granted warrants beyond its bounds, in the Delaware and Maryland States, and you have found it expedient to do the same in New Hampshire, but we know that necessity alone can be a plea for this.

"By what has been said above, you will see that our idea is to have a Grand Master General over all the United States, and each Lodge under him to preserve its own rights, jurisdictions, etc., under him as formerly under the Grand Lodge of Great Britain, from whence the Grand Lodges in America had their warrants, and to have this new Masonic constitution and the powers of the Grand Master General fixed by a convention of committees aforesaid.

"Others, we are told, have proposed that there be one Grand Master over all these States, and that the other Grand Masters, whether nominated by him or chosen by their own Grand Lodges, should be considered as his Deputies. But we have the same objection to this that you have, and never had any idea of establishing such a plan as hath been suggested before.

"This letter is now swelled to a great length. We have therefore only to submit two things to your deliberation:

"First. Either whether it be best to make your election of a Grand Master General immediately, and then propose to us a time and place where a committee from your body could meet a committee from ours to fix his powers and proceed to installment; or

"Second. Whether you will first appoint such a place of meeting and the powers of the proposed Grand Master, and then return home and proceed to the election, and afterwards meet anew for installment. This last mode would seem to require too much time, and would not be so agreeable to our worthy brethren of the army, who are anxious to have this matter completed.

"As you will probably choose the first mode, could not the place of our meeting be at or near the headquarters of the army, at or soon after St. John's day next? At any rate, you will not fix a place far northward on account of some brethren from Virginia who will attend, for we propose to advertise the business and the time and place of meeting

in the public papers, that any regular Grand Lodges, which we may not have heard of, may have an opportunity of sending representatives."

It was natural that the Masons of the army Lodges should favor a national organization, and equally as natural that civilians should be jealous of a central governing power. The States were as yet only a confederation, and each one was jealous of its own independence and sovereignty. The same reasons influenced the same men when they considered the question of Masonic Government.

But the Massachusetts Grand Lodge was not willing to adopt the plan proposed by American Union Lodge, even as modified by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, without the concurrence of other Grand Lodges, and as their sentiments could not then be ascertained, the consideration of the matter was postponed "until a general peace shall happily take place through the continent." This action of Massachusetts was more significant than at first appears. The Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania was an "Ancient" Grand Lodge, and the members of its obedience did not recognize the "Moderns" as regular Masons: it proposed, as has already been stated, to limit the national organization to "Ancient" Grand Lodges. The Massachusetts Grand Lodge derived its origin from the Grand Lodge of Scotland: and while it was an "Ancient" Grand Lodge in all respects, except in origin, it recognized the "Moderns" as Masons, and it had endeavored for years to establish mutual visitation with the Lodges under the St. John's Grand Lodge. When the foregoing correspondence took place, the Grand Lodges of Pennsylvania and Massachusetts were all the "Ancient" Grand Lodges, Provincial or Independent, that existed in a state of activity in America. Pennsylvania contemplated the formation of the national organization by those two Grand Lodges, unless it should appear that there were other "Ancient" Grand Lodges in the country. But Massachusetts evidently contemplated the union of all the Grand Lodges, whether "Ancient" or "Modern": the postponement of the matter *for such a purpose* was equivalent to an absolute rejection of the plan proposed by Pennsylvania.

The project of a national governing organization was practically abandoned. It was not renewed when peace was declared. In 1785, the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania issued a circular proposing a convention of Deputies from each Grand Lodge "for the only purpose of conferring together and mutual advice," with no other or higher powers.

In 1790, the Deputy Grand Master of Virginia laid before his Grand Lodge "a letter from a committee of the Pennsylvania Grand Lodge purporting a wish to constitute a supreme Grand Lodge composed of Deputies from every Grand Lodge of the United States." The term "Supreme Grand Lodge" could scarcely have been used in the circular, because when, in that same year, the Grand Lodge of Georgia proposed the creation of a supreme Grand Lodge, the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania

"*Resolved*, unanimously, that the constituting of a federal or supreme Grand Lodge to have jurisdiction over the respective Grand and other Lodges throughout the continent, as proposed by the R. W. G. Lodge of Georgia, is inexpedient and appears impracticable; but that a convention of deputies from the several Grand Lodges of the United States for the purpose of forming a more intimate union and establishing a regular and permanent intercourse betwixt the said Grand Lodges, would be highly advantageous to the fraternity, and that this Grand Lodge will appoint Deputies to such convention for the aforesaid purposes."

Referring to this resolution, the Grand Lodge of Virginia spoke of the convention

therein proposed as a "Supreme Grand Lodge," evidently meaning a mere meeting of Deputies from the different Grand Lodges. In fact, since 1780, the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania has steadily opposed the formation of a supreme Grand Lodge with any governing powers. But the convention project of Pennsylvania and the supreme Lodge project of Georgia both failed: similar propositions have since that time been made and discussed, but none of them have been received with sufficient favor to be adopted.

But while this particular plan of organizing Masonry in America failed, the two fundamental ideas, upon which the plan was based, were by no means abandoned, but were entertained with an increased confidence and determination to put them in practice. The doctrine of the exclusive jurisdiction of each Grand Lodge in its own State was now unquestioned: indeed, the Grand Lodges justified the formation of Lodges in other States only upon the plea of necessity, and held that jurisdiction over such Lodges could be maintained only until a Grand Lodge should be formed in such State: charters were granted upon this previously declared condition. Also the idea of independence of all allegiance to any Grand Lodge in Great Britain had spread more widely and become more fully impressed upon the minds of the craft. It was expressly declared or assumed as indisputable, that the duty of Masons to be obedient to the laws of their country and loyal to its flag, necessarily gave the Masons of an independent State the right to have an independent Grand Lodge in such State. The very condition upon which they became Masons was that Masonic duty and allegiance never interfere with duty to their country. It follows (they reasoned) that civil allegiance and Masonic allegiance must be in harmony. It inevitably follows further that a Grand Lodge should be formed in every independent State.

They further held that the manner of forming Grand Lodges had already been settled in entire accordance with these principles.

Thus in Virginia, on May 6, 1777, the delegates of five Lodges, assembled in convention, were of the unanimous opinion "that a Grand Master ought to be chosen to preside over the craft in this Commonwealth:" at an adjournment held a week later a circular was sent out to the Lodges, in which it is said,

"We find upon record, that the Grand Lodges of England, Scotland and Ireland founded their original right of election upon their sole authority, by mutual consent, distinct and separate from all foreign power whatever. We therefore conclude that we have and ought to hold the same rights and privileges that Masons in all time heretofore have confessedly enjoyed."

In response to this circular, a convention was held June 23, 1777, but as there was not a majority of the Lodges represented, it was deemed inexpedient to proceed then to the choice of a Grand Master. There was evidently doubt in the minds of some, as a method "by which scrupulous Masons may be reconciled to such a measure," was proposed, but it was voted that if that method failed to effect the result within a year, the President of the convention should then call it together, to proceed to the election of a Grand Master. The proposed method proving abortive, the convention was called together October 13 1778, and a Grand Master elected. The following resolution was also adopted:

"It is the opinion of this convention, that it is agreeable to the Constitution of Masonry, that all the regular chartered Lodges within this State should be subject to the Grand Master of said State."

At the session of the Grand Lodge, held June 24, 1779, it was

"*Resolved*, that all the regular Lodges within the State ought not to hold their charters from the Grand Lodges of England, Scotland and Ireland or elsewhere, but ought to have their charters renewed in the Grand Lodge to be holden on the tenth day of November next, in this State, and that the Secretary *order the different Lodges* to transmit attested copies thereof by their Deputies to the Grand Lodge, to be held on the tenth day of November next, in the Lodge room in the city of Williamsburg, that due regard may be paid to the seniority of the charters of the different Lodges."

And in 1778, it declared:

"The Grand Lodge of this State is holden by the powers given to it by the free consent of all the Lodges independent of all authority whatsoever."

And a few days later:

"The fountain of all power is originally derived from the people who have a right to grant it; the unanimous consent, or we'll say a majority, have a right to confer this authority so far as to bind themselves, and in some cases others."

So also in Pennsylvania.

In a circular to other Grand Lodges approved by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania August 4, 1784 (before it had *declared* its independence), it is said:

"It is a prevailing opinion among brethren here that the alteration of the political relation between our country and that from which we received our warrants, renders it improper to continue any acknowledgment of dependency, and ought to exclude every kind of foreign jurisdiction."

And the last act of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania was the adoption of a resolution in which it is declared:

"That this Grand Lodge is, and ought to be, a Grand Lodge independent of Great Britain, or any other authority whatever."

The Independent Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania was organized September 25, 1786. An account of this was published in a newspaper of the day. The author of the account was evidently one of the leaders in the movement. Among other things he said:

"This measure is not without precedent to sanctify it in the annals of Masonry. Such has been the conduct of other Lodges similarly circumstanced with ourselves, and seems to arise from the providential order and disposition of human events. For although Masonry disowns any connection with politics or faction, and 'tis right it should be so; yet, considering a separation has taken place between the once united countries of Britain and America, it would be as improper and absurd that we should again yield an obedience to her wild, extravagant claims of power, as that Lodges of this independent empire should be subservient to jurisdictions from abroad."

Similar declarations were made by other Grand Lodges, which will be noticed in the particular accounts of the several Grand Lodges, in subsequent chapters. The same principles were expressly declared by the "Ancient" Grand Lodge of England in its communication to the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania in 1792, in which it is said:

"The accession of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania to a fraternal alliance with the Grand Lodge of England, and consequently with the several Grand Lodges in the different quarters of the globe in alliance with that of England, so conducive to the honor and interest of our Ancient Craft, must necessarily be highly satisfactory to the Masonic world at large.

"Having perused your book of Constitutions, we reflect with pleasure that the Grand Lodge of England has given birth to a Grand Lodge in the western world, whose strict

adherence to the ancient and immutable landmarks of our order reflects honor on its original founders. Here we must beg leave to state that we conceive that, in constituting your Grand Lodge, we necessarily communicated to it the same independent sovereign Masonic authority within your jurisdiction which we ourselves possess within ours, amenable to no superior jurisdiction under heaven, and subject only to the immutable landmarks of the Craft.

"All Grand Lodges in Masonry being necessarily free, independent, and equipollent within their respective jurisdictions, which consequently excludes the idea of subjection to a foreign authority or the establishment of an *imperium in imperio.*

"It having, however, pleased the Almighty Architect of the Universe to erect the Province Pennsylvania into a sovereign State, we coincide with you in opinion, that it became expedient to remove those doubts which either had or might be entertained by the uninformed upon that point, by declaring in the most explicit manner the independence of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, the full and ample authority of which, limited only by the unchangeable landmarks of the system, as it cannot be increased, so neither can it ever be diminished by political changes or revolutions."

During this period, the question whether one Grand Lodge could properly grant a charter for the formation of another Grand Lodge, was considerably mooted. It was practically decided in the negative. One reason given seems somewhat illogical, *viz.:* that a Grand Lodge thus created would not be the peer of the one giving the authority to create it; but as a son on arriving at manhood is the peer of his father, it is not perceived why a Grand Lodge formed by authority from another would not be the peer of all other Grand Lodges. But the reason that that method would be contrary to the constitutions of Masonry and the usages of the Craft, was decisive.

Within seven years after the close of the War of the Revolution, the system of Grand Lodges with Territorial jurisdiction was firmly established. While there was some difference as to minor details, the consensus of opinion and usage had crystallized into law the following propositions, as necessary deductions from the fundamental principles of Freemasonry:

I. It is the inherent right of the Lodges in an independent State to organize a Grand Lodge according to the constitutions of Masonry, "amenable to no superior jurisdiction under heaven, and subject only to the immutable landmarks of the Craft."

II. The Grand Lodge thus created has exclusive jurisdiction over Masons and Masonry in the State in which it is established.

III. Such Grand Lodge may create Lodges in another State in which no Grand Lodge exists, and maintain them until a Grand Lodge is established in such State, and no longer.

In 1790, independent Grand Lodges, created in accordance with these principles, existed as follows: in Massachusetts (two, St. John's and Massachusetts), New Hampshire, Connecticut, New York ("Ancient"), Pennsylvania ("Ancient"), New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina (two, "Ancient" and "Modern") and Georgia; one was formed in Rhode Island in 1791; their example has been very extensively followed, as will be seen in a subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE ANTI-MASONIC EXCITEMENT.

THE adoption of the Grand Lodge system and the consequent organization of a Grand Lodge in each State, with no national governing body, necessarily preclude giving a history of Masonry *as a whole* in the United States. As each Grand Lodge has been sovereign in its own jurisdiction, and the peer of all the others, each has its own history separate from that of the others.

But one event and its consequences had such a material effect upon the Institution throughout the whole country, affecting every jurisdiction in common, although some to a greater extent than others, that a general account of it seems necessary.

Up to the year 1826, the growth of Masonry had been rapid, but apparently solid. It then met a reverse which seemed likely to destroy it utterly in this country, and *did* actually paralyze it for almost twenty years. The excitement was so great that the histories, written at the time, were so colored by prejudice, that they are wholly unreliable; and even now, after the lapse of sixty years, it is impossible to get at the whole truth. It is proposed to give in this chapter an account of it gathered from official documents, judicial investigations, and other reliable sources of information.

In Batavia, the shire town of Genesee County in New York, in 1825, lived a man by the name of William Morgan. Upon the authority of William L. Stone, the author of the anti-Masonic letters to John Quincy Adams, Morgan's character was such that "more can be said than will do good to his memory:" he was an operative mason by trade, but had led a roving life, at one time having been, according to his own statement, a private soldier in the war of 1812; he was of rather a prepossessing appearance, "with a quick, intelligent, but sly and sinister-glancing eye;" he had received a common school education, but had added to it by considerable reading; he was a hard drinker, and "his nights, and sometimes his days also, were spent at tippling houses, while occasionally, to the still greater neglect of his family, he joined in the drunken carousals of the vilest and most worthless of men;" "his disposition was envious, malicious and vindictive;" such is Mr. Stone's portrait of the man.

According to the same authority, he was "a bright Mason," that is to say, was a very excellent proficient in the first three degrees, but where he received those degrees is not known, and many doubted if he ever received them at all. He was indolent and not ashamed to beg of Masons, and his support was made up in part by Masonic charities, "in devising means to procure which he was remarkably ingenious."

He came to Batavia from Le Roy, in the same county, where he had received the Capitular degrees upon the avouchment of a leading citizen and Mason, with whom he was intimate at first, but afterwards quarrelled.

After his removal to Batavia, a petition for a new Chapter was started, which he was allowed to sign; but before it was presented some of the signers had become aware of his character and habits, and that petition was destroyed and a new one substituted, so that when the Dispensation came, his name was not in it. Stung with rage, he "was suddenly transformed from an ardent and zealous friend of the Masonic institution, into a public, determined and inveterate foe," says Mr. Stone. But it seems that he was not wholly actuated by revenge: the hope of gain stimulated him as well.

He had, early in the year before (1825), commenced writing upon Freemasonry. He visited New York city that year, and was often closeted with a man of talents and scholarship, who had been expelled in 1824; he had also taken means to obtain a more perfect knowledge of the high degrees. Whether he originally had any design of publishing, of course cannot be told.

One of Morgan's intimate associates was David C. Miller, the editor of a political paper in Batavia, but a man of dissolute habits; he had received the first degree in Albany many years before, but had never been advanced. At this time he had sunk so low that another paper had been started, and he was embarrassed pecuniarily as well as disgraced generally. He conceived the idea of publishing Morgan's work, and arrangements were made with others to furnish the capital for the enterprise, out of which all concerned expected to reap very great profits.

The intended publication of a full disclosure of the secret ceremonies of Freemasonry was then publicly announced, but at first attracted but little attention. This did not suit the plans of the projectors; for if the book was unnoticed or unopposed by the Fraternity, its sale would be small; but if the opposition of the Masons could be aroused, the curiosity of the public would be irresistible, and the demand for the book immense. Articles, cunningly devised to excite the Masons, by apparently proceeding from members of the Craft, but really, it is believed, prepared by Miller, were published in the newspapers. These brought out others from indiscreet Brethren, and soon great excitement prevailed among them.

Some of the more discreet had conferences with Morgan and expostulated with him: he professed to relent, and agreed to suppress the publication, and even professed to deliver up his manuscripts. Soon it was discovered that he was doubly treacherous, and that he had merely given up pretended manuscripts to lull the opposition, while Miller was at the very time in possession of the copies prepared for the press, and was pushing their publication with all his might.

In consequence of this conduct of Morgan, notices appeared in the newspapers denouncing him as a swindler and impostor. It was claimed by the anti-Masons afterwards, that these notices were connected with the subsequent events and the alleged murder of Morgan; but that claim has long since been abandoned.

It is undoubtedly true that, among the more excitable Masons, there was a determination to prevent the publication; they did not know what it was to contain, but only that it claimed to give the full secret ceremonies. Morgan and Miller were both pressed by their creditors, and the former arrested and held to bail on old debts.

Miller also affected to be alarmed for his personal safety and the security of his office,

and took measures for defence. He claimed that an attack on his office was organized among the Masons of the surrounding country, and that forty or fifty of them met at a *rendezvous* six miles away and came to Batavia, but on learning that the office was to be defended with fire-arms, relinquished their design and dispersed in the gray of the morning. On the night of September 10, 1826, the stairs leading to Miller's office were discovered to be on fire. It was soon extinguished. It was perfectly evident that the fire was incendiary; but its speedy extinguishment, and the fact that several barrels of water were standing in close proximity, led to the conclusion that the fire was set by Miller to increase the excitement and arouse the sympathy of the public in his favor.

The next morning, Morgan was arrested on a charge of larceny at Canandaigua, fifty miles from Batavia. He was carried there by a posse, tried, and acquitted on the ground that he had borrowed the articles he was charged with stealing, and, therefore, though he had not returned them, he was not guilty of larceny. He was then arrested for debt and committed to jail.

The next day (September 12) Miller professed to receive an anonymous note that his office was to be again attacked that day. A body of sixty or seventy men (says Stone) did appear in Batavia, but made no demonstration against the office; but a constable with a single assistant did go there and arrest Miller, and carried him, under a strong guard, to Le Roy, but allowed him to communicate with his counsel and friends; arriving at Le Roy, the constable left Miller with the magistrate and went to find the plaintiff, but not returning at once the magistrate discharged Miller, just as the constable was coming in; the latter attempted to arrest Miller, but he escaped, and, by the help of his friends, eluded the officer and returned home during the night.

In the meantime, Morgan's wife went to Canandaigua and proposed to deliver up his manuscripts to obtain his release; but she was informed, as she afterwards alleged, that the debt had been paid and Morgan released, but again arrested on suit of a Pennsylvania creditor and taken to that State.

It turned out that the manuscripts, which she surrendered, were only those which had been printed, and for which Miller had no further use. It is claimed by her friends, that, on her return home, a leading Mason accompanied her and told her that she would not see her husband for at least a year, and perhaps more, but that he was not dead, and that she and her family would be well provided for; also that on her arrival home, another Mason called on her and told her that the Lodge had appointed him to provide for her and her children, and that he had made arrangements for boarding them at the public house; and that she had promptly rejected both offers.

Days passed away and nothing was heard from Morgan. The friends of his wife, becoming alarmed, sent a special agent to Canandaigua to ascertain what had become of him. He reported that Morgan had been released from jail by the payment of the debt by one Lawson, on the evening of the twelfth of September; that, on leaving the jail, he was seized by Lawson and another, and in spite of cries of "murder," was dragged away down the street, two other men by the name of Chesebro and Sawyer standing by and not interposing, but following them down the street, and one of them having picked up Morgan's hat; that a carriage at once followed down the street and soon returned and drove off towards Rochester, being empty when it went down, and having several persons in it when it drove back; that it arrived at Rochester about daylight, and was driven three miles beyond, when the party alighted, and the carriage returned; that the driver

stated that the parties were all strangers to him, and that he did not notice any violence. While there was no positive testimony that Morgan had been carried away, this report aroused the most intense excitement. Public meetings were held in Batavia to denounce the outrage and secure the punishment of those concerned in it. Prominent Masons took part in them, and were the foremost in demanding an investigation. The excitement spread like wild-fire; meetings were held in adjacent counties; committees were appointed to make further investigations; and the conduct of some Masons aided in working up the public mind to a high pitch of exasperation. All those charged with the abduction of Morgan were Masons; others treated the matter lightly; and others said substantially, "served him right;" these remarks of excited men were repeated with additions and embellishments; remarks of horrible character, but never made, were imputed to Masons; and, worse than all, reckless and unscrupulous politicians seized upon the excitement to promote their own advancement. The consequence was, that while the great body of the fraternity denounced the crime, they were all equally assailed by the fanatics, without any discrimination, unless, in the language of Mr. Stone, "by public renunciation, they confessed themselves to have been either knaves or fools." The Governor of New York, at the time, was that distinguished man and eminent Mason, De Witt Clinton. He issued proclamations, and did all in his power, by offering rewards, to assist in ferreting out the guilty parties and discovering the whereabouts of the missing man.

The investigations of the committees showed that when the parties left the carriage beyond Rochester, they entered another and proceeded west through Lewiston, and so on to Fort Niagara, changes of horses being provided, as if spontaneously almost, a part of the way. Eli Bruce, the sheriff of the County of Erie, was with it. When the party arrived at Fort Niagara, the four occupants of the carriage, one of whom was Bruce, left it, dismissed the driver and proceeded towards the Fort, which was about eighty rods distant.

Bruce was immediately arrested on the charge of the abduction of Morgan, but was acquitted by the magistrate, because it could not be proved that any one was abducted, nor that any force or violence had been exercised towards any person in the carriage.

Lawson, Chesebro, Sawyer, and a man by the name of Sheldon, were indicted for conspiring to abduct Morgan, and also for carrying the conspiracy into execution. The three former pleaded guilty to both indictments, but it was adjudged that they could be sentenced on only one. Sheldon admitted the abduction, but denied that he was concerned in it; an *alibi* was proved by overwhelming evidence, but it did not avail and he was found guilty. They were all sentenced to imprisonment in jail, Lawson for two years, Chesebro for one year, Sheldon for three months, and Sawyer for one month. It subsequently transpired, that beyond question Sheldon was innocent, but was mistaken for another man. The excitement was so great that an accusation was equivalent to a conviction. The Judge was abused for imposing so light sentences, and the charge was made and repeated for years that it was on account of his Masonic obligations, whereas he was not and never had been a Mason.

Governor Clinton addressed letters to the Governors of the two Canadas, requesting them to cause inquiry to be made respecting Morgan, as it was suspected that he had been carried to Canada. Governor Clinton says:

"During the last year he put a manuscript into the hands of a printer in Batavia, purporting to be a promulgation of the secrets of Freemasonry. This was passed over by the great body of that fraternity without notice and with silent contempt: but a few des-

perate fanatics engaged in a plan of carrying him off, and on the 12th of September last, (1826,) they took him to Canandaigua by force, as it is understood, and conveyed him to the Niagara River, from whence it is supposed that he was taken to His Britannic Majesty's dominions. Some of the offenders have been apprehended and punished, but no intelligence has been obtained respecting MORGAN, since his abduction."

Meanwhile, the excitement continued to increase; the Courts and the laws were assailed, and Freemasonry was more fiercely denounced than ever: the community was in a whirlwind of passion, and politicians "came to the front" and procured the passage, at public meetings, of resolutions against voting for Freemasons "for any offices whatever." As many of the leading men in both parties were Masons, the undoubted object of carrying the matter into politics was to secure the advancement of those who would not be able to succeed upon their own merits. To "fire the public heart," all kinds of stories were invented and published. Among them, that Morgan was delivered to John Brandt, son of the old Mohawk Chief, and by him sent to the North-west Territory; this had scarcely been denied when another was published, that Morgan had been taken to the Canadian shore, tried by a Masonic tribunal, and executed by a young Indian; this was at once exploded, and then it was said that the Masons of Canada had been requested to take Morgan to Quebec and ship him on a vessel of war, but that this being refused he was put into a boat and turned adrift over Niagara Falls; then it was said that he was tried at Fort Niagara, by a Masonic council, pursuant to an express order from the Grand Chapter, and put to death in the manner prescribed in one of the alleged obligations as given in Morgan's book!

The excitement was further increased by the leaving of three men, who had been charged with greater or less participation in the abduction, *viz.*: Burrage Smith, John Whitney and Col. King; the two former were supposed to go to New Orleans, while the latter procured the situation of sutler in the western part of Arkansas.

Still there came a slight reaction; Sheldon had now been shown to be innocent of the crime of which he had been convicted; another man, who had gone down to his grave under the charge of murder, was, now he had died, publicly exonerated by his accusers; a member of the committee which had reported the finding of blood in the magazine at Fort Niagara, now authorized the statement "that no signs of blood, or any other probable evidences of the murder of Morgan, had been discovered at Fort Niagara." The persons who had arrested Morgan and taken him to Canandaigua, were tried and acquitted by instructions from the Court, on the ground that their warrant protected them.

But this was only a lull in the storm, which soon came on more fiercely than ever. One Richard Howard was charged by one Mann with having admitted to him that he set Miller's office on fire; and by a second affidavit with having confessed to him that Morgan had been murdered; that lots were drawn to determine who should do the act, and that it had fallen upon him. A warrant was issued for Howard's arrest, but further inquiry caused a suspension of proceedings. Mann proved to be insane, and in a few months died a raving maniac. Howard, however, left that part of the country, and, it is alleged, came to New York and sailed for England, his native country. Stone charges Howard with all that Mann accused him of, but as his name is not even mentioned in any of the numerous trials, after the whole community had made themselves detectives to ferret out all who were engaged in the crime or in any manner connected with it, it is safe to conclude that Mann's statements were the mere ravings of a lunatic.

Stone assumes that Howard was the man to whom Avery Allyn (the author of "Allyn's

Ritual") referred in an affidavit published in 1829, to the effect that in March, 1828, he attended an Encampment in New York city, and the Prelate had told him that they were certain of Morgan's death, as the person who had executed the penalty of his obligation upon him had been in that Encampment and confessed that he was the one who gave the fatal blow, and that another Templar corroborated the statement, and both declared that they had furnished the man money and sent him to Europe. Stone investigated the matter at the time, because it involved a gentleman of his acquaintance who was above suspicion, and he came "to the full and entire belief that not one word of Allyn's statement was true." Such was also the general verdict. It is true that after Stone became a stronger anti-Mason, he expressed doubts whether Allyn's affidavit might not have been substantially true, except that he was in error as to the persons who made the statement! The denial of the Masons cannot be overcome by such a mere *guess* as that.

In April, 1827, four persons were tried for abducting Morgan, as hereinbefore related, and three were convicted and sent to jail, and one acquitted. While the evidence scarcely warrants the finding of the jury that legal process was used only as a color, and, therefore, no protection to the accused, and did not warrant the conviction of the fourth man, the Anti-Masons were greatly enraged at his acquittal, and he was indicted for two other alleged offences, but never tried upon them.

In May, 1827, seventeen persons were tried for taking Morgan from the jail and removing him to foreign parts; it appeared, however, beyond question that they were concerned only in carrying him *to* the jail, and whatever was done afterwards was in pursuance of a new plan unknown to them, and they were acquitted in accordance with the advice of the presiding judge. This result increased the public clamor.

About this time, parties were sent to arrest and bring home for trial, Smith, Whitney, and Col. King. They returned without success; but immediately after their return, King came of his own accord; and after a short time, Whitney, also; and Smith was dead. The return of these men utterly astounded the anti-Masons, and deprived them of their material for denouncing the Masons. King surrendered himself for trial, but died before it came on; Whitney was tried and convicted.

The election was approaching, and all manner of stories were put in circulation and printed by the anti-Masonic newspapers, a large number of which had sprung into existence. An examination of them now leads one to conclude that the editors were generally most unscrupulous knaves or most credulous fools; but large allowance must be made for the prevailing excitement.

The anti-Masonic party had grown rapidly, and was exceedingly aggressive, and they entered the campaign literally with fury. They murmured against Gov. Clinton. He had removed Eli Bruce from his office of Sheriff, but not so promptly as they demanded. The character of the excitement, and the ease with which people were gulled, are shown by an incident which happened in October. The body of a drowned man was found on the beach about forty miles from Niagara; an inquest was held, and "accidental drowning" was the verdict of the coroner's jury; the body being putrid was buried with all convenient speed; but it was not destined to remain undisturbed; the suggestion was made that it was Morgan's body, and that it had been hastily buried by those interested in its not being identified. To be sure Morgan was believed to have been dead some thirteen months, and the physical impossibility that the body could have been so far preserved in the waters of Ontario as to be capable of identification, was scouted out of

sight. It was announced all over the country that "Morgan's body has been found;" a new inquest was called, and Mrs. Morgan and other witnesses were examined, and *they identified the body!* A dentist who had extracted two of Morgan's teeth produced them, and declared that they fitted in a place on the same side of the mouth where the deceased had lost two teeth. It is true, that not one single article of clothing upon the body had ever belonged to Morgan, or ever been known to have been worn by him; it is also true, that in the pockets were found some religious tracts, which Morgan's course of life would not induce people to suppose that *he* would have in possession; but it was said that the change of clothes was a trick of his murderers. The coroner's inquest officially declared the body to be that of William Morgan! It is evident that some of the more intelligent did not swallow the story; a distinguished politician is said to have remarked, "It's a good enough Morgan till after the election." The funeral followed; the body was first removed with great parade to Batavia, creating a prodigious sensation. The air actually rang with imprecations, not only upon the murderers of Morgan, but upon the whole Fraternity, all of whom were charged with being accessory to his murder. Thousands were present at the funeral; and it was difficult to tell whether its purpose was to bury the body, or to curse the Masons! After the funeral came handbills, addresses and appeals to the worst passions of the people, as thick as autumn leaves.

The Masons scouted the idea that the body was Morgan's, and insisted that the whole was a show for political effect; and with much truth so far as many were concerned, but erroneously as to the multitude, who believed in it implicitly. The Masons instituted inquiries and soon found that a man by the name of Monroe had been drowned in Niagara River, and his body had not been recovered. His widow and son came over and described the clothes which Monroe had worn, and the description was precisely that of those found upon the body. To be brief, a third inquest was held and the body shown to be, beyond a shadow of a doubt, that of Monroe. But the exposure of the imposition came only a day or two before election and too late for any effect.

And yet in a work ("The Broken Seal") published within twenty years past to aid an attempted crusade against Freemasonry, the author gravely declares his belief that the body was Morgan's; with characteristic fairness and honesty, he recites the evidence tending to show the identity, but conveniently omits the other facts, which utterly destroy the force of his statements.

To return: at this time also, one R. H. Hill avowed himself to be the murderer of Morgan, and surrendered himself for trial; he went before the Grand Jury and repeated his confession; but his story was discredited and he was dismissed as insane and was heard of no more.

Another illustration of public credulity in those times immediately followed the Monroe affair. One Hamilton traveled about the country giving lectures and exhibitions of Masonic ceremonies, by which he was reaping a harvest. He was a man of vile character, but professed to be a minister, and as he preached anti-Masonry he succeeded with his imposition. He was intemperate, and having taken too much stimulus just before commencing a lecture, his stomach rebelled, and, while his lecture was in progress, relieved itself by ejecting a portion of its contents. But he was equal to the occasion; his landlord was a Mason; and he at once made the charge that he had been poisoned to prevent his exposure of Masonry. The landlord submitted to the imputation, but not quietly. A man of means, who repeated the statement, was sued and ultimately mulcted

in heavy damages for the slander. Hamilton fled into another part of the country and added to his lectures a highly colored account of the persecution to which he had been subjected and the attempts on his life. One morning, after one of his most bitter lectures, he was missing. The day passed and the next, without tidings of him; but on the next came word that a man had been found drowned in the creek a few miles away. Here was another murder by the Masons! A committee went to the spot and disinterred the body, (which had been buried,) but there was no excuse for pronouncing it to be Hamilton's; they returned disappointed, still believing that Hamilton had been made away with; but they were soon set right. As they entered the village, they met their supposed martyr crawling out of a grog shop, where he had been lying drunk for days. He left; went to the East; was received into his house by an anti-Mason, whom he repaid by attempting an outrage on a daughter of tender age, for which he was sent to the state prison for seven years.

In November, Gov. Clinton received from Gov. Cass of Michigan (a Past Grand Master) some depositions giving the confession of one Hopkins, that he was present when Morgan was put in a canoe and set adrift over Niagara Falls; but the unquestioned facts proved that this statement could not be true, and nothing came of it.

But the author of "The Broken Seal" published in his appendix an account of this statement, with the assurance that it is the true account of what became of Morgan!

In February, 1828, Gov. Clinton died; he was at the time General Grand High Priest of the General Grand Chapter; for this reason, his high character and the unwearied exertion he had made to bring to justice all connected with the outrage upon Morgan, did not save him from the attacks of the anti-Masons, who did not cease, even at his death, from their attempts to cast a stain upon his name, and even went so far as to charge that, stung with remorse for sanctioning Morgan's death, he had taken his own life. A Pennsylvania politician printed an address in which he charged that the Governor of New York, and the Governors of two other States, assisted at a council which decided that Morgan's publication must be suppressed at all hazards, and Morgan himself put out of the way! We would scarcely believe that there could be so great a fool as to publish such stuff, or so great a knave as to suppose there would be so great fools as to believe it when published, did we not see it paralleled by the anti-Masonic fanatics of the present time.

But Clinton's offence was, that although he denounced the crime, and used all the power of his office to bring the perpetrators to justice, he did not join in the crusade against the Masons as a body. In a letter to the Batavia Committee (January 8, 1827), he says:

"I am persuaded, however, that the body of Freemasons, so far from having any participation in this affair, or giving any countenance to it, reprobate it as a most unjustifiable act, repugnant to the principles and abhorrent to the doctrines of the fraternity. I know that Freemasonry, properly understood, and faithfully attended to, is friendly to religion, morality, liberty and good government: and I shall never shrink, under any state of excitement, or any extent of misapprehension, from bearing testimony in favor of the purity of an institution which can boast of a WASHINGTON, and a FRANKLIN and a LAFAYETTE, as distinguished members, which inculcates no principles and authorizes no acts, that are not in perfect accordance with good morals, civil liberty and entire obedience to government and the laws. It is no more responsible for the acts of unworthy members than any other association or institution. Without intending in the remotest degree, a comparison, or improper illusion, I might ask whether we ought to revile our holy religion, because Peter denied and Judas betrayed?"

In August, 1828, Eli Bruce and two others were tried for abducting Morgan from Canandaigua. The witness relied upon to convict Bruce's associates, was rejected on account of his want of religious belief, and the prosecution against them was abandoned. Bruce was convicted, although Stone says that there was then no evidence to show that Morgan was in the carriage on which Bruce rode; and was ultimately sentenced to jail for two years and four months, not, however, until after he had testified and given an account of his connection with the affair.

At the election in that State (New York) the anti-Masons cast over thirty-three thousand votes, having refused to vote for the candidates of the National Republicans, because their candidate for Governor, while not a Mason, was not an anti-Mason. In 1829 they cast sixty thousand votes. The next year the anti-Masons and National Republicans united, but many of the latter, who were Masons, voted for the opposing candidate and he was elected by eight thousand majority.

In August, 1828, John Whitney, who (as above stated) voluntarily returned from the South for that purpose, was tried. Special counsel had been appointed by the Governor to manage these cases. He was an able lawyer and powerful advocate. Up to this time there had been no positive proof that Morgan was in the carriage which left Canandaigua, or that he was one of the party which left the carriage at Fort Niagara; but on this trial it was clearly shown that Morgan was with the party all the way from Canandaigua to Fort Niagara. Bruce was a witness and testified that he was informed that Morgan was voluntarily going to Canada to get rid of Miller, with whom he had had difficulties, and would be at Lewiston that night on his way; that he went with the party to Fort Niagara, then to the ferry and crossed over into Canada, where Morgan was to have been left on a farm; but the arrangements not having been completed, they all returned to the American side, and Morgan was placed in the magazine of the fort to await the preparations in Canada, and that he (Bruce) left the Fort before daylight and had never seen Morgan since, nor did he know what had become of him. Whitney was convicted and sentenced to jail for one year and two months. The Masons quite generally believed Bruce's statement that he supposed Morgan was going to Canada willingly, and regarded the prosecution of Bruce as persecution. The anti-Masons, on the other hand, regarded him as one of the chief conspirators, and denounced the Masons bitterly for visiting him in prison and providing for him "every comfort that the laws would allow."

So earnestly was the prosecution pushed, that the driver of one of the carriages was indicted, but, after a sharply fought trial of ten days, he was acquitted.

The keeper of the Fort was next tried, but the prosecution failed to connect him with the affair, and he was acquitted. Bruce and Whitney refused to testify, and were sent to jail for thirty days each, and afterwards both were indicted for their refusal and fined two hundred and fifty dollars each; Turner also refused to answer several questions, and was sent to jail thirty days for each refusal.

The trial of another driver and the keeper of a hotel immediately followed; the testimony to show knowledge on the part of the accused was slight, and the jury, after being out thirty-six hours, returned a verdict of acquittal.

Other trials followed, but resulted in acquittals or disagreements of the jury.

On one of these trials (in 1831), Edward Giddings, whose testimony had been rejected on the trial of Bruce and others in 1828, on account of his infidelity, was a witness, the law having been changed for the purpose since the former trial. He testified that Col.

King called him up about midnight on the twelfth of September, 1826, saying he "had got the d—d perjured scoundrel who had been revealing the secrets of Freemasonry," and wanted to be ferried over to Canada; that he took them over the river, and besides himself and Morgan, there were King, Hague and Bruce; that Morgan was hoodwinked and had his arms tied behind him, and when he uttered some complaint a pistol was put to his breast with a threat that if he said anything more, he would be shot; that when they got across two of the party left them and returned after an absence of two hours, with the report that the Canadians were not ready to receive Morgan; and thereupon they returned to the American side and put him into the magazine, of which the witness had the key. He testified to the proceedings during the next day (thirteenth), which are not material; but he said that in the evening it was determined to kill Morgan, and they started under the direction of King to do it, but on the way one made an objection, and it was then concluded to send to the East for instructions, and they so apprised Morgan. The witness said he told King he was going to release Morgan, and King was angry and told him to do it at his peril, and that he then gave up the key to King, saying that he would have nothing further to do with it, and King gave the key to another man; that on the seventeenth he went to York, (Canada,) and returned on the twenty-first, when Col. Jewett, the Keeper of the Fort, informed him, that "they had murdered that man." His testimony was contradicted by four witnesses, as to facts to which he testified, and as to different accounts he had before given; his testimony was also in conflict with that of Bruce and Whitney (both of whom testified in the case), especially as to the threats, restraint, hoodwinking and binding. The Judge substantially told the jury that the case turned upon the evidence of Giddings; as the jury acquitted part of the accused, and disagreed as to others, they must have failed to believe Giddings. One fact seriously affecting the credibility of his testimony, seems not to have been adverted to: in June, 1828, he issued a prospectus for an anti-Masonic Almanac for 1829, which should contain a full account of what he knew about the matter, illustrated with cuts; in his prospectus he magnifies as much as possible the scope of his promised disclosures, to create a large sale for his Almanac; he undoubtedly took care that his statement should come up to his manifesto, and having published it, such a man as he was, would naturally repeat it as published, when he came to testify.

The special counsel, who tried the cases, came to the conclusion that Morgan's life had been taken; that none of the persons present at the perpetration of the crime were living and in the United States, except one, and that as to him the belief was rather a matter of inference than of proof; he thought no good would result from another trial of those parties in whose cases the jury did not agree; but he said that the information elicited by the trials was sufficient, he trusted, "to satisfy the public mind as to the ultimate fate of Morgan; that he was taken into the Niagara, at night, about the nineteenth of September, and there sunk. Yet the evidence, although apparently sufficient for all purposes of human belief, is not sufficient to establish with legal certainty, and according to adjudged cases, the murder of Morgan."

Mr. Stone concludes that Col. King, Hague, Smith, Howard and Adams, were concerned in the murder; but as he takes for true the whole testimony of Giddings, and the depositions of the crazy Mann, and adduces as evidence the declarations of Masons admittedly not connected with it, his conclusions are utterly unreliable. It is very singular that the commission of the alleged homicide should be charged upon men who were dead

when the investigation closed; for all those above named were then dead, except Howard, who was probably then alive.

A careful examination shows that at the time of Morgan's arrest, the Masons who had interested themselves in the matter, supposed that they had secured enough of the manuscript to prevent Miller's going on with the work, unless Morgan should replace what was missing; to make sure that Morgan should not do that, undoubtedly a plan was laid to get Morgan away from Miller; it was to get him into Canada and arrange for him to stay there, or else to be sent out of the country on a voyage to sea; this was to be done secretly, so that Miller might not find it out, and be able to follow Morgan. Quite a number were cognizant of the proposed plan and engaged to forward it, but among them was no prominent member, nor any officer of any Grand Body. The General Grand Chapter was in session in New York City, during the week of Morgan's abduction, the session commencing on the fourteenth of September. [When the Anti-Masons afterwards charged the originating of the plot to the General Grand Chapter, they, with deliberate falsehood, fixed the time of its meeting a month earlier.] Samuel L. Knapp, a member of the General Grand Chapter from Massachusetts, says, that on the second day of the session, the presiding officer stated that a special communication had been received from the western part of New York, and suggested that it be referred to a committee without reading; that this was done, Knapp being Chairman of the Committee; that the committee found in their room a young man in a high state of excitement, who put into their hands some printed pages and a manuscript, stating that some of the fraternity in his part of the country apprehended that mischief might arise from its publication; that the committee heard his story, deliberated on it, and returned the papers to the messenger without examination, telling him distinctly that it was a subject in which the General Grand Chapter could take no part; that they made a verbal report, and it was accepted with few or no remarks, and without a dissenting voice; that the General Grand High Priest (Clinton) was not present, and when he came in, and was told what had been done, approved the course taken, saying that the Body had nothing to do with the subject and that it was not worthy the notice of Masons; that the messenger seemed disappointed, and hinted that the writer of the manuscript might at the time be in prison for debt, but was told, if that was so, to go and raise money among the fraternity, pay the debt and restore the manuscript. But this was before the days of telegraphs or railroads, and the advice came too late to be available; before the messenger could have reached home, the last scene in the drama had closed; Morgan had been arrested, carried to Canandaigua, committed to jail, released therefrom, seized and carried by force (or if he assented, it was probably on account of threats, or delusive promises, or intoxication) to Fort Niagara, thence across the river to Canada, and then back again to our shore, and imprisoned in the magazine of the Fort; the plan of disposing of him in Canada, as at first proposed, had failed. What his fate actually was never has been ascertained; whether his captors, finding him on their hands, added murder, which they had not at first contemplated, to their crime, or whether he died from exhaustion and fright, and they were compelled to conceal his body, or whether he was really sent off, the most searching investigation prolonged for nearly six years failed to disclose.

As already stated, the special counsel was an able lawyer. As incentives to perform his duty to the utmost of his ability, he had, in addition to his obligations as an officer, the maintenance of his personal and professional reputation and his interest as one of

the most intense anti-Masonic politicians of the times; he had at his command all the resources of the great State of New York, and the assistance, as detectives, of his political associates, whose intense hatred of the Masons led them to use all the means in their power, honorable or dishonorable, to fasten the murder of Morgan upon members of the Fraternity, and to show that all adherents to it were accessories to the crime. But in spite of all these incentives and these means, the attempt failed. That he was abducted was fully proved; but that he was murdered there is no credible evidence, beyond the admitted fact of his disappearance and his not being heard from after his imprisonment in the magazine of the Fort.

That the perpetrators of his abduction had no excuse for their acts is no more true than *that they found not the slightest warrant in the laws or precepts of Freemasonry for them:* a comparatively few misguided men did it all, and it is believed that many who participated, did so in ignorance of the real nature of the transaction. But the Anti-Masons made the great mistake of charging the act upon the whole Fraternity; and, confounding the innocent with the guilty, they held every member responsible for it. The inevitable result was that while the weaker ones succumbed to the pressure and renounced Masonry, the good and true Masons stood together, shoulder to shoulder, biding their time, until the storm should pass over; that the storm would pass over, they had the most perfect faith. On the other hand, the Anti-Masons fully believed that the Institution had received its death-wound, and that its life was waning rapidly away. Even Mr. Stone, in 1832, said: "As well might they think of establishing Mahometanism in this enlightened land, as to cherish the idea of re-establishing Freemasonry." In less than forty years from the time he wrote, it numbered *six times* as many members as in its best days before the excitement.

While New York was the theatre of the principal events described, the excitement spread all over the country. The rapid growth of the anti-Masonic party in that State excited the belief among its members that it would sweep the old parties out of existence. In 1832, it nominated a candidate for President. The candidates of both the leading parties, Andrew Jackson and Henry Clay, were Masons and Past Grand Masters. There was a partial breaking up and re-forming of parties and the election resulted in the re-election of Gen. Jackson by an overwhelming majority of the Electoral College, the Anti-Masons carrying only the State of Vermont. This was a death-blow to political Anti-Masonry. It struggled feebly a few years, however, before it realized that it was actually dead, and then gave up even the "name to live."

This country has seen fierce and bitter political contests, but no other has approached in intensity those of the Anti-Masons against the Masons. No society, civil, military or religious, escaped its influence; no relation of family or friends was a barrier to it. The hatred of Masonry was carried everywhere, and there was no retreat so sacred that it did not enter. Not only were teachers and pastors driven from their stations, but the children of Masons were excluded from their schools, and members from their churches. The sacrament was refused to Masons by formal vote of the church. Families were divided, and brother arrayed against brother, father against son, and even the wife against her husband. Desperate efforts were made to take away chartered rights from Masonic corporations, and to pass laws that should prevent Masons from meeting and performing their ceremonies. Investigations were set on foot, which needed only the rack to assimilate them to the Inquisition. Illustrations will be given in the history of particular Grand Lodges.

The Fraternity met these attacks with prudence, fortitude and justice. The Grand Bodies generally passed temperate resolutions disavowing all connection or sympathy with the outrage on Morgan, and claiming that a whole great Fraternity should not be held responsible for the unauthorized and unmasonic acts of a few misguided men. In many places they advised the suspension of work, or the surrender of charters; but this did not content or even appease the fanatics, who insisted not only upon the renunciation of Masonry, but also its denunciation. Of course this was disastrous to the growth and progress of the Institution. Masonic work almost entirely ceased; the most of the Lodges suspended their meetings, and many surrendered their charters.

In some States the Grand Bodies suspended their meetings for years; but in every jurisdiction were some faithful Brethren, who kept the Masonic faith in their hearts and the Masonic fire alive upon the altar.

While political Anti-Masonry had entirely disappeared in 1836, the effects of the shock still existed and Masonry did not at once revive. But soon her members began to catch the glimmering of the light, which they had implicitly believed would surely come. Lodge after Lodge resumed labor, and candidates in abundance knocked at the door. Many a true brother lived to see the day when no one of the most bitter of his former adversaries was willing to admit that he had ever been an Anti-Mason!

This sketch would not be complete without noticing some of the theories which have been published (some of them recently) in relation to the ultimate fate of Morgan.

One is that he was taken from the magazine by *Anti-Masons* and sent abroad, that they might use his "murder" for political capital. This is entirely inadmissible, for there were no Anti-Masons until long after he left the magazine; indeed his friends had not begun to look for him until after his actual disappearance from the country if he was living, or his death, if he was dead.

Since the first draft of this sketch was originally prepared, Thurlow Weed's autobiography, in which he devotes much space to "the Morgan affair," has been published. Weed, at the time, was the publisher of an Anti-Masonic paper (established for the express purpose of prosecuting the crusade against Masonry) and was one of the most active and bitter of the Anti-Masonic politicians. He was on committees of investigation, and personally aided in procuring witnesses, going even into other States for that purpose. His political and professional success depended (as it seemed to him) upon the success of the Anti-Masons; his autobiography is largely a defence of his own course, and shows that his connection with the affair had been a source of distress to him. He writes under the pressure of intense personal feeling, and naturally seizes upon every circumstance that tells in his defence, and accepts statements as true which are utterly unreliable. While he in terms exculpates the mass of the Fraternity, he still makes a strong effort to inculpate leading men in the Order, and endorses as true statements whose falsity has long since been shown. He accepts Giddings's testimony as true, relies upon hearsay three times removed from its origin, and retails as truth the utterances of madmen. He leaves it in doubt whether the body washed ashore as hereinbefore stated was that of Morgan or Monroe. He imputes to Masonic Bodies action that was never taken. In fine he evidently makes a most desperate attempt to justify his own course. His account cannot be accepted as history, but only as a plea in his own defence.

Taking away the coloring given by his personal feelings, the main facts up to the time when Morgan was imprisoned in the magazine, are essentially in accord with those

herein given. But he goes on with an absolutely incredible statement. He says that in 1831, John Whitney confessed to him *in the presence of two other men*, that he (Whitney), Col. King, Howard, Chubbuck and Garside took Morgan from the magazine, carried him in a boat to the mouth of the river, wound a rope around his body, attached weights to each end and threw him overboard. This statement, on its face, shows that it is utterly unworthy of credence; that Whitney, if guilty, should have made a confession involving himself *and at least two others* in a trial for murder; that he should have made it to Weed, who was not only personally bitterly hostile, but also was the leading spirit upon the committees charged with the detection and punishment of the murderers; that he should make it, at a time when a trial for the alleged murder had just been concluded, and it was expected that another trial would soon follow in which Whitney was a witness; that he should make a confession in the presence of two others, whose testimony would be received by every body as true; that these two men should have concealed it; and that Weed should also have concealed it for over fifty years, are each and all, as before stated, absolutely incredible. If the statement is true, Whitney not only confessed that he was a murderer, but also that he had just committed perjury to conceal it, and had betrayed the secret of his Masonic brethren to the extent of endangering their being sent to the gallows; while Weed stands confessed as the betrayer of the trust committed to him by the public, and as being *accessory after the fact to the very murder*, which he had, by accepting a place on the committee, pledged his honor to use his utmost endeavors to detect and punish!

But the statement conflicts with the statement of Whitney made afterwards, to the effect that Morgan was carried to Canada out of the reach of Miller; that five hundred dollars was paid to him upon his promise of silence and reformation; and that he secretly left the place where he had agreed to remain, and nothing was heard from him afterwards.

Whitney died in 1869; but Chubbuck, one of those named in Weed's statement, lived till within a few years; and it was not till after the death of the last survivor that Weed's statement was published.

There has been quite a general belief that Morgan went to Smyrna, in Asia Minor, and passed the rest of his life there; this theory was started in 1828, but the party suggesting it saw the man whom he took to be Morgan in Smyrna in March, 1826, six months before Morgan left Batavia. The late Ben-Perley Poore, about fifty years ago, was in Smyrna, and from information he then gathered, he firmly believed "that William Morgan resided for a number of years in Smyrna under the name of Mustapha."

But none of the recent publications furnish any reliable evidence of what became of Morgan after he was imprisoned in the magazine at Fort Niagara; and the matter is to-day as much of a mystery as ever.

One other curious fact should be mentioned: the work published as Morgan's was not his work, but the copy of a work previously published in England. As previously stated, it has never been discovered where Morgan was made a Mason, and many believe that he was an impostor, and that he procured this work and copied it for publication, pretending that he was exposing the secrets of Freemasonry. If he had been made in any lodge in this country by the name that has become so notorious, the excitement in relation to him would have brought out this fact, so that there is good ground for this belief; but after all, it must be said that the history of his life, until about the time when he came to New York, is involved in the same mystery as his ultimate fate.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE UNITED STATES GRAND LODGES.

IN this chapter are given sketches of the Grand Lodges, substantially in the order of seniority.

Massachusetts.

On July 30th, 1733, (O. S.) Henry Price called together ten other brethren at "The Bunch of Grapes" Tavern in Boston, and organized and opened a Provincial Grand Lodge—the first meeting of Masons in America held under written authority, so far as history has as yet disclosed. His commission or deputation was read and eight candidates were at once initiated.

The eighteen brethren joined in a petition for a Lodge, which was granted by the Provincial Grand Master; he proceeded at once to constitute the Lodge "in the form prescribed in our printed book of constitutions." Thus was organized "the first Lodge," —properly so named, as it was the first Lodge in this country formed under chartered authority—in accordance with the regulations adopted under the Grand Lodge system established in 1717. The original petition for this Lodge still exists: a *fac simile* of it was published in the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts for 1871.

The commission or deputation was issued to Henry Price, by "Lord Montague, Grand Master of the Free and Accepted Masons of England," under date of April 30, 1733, appointing him Provincial Master of New England. At one time, the authenticity of this commission was denied by a zealous antiquarian, mainly because the original was not in existence and no record of it could be found in the archives of the Grand Lodge of England. The fact that the question was first raised nearly a century and a half after the occurrence, during all which time frequent public mention of it had been made, would seem to be a sufficient answer to the allegation: in the courts, this fact would be so decisive, that no allegation to the contrary would be heard. That the document is not found in the archives of the Provincial Grand Lodge, is of no consequence, for it did not belong there; it was the *personal* muniment of title of the Provincial Grand Master and properly remained in his possession; it was proper to record a copy of it in the books of the Provincial Grand Lodge, and that was done. As to the other point, it is well known that documents issued *by the Grand Master* were often omitted from the record, especially when, as in this case, they were not attested by the Grand Secretary: Grand Masters did not then report such matters to the Grand Lodge.

There are numerous facts showing that the denial of the genuineness of this com-

mission has no foundation to rest upon; but it is necessary to state but one: *all the action of Price under this commission was recognized by the Grand Lodge.* The undisputed deputation to his successor in 1737 recited a petition for the appointment of a *New* Provincial Grand Master; the Lodge established by him is given in the Grand Lodge calendar prepared within three years after the organization of the Lodge and the first ever published; Price's successor (Robert Tomlinson) was made a Mason in this Lodge under Price's administration, and was elected Master of this Lodge to make him eligible to the office of Provincial Grand Master. That a man made a Mason in a Lodge organized under a "forged" commission, should within less than four years from its date, be appointed Provincial Grand Master for New England approaches so closely to the absurd, that the proposition scarcely deserves serious consideration.

The early records of the Provincial Grand Lodge are meagre; those for the first sixteen years were not entered in the book now in existence till 1749 or 1750; an attempt has also been made to discredit these records on account of that fact; but considering the well-known Masonic custom to enter the minutes on loose papers or a book other than the regular record, and subsequently at convenience, to transcribe them, the objection has no force; moreover, these records are abundantly corroborated by other contemporary records and publications.

The Lodge at once entered upon a career of prosperity, most of the business relating to the craft being transacted in it. St. John's days were celebrated by the Grand Lodge, "tho' not proper records kept thereof" in many cases. The Lodge also met and chose its Master on the same days.

On April 20, 1737, Robert Tomlinson received a commission from the Grand Master of England dated December 7, 1736, appointing him "Provincial Grand Master of the Province of New England with the territories and dominions thereunto belonging." The record states that he was appointed in room of Price, who had resigned. Tomlinson was Deputy Grand Master under Price. A copy of his commission is spread on the record.

In like manner, upon the death of Tomlinson, Thomas Oxnard (who was made a Mason in "the first Lodge" during Price's administration) was appointed Provincial Grand Master of North America, April 23, 1743.

From and after April 13, 1750, full accounts of the proceedings of the Grand Lodge are entered on the records according to the present usage.

At that time several Lodges had been established. The record states that Price sent a deputation to Benjamin Franklin, upon the petition of himself and other Masons in Philadelphia, to constitute a Lodge in that city. He also granted a warrant early in 1736 (N. S.) for a Lodge at Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

On January 2, 1738 (N. S.), the Masters' Lodge at Boston was founded, with Henry Price as Master: at that time Lodges conferred only the first two degrees.

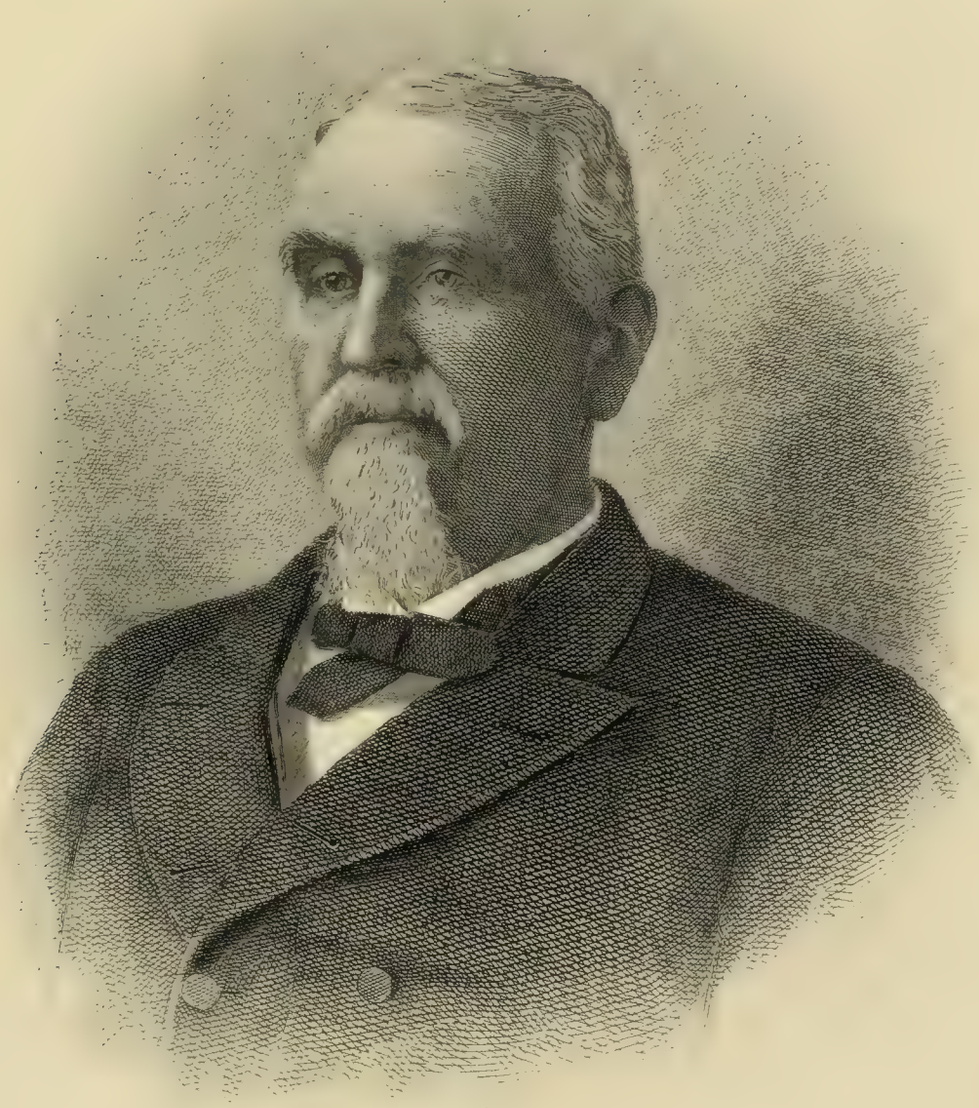
The record contains a memorandum, "omitted in place," that Price granted a deputation for a Lodge in Annapolis, Nova Scotia, to hold a Lodge there, and appointed Maj. Erasmus James Phillips (who was made in the first Lodge) Deputy Grand Master; and that Phillips afterwards granted a constitution for a Lodge at Halifax, with Edward Cornwallis as Master. It is elsewhere stated that the Lodge at Annapolis was constituted in 1738. It has, therefore, been claimed that the statement that Price granted this deputation is an error: that does not necessarily follow. Phillips was made a Mason, November 14, 1737, and of course could not have received the deputation before that,

so that no question is made that its date was in or after 1738. The Provincial Grand Master Tomlinson was absent in England during that year and until May, 1739, and no Deputy was appointed on St. John the Baptist's Day nor on St. John the Evangelist's Day. Under the regulations of the Grand Lodge at that time, the Grand Master's authority, in case of his absence, reverted to his immediate predecessor. In this case, not only was the Grand Master absent, but the office of Deputy was vacant, and there is no record of the appointment of Grand Wardens. While no mention of the matter is made in the record, the circumstances indicate that Price *acted* as Provincial Grand Master while Tomlinson was absent, and during that time granted the deputation to Phillips for the Lodge at Annapolis, Nova Scotia.

In 1752, when Grand Master Oxnard left for Europe, his Deputy, McDaniel, called the Grand Lodge together "to consider the twenty-first article in the printed book of Constitutions relating to the successor to the chair in the absence of the Grand Master." It was moved that the chair devolved upon Price. "After the brethren had severally given their opinions," the question was put and "passed in the negative." This course of the Deputy was in precise accordance with that article of the regulations: but if its strict letter had been followed, the motion should have "passed in the affirmative;" however, under the fourteenth article, the Deputy is to act in the temporary absence of the Grand Master, and undoubtedly the brethren held that, as the Grand Master's absence, though "beyond sea," was temporary, his Deputy was authorized to act: their decision seems to be correct, but if the Deputy had also been absent, or the office had been vacant, no question could have been made on the reverting of the authority to Price. In 1754, when Oxnard died, the Deputy called the Grand Lodge together, sent two brothers to wait on Bro. Price to request him to resume his office as Grand Master, "which now of course reverts to him;" Price appeared and "the Deputy Grand Master presented him with the Grand Master's Jewel and delivered him the chair." In 1738, full records were not kept, and the fact that no mention of Price's acting during Tomlinson's absence, is made in the record, is not material. Again, Price acted as Grand Master from Tomlinson's death until Oxnard's appointment: and the date, 1738, may be too early.

During Oxnard's administration constitutions were granted for Lodges as follows: in Newfoundland in 1746; at Newport, Rhode Island, December 27, 1749; the "Second Lodge" in Boston, March 7, 1749 (O. S.); at Annapolis, Maryland, August 12, 1750; at New Haven, Conn., August 12, 1750, but dated November 12, 1750, now Hiram Lodge; at New London, Conn., January 12, 1753; and at Middletown, Conn., February 4, 1754.

St. John the Baptist's Day in 1754 fell upon Sunday, and the celebration was held on the Tuesday following; but it was a sad day for the Craft, for Grand Master Oxnard died that morning. He was buried on the first day of July, his corpse being attended to the grave by a numerous train. "The Free and Accepted Masons, dressed in black and clothed with white aprons and gloves, walked before in a procession of two, with the Grand Master's Jewel, usually worn by him, pendant from the ribbon on a tasselled black velvet cushion carried next to the corpse. Immediately before the cushion, walked the Deputy Grand Master with the Grand Wardens; the Past Grand Officers, the other Officers of the Grand Lodge, the Masters, Wardens, and Officers of the other Lodges in town in their order, all the Masters and Wardens with their jewels pendant upon black



Henry Endicott,

Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts.

ribbon. After the interment, the fraternity walked before the relations, and returned with them to the Mansion House of the deceased, where they took their leave."

As before stated, Price resumed the office of Grand Master; he reappointed Oxnard's officers.

In January, 1754, a regulation had been adopted to the effect that no brother, under thirty years of age, should be Master of a regular Lodge: but the Grand Officers were authorized to dispense with this, so far as related to the two New Lodges in Connecticut, "they being young Lodges are incapable of complying." This Regulation was repealed in January, 1755.

At the communication, October 11, 1754, the Grand Lodge voted that when a petition should be sent for the appointment of a Grand Master of North America, "it shall be desired that such Grand Master shall be continued in the chair for three years and no longer." Jeremy Gridley was selected by ballot and a committee chosen to draw a petition for his appointment. The petition states that Oxnard had died, "upon which our Right Worshipful Brother, Mr. Henry Price, formerly Grand Master, had resumed the chair *pro tempore*," and prays that all future Grand Masters be deputed for three years only, except that if the Lodge should see fit to continue the same Grand Master, the deputation should remain in force for the continued term. It closes as follows:

"And whereas Masonry originated here Anno 5733, and in the year following our then G. M. Price received orders from G. M. Craufurd to establish Masonry in all North America, in pursuance of which the several Lodges hereafter mentioned have received constitutions from us. We therefore crave due precedency, and that in order thereunto our G. M. elect, may in his deputation be styled G. M. of all North America, and your petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray."

The Lodges mentioned are Philadelphia, New Hampshire, South Carolina, Antigua, Annapolis in Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Rhode Island, Halifax in Nova Scotia, Annapolis in Maryland, and New Haven, New London and Middleton, in Connecticut.

Tomlinson went to England *via* Antigua in 1738: the record says that finding some old Boston Masons in Antigua, he went to work and made the Governor, and sundry other gentlemen of distinction, Masons: it is also stated in the record that sundry Brethren going to South Carolina met with some Masons in Charleston and went to work; but no mention is made of the granting of a Charter or Constitution in either case.

Gridley's commission dated, April 4, 1755, was laid before a special Grand Lodge held August 21, 1755. He was appointed "Provincial Grand Master of all such provinces and places in North America and the territories thereof of which no Provincial Grand Master is at present appointed." It did not contain the requested limitation to three years.

Gridley was installed October 1, 1755, at Concert Hall. After the installation, in accordance with a previous vote of the Grand Lodge, the Lodges, the members clothed and the officers wearing their jewels, and the Grand Lodge, its officers wearing their jewels and badges, went in procession to Trinity Church, where prayers were read and a sermon preached; after the services the procession in reverse order returned to Concert Hall where dinner was served.

From the time when the keeping of full records was commenced there were regular payments to the Grand Lodge for the Charity Fund; in 1756 a committee was appointed to "consider of some method in order to raise a fund for charity." The committee re-

ported nine regulations which were adopted as the "regulations for charity." They provided for a Grand Lodge Charity Fund and the distribution of the income of it by the Grand Lodge.

The Grand Lodge exercised the power of making Masons, especially of applicants from a distance. On January 31, 1757, five gentlemen "came to town from Marblehead on purpose to be made a Mason," and the Grand Lodge unanimously agreed to do it. The Grand Master appointed Richard Gridley "to make the above five gentlemen Masons," and they were made and passed.

Richard Gridley, J. G. Warden, was commissioned by the Grand Lodge to form Lodges; by virtue of this authority he granted a dispensation November 13, 1758, to brethren at Louisburg for a Lodge in the twenty-eighth regiment of foot then stationed at that place.

The Grand Master granted a warrant for a Lodge in the "expedition to Crown Point," May 13, 1756: for one at Providence, R. I., January 18, 1757: for one "in the present expedition against Canada," April 13, 1759; and for one at Marblehead, March 25, 1760.

On March 20, 1759, he granted a warrant for a Master Masons' Lodge at Newport, R. I. It seems that the brethren there, supposing that they had authority to do so, had raised several fellow crafts; the Grand Master confirmed the work done.

In the great fire in Boston, March 20, 1760, many of the brethren were burned out, and several of them (including Hugh McDaniel, Past Dep. G. Master) were relieved from the Charity Fund of the Grand Lodge.

For about twenty-five years, the brethren enjoyed a career of prosperity and harmony: but then arose a disagreement which was not fully composed for nearly fifty years. It seems that some brethren in 1752 commenced meeting at the "Green Dragon" tavern and opened a Lodge "under ancient usage." The next year they commenced doing work. It does not appear where the brethren, who organized the Lodge, were made Masons: and while the regularity of those, who were made Masons in this Lodge, was afterwards denied, it does not appear that any question was raised as to the regularity of its founders. They were probably made under the authority of the Grand Lodge of Scotland and had adopted the polity and work of the "Ancient Masons." It is stated that, in 1754, they sent a petition for a Charter to the Grand Lodge of Scotland; they secured the approval of the Falkirk Lodge in Scotland: it was presented to the Grand Lodge, and was acted upon by the Grand committee, November 22, 1756. Whether there is an error as to the year when it was sent, or it was delayed on its passage or the committee took time for inquiry, does not appear. The Grand Lodge immediately (November 30, 1756) voted to grant the Charter; it was not then issued, however, but for some reason was withheld during 1757 and 1758: it was not "expedited" by the Grand Lodge till May 21, 1759, and was not actually received by the Lodge till September 4, 1760. In the correspondence, the failure to pay the fee, and the omission of the name of the proposed Lodge in the petition, appear as reasons for this long delay. But there were other causes, as is evident from an examination of the records.

Some of the petitioners were made in the voluntary Lodge self-organized in 1752. At that time, the law of both the English Grand Lodges and the Grand Lodge of Scotland was that no new Lodge could be lawfully formed without a warrant. Of course, the work of this Lodge was irregular, and the Grand Lodge evidently hesitated to grant a charter to petitioners, a part of whom were so made. At a later date, when the Provin-

cial Grand Lodge denied that the new body was a lawful Lodge, on the ground that the petitioners were not regular Masons and had concealed that fact from the Grand Lodge of Scotland, it was alleged in reply that all the circumstances were communicated to that Grand Lodge, and this allegation was substantially admitted. There is strong reason for believing that the delay in issuing the charter was due to the hesitation of the Grand Lodge on account of the *status* of the petitioners.

During the interval between the time of sending the petition and its receipt by the Lodge, it had continued to meet, except that from September, 1759, to the fourth of April, 1760, it either did not meet or else the record has been lost. It did work up to April, 1758: it admitted members from the other Lodges, and the only accessions it had during 1759 and 1760 were the admission of two members who had been made in "the first Lodge." In the published list of "past members * * with the year of their admission" all the charter members are put in the list for 1756, which must contain not only the names of those admitted that year, but also some, if not all, of those admitted during the previous years. The failure to do work indicates a state of suspense on the part of the Lodge, and the admission of members, made in other Lodges, shows an attempt to strengthen their position.

During this interval, also, quite likely at the suggestion of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, the petitioners for the Charter, or some of them, applied to the Provincial Grand Lodge at Boston to be healed or "regularized."

Isaac Decoster is the first named in the Charter; he was Master of the inchoate Lodge from April 10, 1756, to July 10, 1760. At a communication of the Grand Lodge held January 13, 1758, he presented a petition, the contents of which are not stated; but it was evidently of an unusual character, for it was referred to a committee of seven of the ablest and wisest members of the Grand Lodge. To consider it, the committee held a formal meeting on the twenty-fourth of the next month, at which all its members were present and also the Grand Master, his Deputy, Past Grand Master Price and two others; their action was recorded upon the records of the Grand Lodge as follows:

"The petition of Isaac Decoster for himself and others was read, debated; and afterwards

"*Voted*, that the said Decoster and those of his company who had a clear and good character, should be admitted to be made Masons by dispensation of the Grand Master, they paying the charge of the entertainment."

This report was signed by all the committee, and at the April quarterly communication of the Grand Lodge was referred to the Grand Master. Apparently nothing came of it; the report of the committee seems to contemplate the admission of the petitioners "who had a clear and good character" without other fee than the "charge of the entertainment." It was afterwards said by the Committee of the Lodge that the Grand Master of Scotland was duly informed of their being irregular Masons, and that Decoster had applied for admittance into the Lodge, but was refused, only by two votes, upon which the rest despaired of gaining admittance. It is quite likely, however, that the application and action taken upon it, had a decided influence upon the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

Only two members were admitted in 1760, but in 1761 the Lodge was exceedingly active, receiving not less than twenty-six members, four of whom had been made Masons in the "First Lodge."

The Grand Lodge at its session in April, 1761, forbade the members of its obedience appearing at "the meeting (or Lodge so-called) of Scots Masons in Boston, not being regularly constituted in the opinion of this Lodge;" and the Masters and Wardens of the several Lodges were desired to take notice of this order at their next meeting.

So far as the records disclose, the Grand Lodge took no further notice of St. Andrew's Lodge till 1766. In the meantime, Grand Master Gridley continued to grant warrants for Lodges; no formal entry of these charters was made on the record: but the names of the additional Lodges were recorded on the roll to be called at each communication.

In 1766, there were, in addition to those in Boston, thirty Lodges on the roll, *viz.*:

Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Lodge.
Charlestown, S. Carolina, Lodge.
Antigua Lodge.
Annapolis Royal Lodge.
Newfoundland Lodge.
Newport, R. Island, Lodge.
Halifax Lodge.
Annapolis, in Maryland, Lodge.
New Haven Lodge.
New London Lodge.
Middletown Lodge.
Crown Point Lodge.
Providence Lodge.
Louisburg Lodge.
Newport Masters' Lodge.
Quebec Lodge.
Newbury Lodge.
St. John's, Newfoundland, Lodge.
Marblehead Lodge.
Norwich Lodge.
Salem Lodge.
Virginia Lodge.
Surrinam Lodge.
St. Christopher's Lodge.
Barbadoes Lodge.
Elizabethtown Lodge.
Hartford Lodge.
Waterbury Lodge.
Falmouth Lodge.
Pitt County, N. Carolina, Lodge.

Three of these were military Lodges: only four were in Massachusetts, and one of the four was in the district of Maine; three were in Rhode Island, six in Connecticut, and one each in New Hamsphire, South Carolina, Maryland, Virginia, New Jersey, and North Carolina.

Nor had St. Andrew's Lodge been idle. It had grown rapidly and already numbered among its members some of the most active and influential men of the city. Many, who had been made in the other Lodges, joined it. Then a Mason could belong to more than one Lodge, and one receiving the degrees in a Lodge did not become a member without a subsequent election to membership. St. Andrew's Lodge admitted to membership, or as visitors, members of all other Lodges: but the other Lodges did not reciprocate. Its first Master under its charter was William Burbeck, who was made a Mason in "the first Lodge" and had been its Senior Warden; its second Master was Joseph Webb (afterwards Grand Master of Massachusetts Grand Lodge) also made in "the first Lodge," and Past Junior Warden of it; and up to 1767, its Masters and Wardens, with scarcely a single exception, were Masons made in Lodges subordinate to the Provincial Grand Lodge. Whether this was merely accidental, or was done with the purpose of strengthening the legality of the Lodge in the eyes of the Craft, is now only a matter of conjecture.

Be that as it may, at the communication of the Grand Lodge held January 24, 1766, a committee of five from St. Andrew's Lodge, headed by two brethren who were made Masons in the first Lodge, appeared and were admitted: they presented their petition and a "letter from the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge in Scotland to the said St. Andrew's Lodge, which highly reflected on Right Worshipful Grand Master:" both were read, and their consideration postponed until the following Monday evening. Then votes were passed to the effect that the Charter members of St. Andrew's Lodge were not at the time of its constitution Free and Accepted Masons; that their application was an imposition on the Grand Lodge of Scotland; that they and all who had then been

added to their fraternity were irregular Masons; that several of them had applied to visit the regular Lodges and had been refused on account of their irregularity: that, therefore, members of the regular Lodges could not visit them: and that a copy of the votes be transmitted to the Grand Master of England, and one given to the committee "when demanded."

St. Andrew's Lodge adopted a reply, which was presented to the Grand Lodge by its committee, composed of the same members and two others, who had been made Masons in Lodges under the authority of the Grand Lodge. The committee were not admitted, but their communication was referred to a committee, which should confer with them and report to the Grand Lodge. The material part of the reply of St. Andrew's Lodge is as follows:

"2d, Voted, that the second vote of the said Grand Lodge which asserts that the aforesaid application was 'an imposition on the Grand Lodge of Scotland' is at least a mistake; the truth being as follows: our Worshipful Brother James Logan, who had been Master of a Lodge in Scotland, and a member of the Grand Lodge there, was, when in Boston, A. L. 5754, perfectly informed of the manner and circumstances by which the persons aforesaid became acquainted with the mysteries of Masonry, and was desired upon his return to Scotland, truly to represent their difficulties to the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and to endeavor to procure for them a Charter: the Grand Lodge of Scotland, finding from the relation given by our Brother Logan, that a number of persons in Boston intrusted with the secrets of Masonry were, notwithstanding their repeated application refused admittance into the regular Lodges in said Boston, the said Grand Lodge, in their great wisdom, thought fit to grant them a Charter of new erection, with ample privileges, thereby manifesting their approbation of them, as Free and Accepted Masons."

The two committees had a long conference, which, while no result was reached, narrowed the controversy to a single point. The Grand Lodge committee substantially withdrew the charge of imposition upon the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

The other committee frankly said:

"They also acknowledge in behalf of said Lodge, that all the proceedings of those persons before their application for a Constitution from the Grand Master of Scotland were irregular and wrong; but are fully of opinion, that the proceedings of said St. Andrew's Lodge, after their Constitution, have been regular and just; and that although they, before their Constitution, were irregular, yet the Grand Master of Scotland has a power of dispensation, and can make irregular Masons regular; therefore they think themselves regular."

But the Grand Lodge Committee denied the correctness of this conclusion, and insisted that the members of St. Andrew were irregular, and that "the law of Masons requires irregular Masons to make a proper submission, before they can be received."

In spite of the failure to come to an agreement, some members of St. Andrew's Lodge were allowed to join the others at the dinners of St. John's days. They were chiefly those who had been made Masons in "the first Lodge," and it seems that some of them still retained their old Membership; however, at least one, who was made a Mason in St. Andrew's Lodge, was allowed to participate, and his name was entered with the others on the Grand Lodge record.

In later times, it was argued that the Grand Lodge of Scotland, by using the term "Charter of New Erection," intended to confirm what the Lodge had already done, as well as to authorize it to work in the future; but an examination shows that this term

was used in contradistinction to the term "Charter of Confirmation:" the former was used in creating a new Lodge, and the latter in confirming an organization already existing.

On September 10, 1767, Jeremy Gridley, the Grand Master, died in the sixty-second year of his age. As a man and as a Mason, he was very highly respected, as is shown by the vast concourse at his funeral, as well as by the tribute to his memory on the records of the Grand Lodge. At a special session called to arrange for his funeral, a committee of St. Andrew's Lodge was admitted by unanimous vote, and the request of their Lodge, that they might attend the Grand Master's funeral in due form as Masons, was granted, and a place in the procession assigned to them. The Tyler and Stewards of St. Andrew's Lodge headed the procession; then the members of that Lodge; then the Grand Stewards: then the Members of the First, Second and Masters' Lodges (the Third Lodge being then extinct): then the officers of St. Andrew's Lodge: then the officers of the other Lodges: then the Past Grand Officers: then the Deputy Grand Master and the Grand Wardens: then the Grand Tyler carrying the late Grand Master's jewel on a black cushion: then the body of the late Grand Master. The brethren were clothed as Masons, and the officers wore their jewels and official badges: in all, one hundred and sixty-one Masons were in the procession, undoubtedly a larger number than ever before present in this country on a Masonic occasion. The fraternal feelings which, it might be supposed, would be engendered on such an occasion, were not destined to last. The Grand Lodge resumed its former policy, and St. Andrew's Lodge, on November 30, 1767, voted that "this Lodge will not from henceforth admit of the visits of the members of any of the Lodges in this town, or any person that shall be made therein, until the said vote of said Grand Lodge shall be reconsidered and made void, except they are members of this Lodge, or have been raised Master here."

Price again succeeded to the Grand Mastership, and notice thereof was given in the public newspapers to "all the fraternity in North America and the West Indies, under this jurisdiction." He continued the Grand officers for the remainder of the year, and appointed Thomas Cooper Deputy Grand Master for North Carolina, by commission dated December 30, 1767.

In January following, John Rowe, then Deputy, was nominated for Grand Master and a committee chosen to request his appointment for three years, as Grand Master of all North America. To William Jackson, one of the committee, who was about to sail for England, was entrusted the petition, as well as a letter from Henry Price to the Grand Lodge of England, and a letter of introduction for himself. Price, in his letter, states that he was appointed Provincial Grand Master of New England in 1733; and that his authority was extended over all North America in 1735; but that upon inquiry he finds that said deputations were never registered, though he had himself paid three guineas therefor to Thomas Batson, then Deputy Grand Master: he, therefore, requested that they be registered in the proper place and the Grand Lodge have rank according to its date. To facilitate the inquiry, which he solicits, he encloses an attested copy of his deputation as registered in the Grand Lodge book. This payment, by himself, of the fee shows that his deputation was granted and delivered directly to him while he was in England; and this fact accounts for the failure to register it and the absence of any correspondence in relation to it.

The festival of St. John the Baptist was celebrated in 1768, and there were present,

according to the record, William Burbeck and Joseph Webb, both Past Masters of St. Andrew's Lodge but both made Masons in the First Lodge.

On September 30, 1768, Jackson returned from England, bringing with him Rowe's deputation: he reported that the Grand Lodge jewels (which it seems had been ordered) were unfinished when he left, but were to be sent in the vessel next to arrive.

Extensive arrangements were made for the installation on November 23, 1768: the Grand Secretary wrote to all the Lodges in the vicinity, inviting their attendance. Finally a "General Grand Lodge" of all the regular Masons in town "was called, and the Grand Secretary was desired "to issue out summonses to all the known and accepted brothers in town." There was a large attendance, including at least five who had attended Gridley's funeral as members of St. Andrew's Lodge. The programme was not carried out in all particulars, but was recorded "for the direction of those who may have the management of such a solemnity on any future occasion." Of it, the Grand Secretary says:

"Thus was ended this grand solemnity, much to the honor of the fraternity, as the like had never been seen in America before; what from the richness of the jewels, badges, clothing, and ensigns of office, the good order and regularity of the procession, the appearance of many honorable and respectable brethren, and the uniformity of the clothing, the spectators of all ranks were struck with admiration, except some few who called themselves brethren, who had sufficient to raise their envy, for it appeared in the countenances of several of them, as the procession passed through the streets to and from church."

The "few who call themselves brethren" were probably members of St. Andrew, who had not been permitted to participate in the ceremonies.

The deputation granted in 1762 for a Lodge at Falmouth (now Portland), Maine, not having been acted upon on account of the sickness and death of the Master, a new one was granted March 30, 1769; and a warrant was issued for a Lodge at Wallingford, Conn., May 1, 1769.

At the Quarterly communication, January 20, 1770, Henry Price, as *Acting* Grand Master in his absence, appointed the Grand Officers for the ensuing year.

Upon the presentation of a petition for a Charter, the Grand Lodge decided that "three Master Masons are necessary to the constituting a new Lodge." Routine business occupied the attention of the Grand Lodge for some time: Charters were granted for Lodges in Sherbourne; Guilford, Conn.; and for Rising Sun Lodge in Boston.

On January 29, 1773, the question "whether the members of St. Andrew's and Massachusetts Lodges, if found to be good Masons after a proper examination, shall be admitted as visiting brothers in the respective Lodges under this jurisdiction" was presented, considered, debated, put and "passed in the affirmative, *Nemine Contradicente.*" If this course had been taken in 1766 as the result of the conferences, the course of events would in all probability have been greatly changed; it is not unlikely that St. Andrew's Lodge would have passed under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge; but in the interval, important events had transpired delaying the substantial union of the Craft for nearly twenty years, and the full union for over thirty years.

Col. John Young was appointed Provincial Grand Master of all Lodges in North America under the authority of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, November 14, 1757. In a letter dated October 13, 1759, it is stated that he was then in America. In a letter dated June 4, 1762, the Grand Master of Scotland speaks of his appointment as being

then in force. But so far as it is known, he never undertook to exercise his authority. He was a military officer accompanying his regiment, and so not really a resident in this country.

On November 30, 1767, when the vote of non-intercourse with the Grand Lodge was adopted, St. Andrew's Lodge had become a large and powerful body. In spite of the irregularity of its origin, it had vindicated its claim to regularity from the date of its constitution under its Charter. In this connection, it is proper to state that the account of this Lodge in Chapter XXX. under the year "1767" is in part erroneous, in part inaccurate, and in part unsustained by authority. In the "Centennial Memorial" it is stated that the record previous to 1756 is lost. The statement in Chapter XXX., "originating in the association of nine Masons who had been made Masons clandestinely, it was chartered in 1756 by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and then numbered twenty-one members exclusively of the original nine, who had left Boston in the interval," is manifestly erroneous. As hereinbefore stated, during the sharpest period of the controversy, no question was ever raised as to the original founders being regular Masons. If they had been clandestine, that point would surely have been made against them, and it is not believed that the Grand Lodge of Scotland would have granted a charter to them or their initiates. By making the point, that because they had no warrant, their initiates were not regular Masons, the Provincial Grand Lodge admitted the regularity of all other than initiates. Charles W. Moore and Hamilton Willis, in their centennial addresses, say that the only irregularity in the organization of the Lodge was that it presumed to organize and work without a Charter; and that the Charter of new-erection was intended to confirm the work done; not to heal clandestine Masons, but to confirm work done by regular Masons in an irregular manner. Nor is there any authority for the suggestion, that all the original nine had left Boston in the interval.

The statement of the number of initiates is inaccurate, but the loss of the record prevents an accurate statement. The list, in the "Centennial Memorial" of past members "with the year of their admission" begins with 1756. It is certain that that list contains the names of persons who were made Masons before that year, and the natural conclusion is, that it contains the names of all the members at that time, without reference to the year of their admission. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that it includes every one of the Charter members. Of course it is possible that the Charter members were none of them petitioners and were made Masons in 1756 and fixed upon even after the Grand Lodge voted to grant a Charter, but it is not probable. In the list mentioned, there are thirty-nine names from 1756 to 1760 inclusive; of these, nine are known to have been initiated in other Lodges and admitted to membership in this Lodge; how many more are included in the same category is not known. In "a true list of St. Andrew's Lodge from the time it was first held in Boston, N. E., after receiving the deputation from the Grand Lodge in Scotland," purporting to be for the year 1763, in the archives of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts are twenty-three made in other Lodges and fifty-eight "made in St. Andrew's Lodge;" among the latter are the names of George Bray and four others connected by a brace with a mark referring to a note partially expunged, indicating that they, with the first five in the other list, "formed the first Lodge after we received the Charter;" of these ten, only two were named in the Charter. In this 1763 list are included none of those found in the lists in the "Memorial" from 1756 to 1760 inclusive, except those who were made in other Lodges and the five made in St.

Andrew, who helped form the first Lodge after the Charter was received, as above stated, and all of whom are in the list for 1756. If we take this 1763 list for a criterion, all those made in St. Andrew's Lodge prior to the actual receipt of the Charter, except the five last mentioned, were dropped from the roll. With the exception of "the five" and six others (at the foot of the list), all those in the 1763 list under the head "made in St. Andrew's Lodge" are found in the lists in the "Memorial" for 1761 to 1763 inclusive; the six were probably "made" but not admitted to membership. A list of the members in 1762, given in the "Memorial," includes those made in other Lodges, "the five" and those made in St. Andrew's in 1761 and 1762, and no others. The conclusion is inevitable that, except "the five," all those made in the Lodge prior to the receipt of the Charter were completely ignored. "The five" who were present and assisted in forming the Lodge under the Charter, were practically all whom that instrument "made regular."

It is evident that the difference between the Provincial Grand Lodge and St. Andrew's Lodge, at the time of the installation of Grand Master Rowe on November 23, 1768, was more violent than ever before; for immediately after, steps were taken to form a Provincial Grand Lodge under authority of the Grand Lodge of Scotland. The course of public events gave an opportunity. Three British Regiments were stationed in Boston, having but recently arrived; in each was a military Lodge, one Scottish, one English, and one Irish, but all working under the "Ancient" system. Warren was Master of St. Andrew: on November 30, 1768, a Committee of that Lodge was appointed, with Warren at its head, to consider the expediency of applying to the Grand Lodge of Scotland for a Grand Master of Ancient Masons in America and "to confer with such committees as shall be appointed by the other Ancient Lodges now in town." On December 8, the Committee reported favorably, and a petition was drawn up, signed in behalf of the four Lodges by their Masters and Wardens, and transmitted to Scotland. It is difficult to determine the reason of having the three military Lodges join in the petition. The arrival of those regiments caused great excitement in Boston; Warren, Revere and other members of St. Andrew were soon after, if not then, vehemently opposed to their remaining in the city. Warren was one of the Committee which, in March following, drew up a petition to the king for the removal of the troops.

The reason could not have been that the concurrence of a certain number of Lodges was necessary, as, under the Ancient system, a Provincial Grand Master could be appointed and a Provincial Grand Lodge formed without a single Lodge; the requirement of a number of Lodges related wholly to the formation of an independent Grand Lodge, and then *five* were required. The most plausible reason is, that either the promoters of the plan deemed the concurrence of all the Ancient Lodges in Boston necessary, or that their concurrence would strengthen the petition.

The petition was granted, and on May 30, 1769, a commission was issued appointing Joseph Warren Grand Master of Masons in Boston, New England, and within one hundred miles of the same: it was not received in Boston until the following September, when the Lodge of St. Andrew fixed the 27th of December for the installation.

In the meantime, the Lodge had voted that Modern Masons "not members of any Lodge" might become candidates for membership, and that "huzzaing be omitted for the future except on feast days."

It seems that a dispensation had been issued by the Master, or the Lodge, for a new Lodge in another British Regiment, for on May 11 of that year it was voted "that the

dispensation granted to the Masons in the Sixty-Fifth Regiment was unconstitutional." Before the receipt of Warren's commission, that regiment, and the regiment in which was the Lodge held under Scottish authority, had left town.

St. Andrew made preparations for the installation without regard to the military Lodges, or consultation with them: the only notice taken of them was, that on the 14th of December, the committee reported that, in their opinion, information should be given to the two of those Lodges then in town that "the installment of a Grand Master will be on Wednesday, the 27th, at Town Hall." It was also voted, that the "installment be public, but without a procession."

On the day fixed, St. Andrew, and the English and Irish Lodges were represented by their Masters and Wardens: Warren's commission was read, and he was installed "in ample form:" other Grand officers "for the year ensuing" were elected and installed, one by proxy. The Grand Wardens were both from the Irish Lodge. So far as the record discloses, neither of them was ever present at any subsequent meeting of the Grand Lodge. In May following, at the request of one of them, a letter of recommendation was granted to him, and it was also voted that a like letter be granted to the other, if he should apply to the Grand Secretary for it. At the meetings in January and March, 1770, the military Lodges were represented by their Masters and Wardens, but never after. At the session in March, 1771, the complaint was made that one of them was making Masons "for a less sum than the Constitution allows," and it was ordered, that the Masters and Wardens of the Lodge be notified of the information, and desired to attend at the June meeting "when they will have an opportunity to answer to said information;" but no mention of them is found in the record of that meeting, or in any subsequent record: and it may be safely presumed that the military Lodges then ceased to be constituents of this Grand Lodge. They were never in fact more than a merely nominal part of it; St. Andrew's Lodge was really the Grand Lodge.

On March 2, 1770, a Charter was granted for Tyrian Lodge, at Gloucester, and on May 13, 1770, for Massachusetts Lodge in Boston. Only one of the Charter members of the former seems to have been a member of St. Andrew, though more of them were probably made Masons in it; but all the Charter members of the latter were members of St. Andrew. The Charter of Tyrian Lodge was granted at once but the petition for Massachusetts Lodge was considered and debated at a Grand Lodge specially summoned for the purpose, and finally granted by a vote of eight to four, none of the petitioners voting. All who voted were members of St. Andrew's Lodge. During the discussion the commission of the Grand Master was read, by vote of the Grand Lodge. While this petition was under discussion, one for another Lodge was denied three times: at first it had but three names; it was presented a second time with four names, and a third time with six names.

This Grand Lodge on May 11, 1770, affirming the rule of the civil law in relation to a quorum,

> "*Voted unanimously* as the opinion of this Lodge, that whenever summonses are issued for convening a Grand Lodge by the Grand Master or his direction, and the Grand Lodge in consequence thereof is congregated, the same is to all intents and purposes a legal Grand Lodge, however few in number, and as such may, with the strictest propriety, proceed to business."

This has been the law in Massachusetts ever since; and it probably prevails in all

jurisdictions in which the matter is not regulated by express constitutional provisions. This rule prevented the suspension of the meetings of several Grand Lodges during the Anti-Masonic excitement, by enabling a few members to keep them alive.

On March 6, 1772, a Charter was granted for St. Peter's Lodge, at Newburyport: a petition for a Lodge at Portsmouth, N. H., was presented and considered at several sessions of the Grand Lodge, but was finally denied. The three Charters enumerated were all that were granted during Grand Master Warren's administration.

St. John's day (June 24, 1772) was publicly celebrated: the Grand Lodge met at Concert Hall, was opened in ample form, formed in procession, "all clothed in their respective jewels and with their several badges of office," and marched to Christ's Church, where "a very suitable and pertinent discourse was preached;" after which the procession marched to Masons' Hall in reverse order, where several votes of thanks were passed and the Grand Lodge closed: the Brethren then dined together under a tent in the garden.

On December 27, 1771, Grand Master Warren, by a commission in due form, appointed Joseph Webb Deputy Grand Master, and he was, at the next session of the Grand Lodge, formally installed. The issuing of a commission to a Deputy was without precedent, so far as any record shows. Viewed in the light of subsequent events, this fact has led to considerable speculation as to the cause of this proceeding: additional interest in this inquiry is given by the fact that, by its terms, it was "to remain in full force and virtue until recalled by me, or my successors in office." Some have suggested that Warren, with prophetic vision, then foresaw the great events that within less than four years actually did happen: but the more natural conclusion is that Warren, being familiar with what had already happened more than once in the other Grand Lodge—the death of the Grand Master and the reversion of his authority to a former Grand Master—intended to make provision for the succession in case of his own death. By the law then existing, in case of the death of the Grand Master, his authority reverted to the Junior Past Grand Master, or if there was no Past Grand Master, then the Deputy Grand Master should act as principal until a Grand Master be chosen; there was no Past Grand Master of his Grand Lodge, and the appointment of a Deputy was necessary to prevent the extinction of his Grand Lodge, or, at best, a suspension of its functions, in case of his death: whether Warren so understood it or not, his action in appointing a Deputy to hold commission until recalled by him, or his successors in office, was in exact conformity to the law and was the only method by which his Grand Lodge could exercise its functions in an exigency which might happen and which actually did happen. It is not necessary to assume that he foresaw the Revolution, but only that he intended to provide for an exigency that might happen at any moment.

On December 27, 1773, the Grand Master presented a commission from the Grand Master of Scotland, dated March 3, 1772, appointing him Grand Master of Masons for the Continent of America, and he was thereupon installed into office. He then caused to be read a commission appointing Joseph Webb, Deputy Grand Master, "who was accordingly installed:" this commission to Webb is not recorded, but undoubtedly it was like the former one in all respects, except the territory for which he was appointed. The commission was convenient and proper evidence of Webb's appointment; but it must be remembered that it was merely his appointment as an officer, whose powers and duties were found, not in the commission, but in the constitutions and regulations

of the Grand Lodge of Scotland and of the Provincial Grand Lodge held under its authority.

The Grand Lodge decided, October 1, 1773, that neither the Lodge located at Castle William (a military Lodge) nor any other travelling Lodge has a right to make Masons of citizens. This was an early affirmation of the doctrine of territorial jurisdiction.

During this year also, there came before the Grand Lodge a curious complication that had arisen in the Lodge of St. Andrew. William Burbeck was the first Master under the Charter, and was Master for the year ending December 27, 1767: although his term of office had expired, he still retained possession of the Charter. No satisfactory reason for his doing so has ever been given. He was a Charter member, the first Master under the Charter, and when he ceased to be Master, was the only Charter member that was then a member of the Lodge. It may be, that he deemed it to be his right and duty to hold the Charter, because he was the only one remaining of those to whom it was granted. It has been suggested that he feared that Paul Revere would attempt to cut loose from the Grand Lodge of Scotland; but he took the Charter a year before the movement for the appointment of a Provincial Grand Master was commenced, and two years before the Provincial Grand Lodge was organized. Whatever his reason was, the Lodge at first acquiesced, and it is probable that he produced it at the meetings; no action by the Lodge was taken during 1768, 1769, or 1770, but on March 4, 1771, it was voted unanimously that the money advanced by Bro. Burbeck for the Charter be offered to him. On the eleventh of the next month, the Master was desired to demand the Charter of Bro. Burbeck; demand was made and Bro. Burbeck refused to give it up, and it was voted to apply to the Grand Lodge of Scotland for a copy. During the remainder of 1771, and during 1772, nothing seems to have been done in the matter, save that at the annual election in the latter year, Burbeck was nominated for Master, but declined. Early in 1773, another demand was made on him for the Charter, but he returned no answer. Thereupon the Lodge petitioned the Grand Lodge for a dispensation until the copy of the Charter should be received from Scotland. When the matter came before the Grand Lodge, it was first voted that the members of St. Andrew's Lodge "have no voice in the determination of this petition;" and then the petition was granted unanimously.

Upon receipt of the dispensation, Burbeck was suspended "until he gives satisfactory reasons for detaining the Charter." It was ordered that the dispensation be kept by the Master, and laid on the table each Lodge night, and the Lodge continued to work under it, no reply being received from Scotland.

As the Lodge did not recover the original Charter into full possession till more than forty years after it was first withheld, and as it is still preserved as the only Charter in existence in the United States issued by the the Grand Lodge of Scotland, a brief statement of its subsequent history is given.

On February 10, 1774, a committee on affairs with William Burbeck was chosen, but nothing seems to have been effected, for on December 13, 1776, it was voted to reconsider his suspension "upon his laying the Charter on the table each night." He does not appear to have performed the condition, but was always afterwards treated as a member. When the Lodge refused to submit to the authority of the Massachusetts Grand Lodge, the letter to the Grand Lodge of Scotland was written by him; and he attended many sessions of the Grand Lodge between 1777 and 1782. He died in the latter part of 1785,

and, on his death-bed, delivered the Charter to two brethren; they announced the fact to the Lodge, which voted that one of them, Bro. Elisha Sigourney, should retain it "until further orders." Thus the matter rested until 1789, when Bro. Sigourney was requested to lay it on the table each Lodge night; and the Secretary was directed to read it at each annual meeting, to transcribe it on the record of the Lodge, and have a copy made and attested by a notary public under his official seal. In 1793, the Lodge seems to have awoke to the fact that it was working under a Charter which it did not control, or under a dispensation from a Grand Lodge whose authority it denied. After considerable discussion, it resolved that its old Charter was valid, and wrote the Grand Lodge of Scotland, asking to have all its proceedings approved; no answer came till after six years of doubt, anxiety and perplexity; but then an answer came confirming the Charter and the action of the Lodge.

Sigourney, however, continued to hold possession of the Charter, and finally was made responsible for its safe preservation. Meantime the discussion of the question of becoming subordinate to the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts was going on, until it resulted in the Lodge giving in its adhesion on May 11, 1809. Three days afterwards, at a session of the Lodge, Bro. Sigourney presented the Charter to the Lodge, stating that he received it from Bro. Burbeck under the solemn injunction not to give it up until the difficulty then (in 1785) existing between the Grand Lodge and St. Andrew's Lodge should be settled. It has since remained in the archives of this Lodge.

This injunction, taken with other facts, suggests that Bro. Burbeck took a broader view of the matter than has heretofore been supposed. During all the time while he held the Charter, he *was a member of the First Lodge.* This became dormant during the Revolution; and in 1783, he was one of a Committee in behalf of the First and Second Lodges, which petitioned Grand Master Rowe for a Charter consolidating those two Lodges into one by the name of St. John's Lodge. The Charter was granted, and he was one of the Charter members. Who will say, in the light of these facts, that when he gave that solemn death-bed injunction in relation to the Charter, he did not have in mind "a complete Masonic union throughout the Commonwealth?" Whether he did or not, the restoration of the Charter in accordance with that injunction, was the final act in the consummation of "complete Masonic union."

Returning to the history of the two Grand Lodges, we find little of importance in 1773 and 1774. Matters and events, which were to culminate in the independence of the Colonies, absorbed the attention of leading men. Grand Master Warren and his associates, and many of the members of the Lodges under his jurisdiction, were exceedingly active. The records of the Lodges and of the Grand Lodge show that other and public duties prevented the performance of the usual routine Masonic duties. The meetings were kept up, however, although but little business was transacted. St. John's day (December 27, 1773) was celebrated by both Grand Lodges. Grand Master Warren sent a committee to wait upon Grand Master Rowe, the Grand Officers and Brethren convened with him, to acquaint them that "their healths would be drank half after four o'clock." The committee returned for answer that Grand Master Rowe and the Brethren with him would return the compliment at the same time. William Burbeck, the holder of the Charter for St. Andrew's Lodge, was among those who had "convened" with Grand Master Rowe in celebrating the day.

The preceding 24th of June, St. John's Grand Lodge celebrated and the other

Grand Lodge did not; but Grand Master Warren, William Burbeck and others, were the guests of Grand Master Rowe. But for the Revolution, this fraternal interchange of courtesies might have paved the way for an early union; but such a result was hardly probable while the Grand Lodges were not independent, although one Brother (Samuel Barrett) seems to have been at that time an active member of both Grand Lodges, as well as of a Lodge under the jurisdiction of each.

In the latter part of 1773, Grand Master Rowe laid before his Grand Lodge a plan for "A general Fund of Charity." It was carefully considered and referred to a Committee, by which it was discussed at several sessions and then reported to the Grand Lodge, by which it was unanimously adopted.

The intention was to create a permanent fund, the income of which only should be expended: it was to be a Grand Lodge fund, and it was not to "have any connection with, or lay any restraint on charitable acts which any Lodge may choose to make on their particular Funds of Charity."

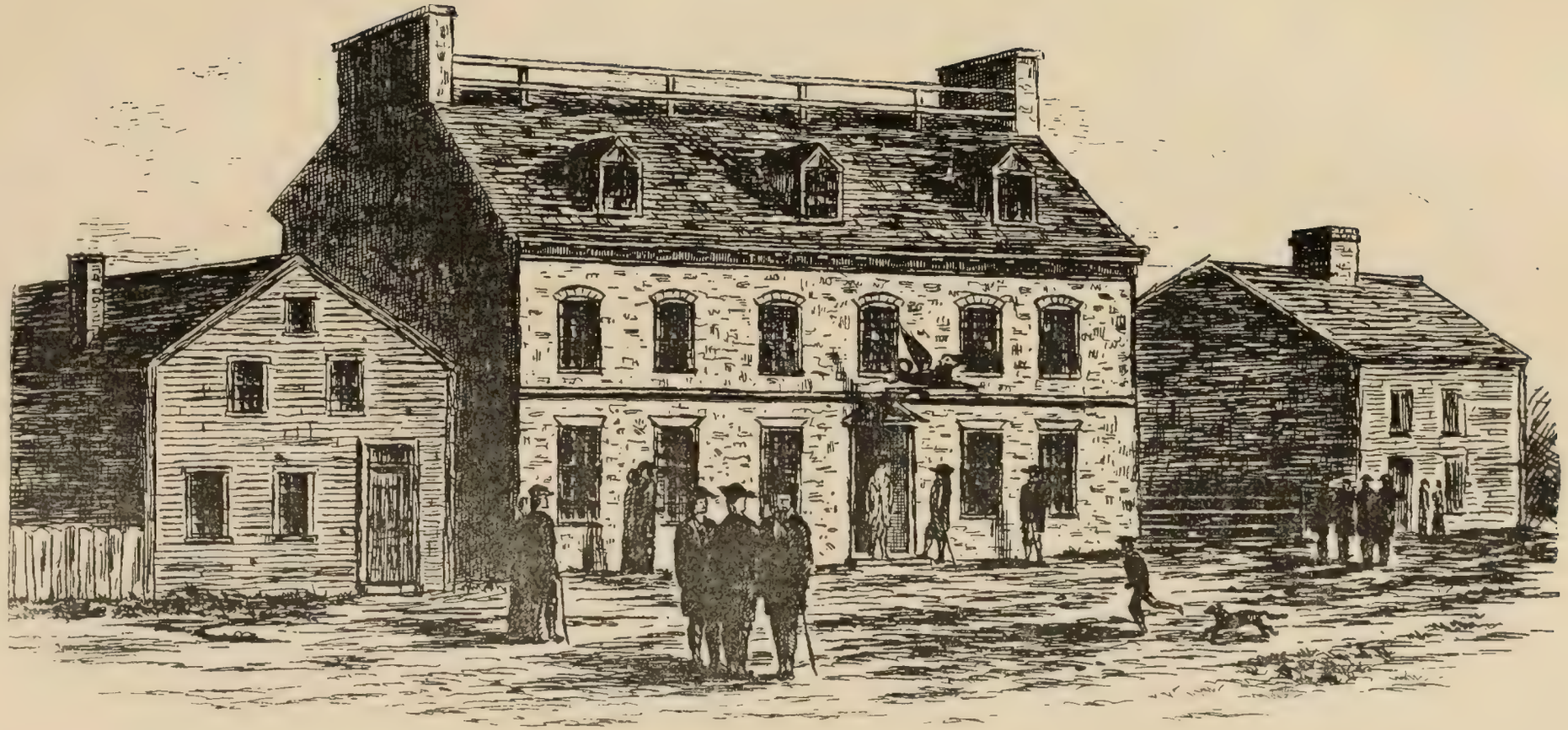
The Grand Lodge "highly approved" a letter of the Grand Secretary in which he said, "when any Brother petitions a particular Lodge for relief, and they are satisfied with the petitioner's character and circumstances, it lays entirely with them to grant him such a sum as they think convenient, or none at all, if they find the state of their Lodge at a low ebb." This denies that a Mason has any absolute right to relief, and leaves the granting of it to the members of the Lodge acting under the influence of their Masonic obligations, and no warrant is found in it for any claim to reimbursement under any circumstances.

But little was done, however, in execution of the plans "by reason of the precariousness of the times," as one Lodge expressed it.

The Grand Lodge met in January, 1775, but before the time for the next quarterly communication arrived, the war of the Revolution had actually begun on the fields of Lexington and Concord. The meetings of the Grand Lodge were suspended for many years. Grand Master Warren's Grand Lodge resumed its meetings as soon as the British forces left Boston, but Grand Master Rowe's did not, though he occasionally exercised his functions as Grand Master.

It appears from his diary that the friends of independence looked upon him with suspicion.

In 1773, he was consignee, or in some other way connected with the shipment of tea. In fact, one of the cargoes emptied into Boston harbor came in a vessel with which he was connected. He was interviewed by a committee of which Warren was chairman, received anonymous and threatening letters, and was so worried about the matter that he records that he "would rather have lost five hundred guineas than Capt. Bruce should have taken any of this tea on board his ship." Still, it is evident that he strongly disapproved of the proceedings of the "Sons of Liberty." Referring to a fast "recommended by some of the ministers on account of the miserable situation of this town," he says, "I cannot reconcile this measure, and should much rather the people would do justice and recommend the payment for the tea instead of losing a day by fasting." While there undoubtedly existed among the people a grave distrust concerning him, there was no special manifestation of it, so far as known, until Warren's funeral, April 8, 1776. By invitation of Joseph Webb, then Deputy Grand Master of the other Grand Lodge, he went to attend the "funeral of the remains of Dr. Warren." He went to the Council



Green Dragon Tavern, Boston, Mass., in 1773.

Chamber with the intention of walking in procession with the Lodges under his jurisdiction, with their jewels and clothing, "but" (he says) "to my great mortification was very much insulted, by some hot and furious persons, without the least provocation." It was deemed prudent that he should retire and he did so. He adds, "This has caused some uneasy reflections in my mind, as I am not conscious to myself of doing anything prejudicial to the cause of America either by will, word or deed."

The derangement of affairs, caused by the war, was of itself a very serious obstacle to the prosecution of Masonic work, and when there was added a division between the Grand Master and very many of the craft upon the questions which were being settled by the arbitrament of arms, it is not strange that such work was entirely suspended. The Grand Lodge records show no meetings for twelve years. However, on June 25, 1776, the Grand Master celebrated the day by dining with the Brethren of the Lodges under his direction. Some of the Lodges became dormant, but others kept up their organization and occasionally met.

While the other Grand Lodge, over which Warren presided, had among the members of its obedience those loyal to King George, the larger part took the opposite side, and many of them were very active and among the leaders of the incipient revolution. This was especially true of the members of St. Andrew's Lodge. It then met at the "Green Dragon Tavern," and that was also the headquarters of the "Sons of Liberty." The annual meeting in 1773 fell on the thirtieth of November, and there were only seven members present. The Secretary adds a note in his record, "N. B. Consignees of Tea took up the brethren's time." The election was postponed to the 2d of December. On the evening of December 16, the Lodge met with only five present, and was closed till the next evening, "on account of the few members in attendance." The Secretary makes a very brief record and then covers all the rest of the page with flourishes, each one of which is a well defined T. The absent members were then engaged in discharging three cargoes of TEA *into Boston Harbor*, and the Secretary may be excused for his flourishes, as *his* record is the only known record of their proceedings!

It is not necessary to refer particularly to the part taken in the subsequent public events by Gen. Joseph Warren, Paul Revere and other members of Lodges under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge over which Warren presided, for it is part of the history of the country. But their position drew to the support of their Grand Lodge the same public sentiment, which Rowe's unsatisfactory position withheld from his Grand Lodge; in consequence the former was prosperous, while the latter suspended the active exercise of its functions.

Warren's Grand Lodge held a meeting on March 3, 1775, at which he presided. The record of this meeting is followed by "Memo. 19th April, 1775, Hostilities commenced between the troops of Great Britain and America in Lexington battle. In consequence of which the town was blockaded and no Lodge held until December, 1776."

The meeting in that month was to celebrate St. John's day: but on April 8, 1776, the Grand Lodge had met for the performance of a sad and solemn duty. Their Grand Master had fallen at the battle of Bunker Hill and been buried on the field. After the evacuation of Boston by the British troops, his burial place was found and his body recovered, and on the day last named it was buried with Masonic honors. The services were held in King's Chapel: "Rev. Dr. Cooper prayed and Mr. Perez Morton delivered an oration." "There was a handsome procession of the craft with two companies of soldiers."

A special meeting of the Grand Lodge was called for February 14, 1777, to consider a petition for a Charter for a new Lodge; but when the Brethren met they were confronted by a question in comparison with which all others were of no importance. What was the *status* of their Grand Lodge after the death of their Grand Master? The law of succession was plainly set forth in the Constitutions, and undoubtedly Grand Master Warren well understood it. There being no Past Grand Master, the authority vested in his Deputy. It has been accepted as true, that either the Brethren had doubts upon this point, or else that they were ignorant of the law. But their proceedings indicate that their doubts did not arise in reference to this point, but in relation to a question of vastly greater importance—whether they had not the right to organize a Sovereign Grand Lodge.

After discussing the question, the Grand Lodge voted to summon all its members to meet "in order to consult upon and to elect a Grand Master for this State, in the room of our late worthy Grand Master Warren, deceased." The meeting was held and the question discussed, but action was deferred until the next evening. At that time, March 8, 1777, the Grand Lodge voted to proceed to the choice of a Grand Master to act in that capacity till the next June.

Joseph Webb (then Deputy) was chosen, after which the other Grand Officers were elected. The petition for the new Lodge was then granted.

It has been doubted whether those brethren, by whom these proceedings were taken, intended to organize a sovereign and independent Grand Lodge, or understood that they were doing so. But their acts leave no room for doubt. By the existing Masonic law, the Deputy Grand Master became Acting Grand Master, until the office should be filled by a new appointment by the Grand Lodge of Scotland. The very election of a Grand Master was the exercise of one of the highest prerogatives of sovereignty; and doubtless in the previous discussions, this point was taken. The election of a Grand Master was an exercise of powers which could be exercised only by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, if its authority was then recognized. The nature of the act was such that they must have understood its significance.

But we are not left to rely upon inferences from the election and the circumstances under which it was made. A notice of Webb's election as Grand Master, signed by the other Grand Officers and the Master and Wardens of St. Andrew's Lodge and the representatives of Tyrian and St. Peter's Lodges, under seal of the Grand Lodge, was issued, of which the following is a copy (omitting signatures):

"To all the Fraternity of Antient Free and Accepted Masons around the Globe Greeting.

"Be it known & made manifest That by the decease of our late worthy

Grand Master the most Worshipfull

JOSEPH WARREN ESQR.

"That important office is become vacant, and as his commission was derived from the Grand Lodge of Scotland, & all intercourse, and connection that way being dissolved by a Declaration of this State together with twelve other United States Free and Independent of Great Brittain,

We therefore the Grand Lodge, together with the Delegates of the other Lodges under this jurisdiction, taking into consideration the absolute necessity of having a Grand Master of our own appointment for this state, Have thought fit to appoint & do by these Presents Constitute, appoint, & Elect our trusty & well beloved Brother Joseph

Webb Esqr To be Grand Master of Antient Masonry through this state of Massachusetts Bay, and we for ourselves & successors in Office, Do, by these presents acknowledge our Subjection to him, as Grand Master aforesaid, & all the Lodges under this Jurisdiction are hereby enjoyned to acknowledge & conduct themselves accordingly, agreeably to the Antient rules & customs of Masonry.

In Testimony whereof, We have caused the Seal of our Grand Lodge to be hereunto affixed, & have also sett our Hands this eighth Day of March in the year of our Lord MDCCLXXVII & of Masonry 5777."

Here it is expressly stated, that all connection with the Grand Lodge of Scotland, being dissolved by the independence of the States, there was an absolute necessity of having a Grand Master of their own appointment for their State. It does not purport to be a mere temporary appointment until the return of peace: that idea is absolutely excluded.

Again: the same thing appears from the terms of the Charter granted the same day. Former Charters recite the authority as coming from the parent Grand Lodge; but this Charter emanates from "The Most Worshipful Joseph Webb, Esq., Grand Master of antient, free and accepted Masons, duly authorized and appointed and in ample form installed, together with his Grand Wardens."

Thus was organized the first independent Grand Lodge upon the American Continent, and its organization was based upon the principles enunciated in a former chapter. While it is possible that some of its members did not fully understand that they were cutting loose from the parent Grand Lodge, it is beyond question that the principal participants fully understood the nature of the movement and intended to form, and believed they did form, a Grand Lodge which was the peer of any other Grand Lodge in the world.

For fifteen years, Massachusetts Grand Lodge kept on in the even tenor of its way, meeting regularly and frequently celebrating St. John's day. Charters were granted for Berkshire, Trinity, United States, Unity, Essex, Friendship, Amity, King Solomon's (constituted by Grand Lodge), Hampshire, Friendship (in Berkshire County) and Frederic Lodges in Massachusetts: Warren Lodge at Machias, Maine, September 4, 1778: St. Patrick's at Portsmouth, March 17, 1780; Rising Sun, at Keene, March 5, 1784; Faithful at Charlestown, February 22, 1788; and Dartmouth Lodge at Hanover, December 3, 1788, all in New Hampshire: Vermont, at Cornish, November 8, 1781; North Star, at Bennington, January 19, 1785; both in Vermont: Wooster, at Colchester, January 12, 1781; St. Paul, at Litchfield, May 22, 1781; King Hiram at Darby, January 3, 1783; and Columbia at Norwich, July 23, 1785, all in Connecticut: and for a Lodge in the State of New York, September 6, 1782, the name and number of which are not given. A Charter was also granted for Washington Lodge, connected with one of the regiments: it ceased to exist when the regiment was disbanded and was reported extinct, December 8, 1785; its Secretary, at one time, was General Henry Sewall. The first Friendship Lodge was at first composed of Frenchmen; Le Barbier Du Plessis, afterwards connected with the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, was a leading spirit in it. It seems to have been a turbulent Lodge; charges against various members of it were before the Grand Lodge, which finally annulled its Charter and granted a new one to a portion of its members, (leaving out Du Plessis,) May 8, 1781, by the name of Perfect Union Lodge. When St. Andrew's Lodge refused to recognize the Grand Lodge, it divided, and the minority were recognized at first as St. Andrew's Lodge, but on September 2, 1784, the Grand Lodge

granted to it a renewal of its Charter by the name of Rising States Lodge. St. Andrew's Lodge, as already stated, took a Charter from this Grand Lodge, March 1, 1782, which, however, it soon repudiated. Perfect Union Lodge surrendered its Charter June 24, 1786, by permission of the Grand Lodge: the Lodge got possession of it afterwards, and attempted to work under it, but the Grand Lodge declared the return of the Charter unauthorized and the work irregular, and the Lodge became extinct. The business depression consequent upon the war produced a serious effect upon the Lodges and many became delinquent in payment of dues, making returns and being represented in Grand Lodge: in addition Tyrian Lodge and St. Peter's Lodge, both of which were chartered by Warren, when Provincial Grand Master, were inclined to deny the independence of the Grand Lodge. Strenuous and long-continued efforts were made to secure from the Lodges a performance of their duties, and they were in part successful. But six Lodges failed to respond and on June 6, 1788, Essex, Amity, United States, Unity, St. Peters and Tyrian Lodges were erased from the roll, and notice thereof given to the craft. Essex Lodge in Salem was rechartered, June 2, 1791. A dispensation for Harmonic Lodge, at Boston, composed of foreigners, was granted December 8, 1790. Massachusetts and Rising Sun Lodges became so nearly dormant that they were revived by special vote of the Grand Lodge. In 1792, there was given a list of fifteen Lodges, "considered as within the immediate jurisdiction of the late Massachusetts Grand Lodge:" this list includes Rising States, Massachusetts, Berkshire, Trinity, Warren, King Solomon's, Hampshire, Friendship, Harmonic and Essex, in Massachusetts, (Warren being in the District of Maine); Rising Sun, Faithful and Dartmouth in New Hampshire; and Vermont and North Star in Vermont. A Grand Lodge had been formed in Connecticut, and the Massachusetts Grand Lodge held that when a Grand Lodge was formed in a State all the Lodges therein passed at once under its jurisdiction; and so the Lodges which it had chartered in Connecticut were not included in this list. There had also been a Grand Lodge formed in New Hampshire, to which two of the Lodges, chartered by the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, had given in their adhesion, but apparently the fact had not been communicated to the Mother Grand Lodge.

Webb continued to be Grand Master till December 24, 1782, when John Warren (brother of Joseph) was elected: he served till June 3, 1784, when Webb was again elected; he served till his death in 1787, when Warren succeeded him and served one year; in 1788, Moses M. Hays became Grand Master and served till 1792.

Some interesting questions of Masonic law and usage were decided during this period. The Grand Lodge held that five members could hold a Charter and carry on the work of the Lodge, and that while five members were willing to sustain the Lodge in the town in which it was located, the Grand Lodge would not remove the Lodge into another town, but would charter a new Lodge. United States Lodge was charged with receiving candidates rejected in other Lodges, and was ordered to suspend work until it should clear itself of this charge in the Grand Lodge. On December 1, 1780, the Grand Lodge voted that thereafter no one should be a member of more than one Lodge in the same town. Permission was granted in 1785 for the Lodges in the vicinity of Boston to hold a convention; while the object is not stated in the Grand Lodge record, the prinicpal matter considered was the status of the Grand Lodge and the legality of its organization as stated in Chapter XXXIII. The Grand Lodge decided by its action that it might annul or revoke the Charter of a Lodge at its pleasure.

Unity Lodge forwarded to the Grand Lodge £100 for the education of the children of Past Grand Master Warren. It is believed that other Lodges, or their members, contributed funds for the same purpose. A note in the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Maine states that Warren Lodge so contributed, but the authority for this note is not known.

Upon the earnest request of Massachusetts Lodge, the Grand Lodge voted, February 16, 1789, that John Welsh, Past Grand Secretary, "be buried with the honors of Masonry and under direction of this Grand Lodge;" and the Committee was "requested to invite the Modern Grand Lodge under direction of the R. W. Bro. Cutler."

The only apparent check to the prosperity of the Grand Lodge was the unexpected course of St. Andrew's Lodge in relation to the independence of the Grand Lodge. Its members had been foremost in the organization of the Grand Lodge and the circular issued declaring its connection with Scotland dissolved, had been signed by the Master and Wardens of St. Andrew's Lodge and several of its members as Grand Officers. But in 1782, doubts were raised which led to a re-examination of the questions involved and to an affirmation of the legality of its proceedings and a formal declaration as to its *status*. But St. Andrew's Lodge, on December 16, 1782, by a vote of 30 to 19, denied the conclusions of the Grand Lodge, to which its action was communicated. The Grand Lodge appointed a committee to confer with the Lodge, and the conference resulted in the Lodge's voting to continue its adhesion to the Grand Lodge till the return of peace, but at the same time denying the independence of the Grand Lodge. The matter continued to be discussed till January 22, 1784, when the Lodge voted, 30 to 23, to continue under the Grand Lodge of Scotland. Thereupon James Carter, Grand Warden elect, Thomas Urann and John Symmes, Grand Deacons, and Samuel Barrett, Past Grand Warden, declined further connection with the Grand Lodge; the last three signed the circular above quoted declaring the independence of the Grand Lodge. A communication was sent to the Grand Lodge desiring it "to take notice that all connection and debates between the Grand Lodge and the Lodge of St. Andrew are at an end." As already stated, the result was a division of the Lodge and the organization of a new Lodge. It was also invited to join in the Convention in 1785, but it "most explicitly refused" to accept the invitation and stated that in the future no notice would be taken of similar communications.

On March 2, 1787, a letter was received from John Cutler, S. G. W., and thereupon a committee was appointed "to confer with the other Grand Lodge in order, if possible, to obtain a union among Masons, respecting the choice of a Grand Master." The committee was to report at the next meeting and the Secretary was directed to issue a summons to every member requesting his attendance "and mentioning the business to be acted upon respecting the Book of Constitutions and the union of the Lodges." At that next meeting "Upon motion, to perfect a plan of union between the two Grand Lodges, as no official accounts were received from said Lodges, this Grand Lodge came to the following resolution: that a new committee consisting of seven be appointed to act in conjunction with the other committee who were to form a plan of union between the two Grand Lodges, and that said committee write to the several Lodges holding under this jurisdiction to obtain their sentiments upon the subject, either by proxy or otherwise, and to report at the next Quarterly Communication." But nothing further was done in relation to the union until December, 1791.

At that time "the other Grand Lodge" had met for the first time for twelve years,

on February 17, 1787, to attend the funeral of Grand Master Rowe. It met again August 4, 1787, for the transaction of routine business: at both of these the Deputy Grand Master, Richard Gridley, presided.

The members of the First and Second Lodges had become scattered during the war, so that on February 7, 1783, they determined to join in a petition to Grand Master Rowe to be united in one Lodge under the name of St. John's, surrendering all powers by which they acted in their separate capacities. The Charter was granted: in form it purports to be issued by Rowe as Grand Master, "duly authorized and appointed, and in ample form installed, together with the Grand Wardens;" that is to say, the Charter assumes to emanate from an independent and sovereign Grand Lodge. Among the petitioners were John Cutler, then Senior Grand Warden, William Burbeck and Mungo Mackay; the two latter had been members of St. Andrew's Lodge, and it has been suggested, that they "courteously lent their names for the occasion:" but they were at the same time, and from the start had been, members of the First Lodge. As Mackay's name does not appear in the list of those voting on the question of adhering to the Grand Lodge in 1784, he had probably ceased to be a member: or rather, it is probable that the Mungo Mackay, *Junior*, who became a member of St. Andrew's in 1780, was the son of the Mungo Mackay who had been an attendant upon the St. John's Grand Lodge more than ten years before. On November 25, 1791, Rising Sun Lodge upon its petition was, by vote of the Grand Lodge, also consolidated with St. John's Lodge.

On July 29, 1790, that Grand Lodge met, and the Brethren, considering the death of many of the Grand Officers (including the Grand Master and the Deputy), voted unanimously to proceed to the choice of new Grand Officers. They filled the vacancies below Senior Grand Warden, but did not elect a Grand Master. But one meeting was held in 1791.

Meanwhile Massachusetts Grand Lodge met regularly. Under the administration of Grand Master Moses M. Hays, the system of Grand Lodge visitations was inaugurated and (as ever since) produced highly beneficial results. The preparation of a Book of Constitutions was frequently before the Grand Lodge, and apparently, while considerable progress was made by the various committees to which the matter was entrusted, no definite result was reached. On December 5, 1791, Bro. Thaddeus M. Harris was added to the Committee; and when all the other committees were discharged, in view of the union, this one was directed to report to "the new Grand Lodge."

On December 5, 1791, a committee of seven was appointed, "agreeably to the spirit of a vote of the Grand Lodge at a former meeting," to confer with St. John's Grand Lodge "upon the subject of a complete Masonic union throughout this Commonwealth." Upon notice of this action, St. John's Grand Lodge on January 13, 1792, voted that a committee of seven be appointed to confer with the other committee, "and promote the proposed union, provided it can be done on true Masonic principles." This committee met and "duly debated on the subject" and concluded—

"That such a union would be for the benefit of Masonry in general and for the happiness of the Lodges in this Commonwealth in particular," "being perfectly satisfied, from examining the Book of our Constitutions, that we have full power and right to agree to such union, and when united, to proceed to the choice of all officers, necessary to rule the Lodge."

The two Committees met and agreed unanimously upon a plan of union, and a meet-

ing of St. John's Grand Lodge was held March 2, 1792, to act upon their report. It would seem that there had been an intervening meeting, the proceedings of which had not been entered on record: for at the two next preceding meetings John Cutler, "S. G. W.," presided, and Samuel Dunn, who had been elected Junior Grand Warden, acted as Senior Grand Warden, and Mungo Mackay as Junior Grand Warden: but at this meeting Cutler was "in the chair," and Dunn as Senior Grand Warden, and Mackay as Junior Grand Warden, were respectively permitted to resign their jewels; and Cutler appointed Samuel Barrett Senior Grand Warden, and Job Prince, Junior Grand Warden, and they "were invested with the jewels of their respective offices accordingly:" at the next meeting, they in turn were permitted to resign, and Richard Salter and Thomas Dennie were appointed in their places, and Cutler called up each and, "with the usual ceremonies on that solemn occasion," invested him with the appropriate jewel. It may be that these were merely *pro tempore* appointments, but the facts that Dunn had been actually elected Junior Grand Warden, that these officers were "solemnly" installed, and that in the list of candidates for officers of the united Grand Lodge, Cutler is described as "Grand Master-elect," indicate that there had been an election which is not recorded. It will be noticed also that Samuel Barrett, who had denied the legality of Massachusetts Grand Lodge and had adhered to St. Andrew, had accepted office in St. John's Grand Lodge. It may be added that he was active, as a member of the latter, in accomplishing the union of the two Grand Lodges, and afterwards served on the committee on "The Book of Constitutions."

At this meeting, the committee reported in favor of an immediate union of the two Grand Lodges and submitted a number of Rules and Regulations for the government of the new Grand Lodge; and recommended that, in order to secure harmony, electors be chosen who should appoint the new Grand Officers. Their recommendations and the proposed Rules and Regulations were unanimously adopted: and it was further voted to hold a special Session March 5, 1792, to carry the same into effect.

On that day Massachusetts Grand Lodge also met and the action of the joint Committee and of St. John's Grand Lodge was laid before it, and was unanimously concurred in. The report of the Committee was not spread upon the record of either Grand Lodge, and, so far as known, has not been preserved. Each Grand Lodge proceeded to nominate Grand officers and choose seven Electors. Both Grand Lodges nominated John Cutler for Grand Master, Samuel Dunn for Junior Grand Warden, and Samuel Parkman for Grand Treasurer, but made different nominations for Senior Grand Warden and Grand Secretary: St. John's Grand Lodge confined its nominations to its own members; but Massachusetts Grand Lodge nominated three from the other body: a committee from Massachusetts Grand Lodge waited upon St. John's and informed that body that "this Grand Lodge have unanimously accepted the Constitution, and, having taken the necessary steps, are now ready to proceed to the choice of Grand Officers." The electors proceeded to discharge the duty entrusted to them, and soon reported to each Grand Lodge, that "agreeable to the Constitution and with great unanimity and brotherly affection, had made choice of the following brethren," "as the first officers of THE GRAND LODGE OF THE MOST ANCIENT AND HONORABLE SOCIETY OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS FOR THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS:"

John Cutler (St. John's) Grand Master,

Josiah Bartlett (Massachusetts) S. G. Warden,

Mungo Mackay (St. John's) J. G. Warden.
Samuel Parkman (St. John's) Gr. Treas.
Thomas Farrington (St. John's) Gd. Sec'y.

Mackay had not been nominated by either Grand Lodge.

Massachusetts Grand Lodge then "VOTED THAT THIS GRAND LODGE BE DISSOLVED;" while the concluding entry on the record of St. John's Grand Lodge is "THE LODGE WAS THEN CLOSED IN DUE FORM."

The United Grand Lodge met on the same day, a very large number being in attendance, and was opened by Past G. Master John Warren. After prayer and the reading of the Constitutions and other necessary records, Bro. Warren installed John Cutler, as Grand Master, who installed the other Grand Officers, appointing John Lowell (Massachusetts Grand Lodge) Deputy Grand Master. At a special meeting on the 2d of April, it was ordered that a circular letter be sent to all the Lodges holding under either of the former Grand Lodges, "and that a similar letter be sent to the R. W. Master, Officers, and Brethren of St. Andrew's Lodge." The latter is preserved in the archives of the Grand Lodge; it consists of a statement of the proceedings and the reasons therefor, but does not urge the Lodge to give in its adhesion, except so far as the statement of the reasons for the union may do so: the Lodge acknowledged the receipt of the letter with renewed assurances of fraternal affection and esteem. The Lodge continued to stand out, while the Grand Lodge claimed jurisdiction over all Lodges in the Commonwealth. After trying persuasion, until there seemed to be no hope that the position of the Lodge would be changed thereby, the Grand Lodge resolved that

"All Masons under our jurisdiction are forbid to hold correspondence or communication with any Mason or Masons, citizens of the United States, who hold authority under, or acknowledge the supremacy of any foreign Grand Lodge, or who do not, by their representatives, communicate and pay their dues to the Grand Lodge of the State where they reside."

This action was communicated to the other Grand Lodges and was concurred in by the Grand Lodges of Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and other States. Evidently St. Andrew's Lodge soon appreciated the danger of complete isolation by the refusal of all American Masons to hold Masonic communication with it, or any of its members; and on the other hand, the Grand Lodge was not disposed to resort to extreme measures. After learning of the action of other Grand Lodges, the Grand Lodge adopted a constitutional provision, by which a Lodge under a foreign jurisdiction could come under its authority, preserving its Charter and its precedence. The Lodge on June 1, 1798, decided by a vote of 19 to 8 to write to the Grand Lodge of Scotland in relation to passing under "the jurisdiction" of the Grand Lodge. The reply was not received till December, 1799, and when received left the special matter unanswered. The Grand Lodge appointed a Committee of Conference, which was met by a committee of the Lodge; the latter was evenly divided, but a motion to appoint a new committee was defeated by a vote of 21 to 6. The reply to the Grand Lodge was, in substance, that the Lodge could not give in its adhesion to the Grand Lodge without the consent of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, but when it could be justified in acknowledging the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge, it would not hesitate a moment to do so, "being fully convinced from experience, that we should thereby be relieved from much anxiety and trouble." Thus the matter rested, save occasional discussions, till 1807: the Grand Lodge acquiesced in Masonic

communication and visitation between the members of its obedience and St. Andrew's Lodge. Previously to the annual meeting in 1807, a committee was appointed to consider the matter. It submitted a report at that meeting to the effect that it would tend much to the honor, increase and prosperity of St. Andrew's Lodge if it could come under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge; and to that end the full sum due the Grand Lodge of Scotland should be remitted, and if the Lodge could be received under the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts with honor to themselves and the Grand Lodge, the Grand Lodge of Scotland be requested to consent thereto. This report was accepted and a committee chosen to confer with the Grand Lodge, by which a similar committee was appointed. The two committees readily agreed upon a basis of union, and, thereupon, the dues were remitted to Scotland and the Grand Lodge requested to discharge the Lodge from its allegiance. It was nearly two years before the answer came; but on September 7, 1809, a committee was appointed to inform the Grand Lodge, that at its annual meeting "St. Andrew's Lodge would become one of its members agreeably to the communication made in December, 1807." Accordingly, at the annual meeting, the Master and Wardens took their seats. The Master addressed the Grand Lodge, and the Grand Master responded with a cordial greeting and directed the Charter of the Lodge to be countersigned and recorded: the election followed and a member of St. Andrew was elected Grand Treasurer. This action completed the chain of union, and since that time the Grand Lodge has had no more loyal and zealous constituent than the Lodge of St. Andrew.

Upon the consummation of the union of the two Grand Lodges, the Craft entered upon a career of great prosperity. Among the first matters that received the attention of the Grand Lodge was the publication of the Book of Constitutions. An able Committee, consisting of thirteen members, was appointed, but the work was chiefly compiled by Thaddeus Mason Harris, but being published by Isaiah Thomas (afterwards Grand Master) it has been usually known as "Thomas's Constitutions:" it was dedicated to George Washington, and a copy was sent to him with an address. He sent a response in which he speaks of the Institution as a "Society whose liberal principles are founded on the immutable laws of truth and justice." In less than six years the book was out of print, and in 1798 another edition, or rather a new "Book of Constitutions," was published, "more complete in all that related to the ancient principles, practices and government of the Society."

The first Lodge chartered by the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts was Lincoln Lodge in the then "District of Maine;" but Charter after Charter followed in rapid succession. In September, 1794, Tyrian Lodge, which had been erased from the roll of Massachusetts Grand Lodge, submitted to the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge and was again enrolled. St. Peter's Lodge at Newburyport, on March 5, 1795, followed the example of Tyrian Lodge, and the Grand Lodge voted that it should hold its former rank. The members of Unity Lodge reorganized, and the Lodge was enrolled December 15, 1796.

The festivals were celebrated, the monument erected by King Solomon's Lodge to General Warren was dedicated, and the corner stone of the new State House was laid with Masonic ceremonies.

On his retiring from his office, the Grand Lodge presented to President Washington an affectionate address. In his reply he says, "My attachment to the Society, of which we are members, will dispose me always to contribute my best endeavors to promote the honor and interest of the Craft." These replies effectually dispose of the slander cir-

culated in later times, that while Washington became a Mason when he was young, he abandoned and repudiated the Institution in his maturer years: the last reply was written on his retirement from the Presidency and within less than three years before his death.

On June 11, 1798, the Grand Lodge presented an address to President John Adams, *though not a Mason;* it states that "discussions of political opinions are inconsistent with the principles of the ancient Fraternity, but that we feel the strongest obligations to support the civil authority which protects us." The President made an extremely felicitous reply.

Before 1800 there were over fifty Lodges in the Commonwealth (including the District of Maine) under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge. Nor was the interest confined to the mere "work" of the Lodge. The constitution of Lodges, the dedication of halls, and the installation of officers were accompanied with addresses, which were published and circulated. The Institution commanded the devotion of its members and the high respect of the public.

In 1820, Maine became a State, and, in consequence, the Grand Lodge of Maine was organized. By this, the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts lost from its roll thirty-one Lodges; but so great and solid had been the growth of the Institution, that this loss was scarcely felt.

Prosperity and growth, in all that makes an Institution prosperous, continued until the breaking out of the Anti-Masonic storm, an account of which is given in the preceding chapter. This storm raged in Massachusetts with almost more violence than in New York; the warfare against Masonry was all the more bitter because the Masons of Massachusetts did not choose to be passive, but stood up for their rights as citizens. But many Lodges, especially in the smaller villages, were obliged to suspend work, and in not a few instances to surrender their Charters. There were some incidents in this contest in Massachusetts that deserve special mention.

In 1830, the lease of the Hall in Boston, in which the Grand Lodge met, expired. As the best method of securing permanent quarters, a lot was purchased for the erection of a Masonic Temple. In spite of the bitter opposition and public excitement, it was determined to lay the corner stone with Masonic ceremonies. The Brethren met in Faneuil Hall, organized, and, headed by Boston Encampment of Knights Templar, marched out into the hooting and yelling crowd which packed the square in front of the Hall and every street through which the procession was to pass. But the character of the men in the procession, in which were numbered hundreds of high reputation and social standing, and their calm firmness, prevented any violence more dangerous than opprobrious epithets and bitter taunts. It required a good deal of both physical and moral courage to appear in public in a Masonic procession, but over two thousand Masons did it, and the corner stone was laid. The hopes that this exhibition would allay the excitement were not realized, and the effect was precisely the reverse. Soon after, a semi-weekly Anti-Masonic paper was started in Boston, which was more violent than any of its predecessors.

The procession had one effect: men began to believe that the Masons could not be guilty of the outrageous things with which they had been charged. Parties holding these views began to press for a denial of the charges. The Grand Lodge, however, was not inclined to act at that time. Finally, says Charles W. Moore, the matter was pressed so hard upon the Fraternity in Boston that the Grand Master called together his officers

and advisers and submitted the matter to them. A document in the nature of an argument, learned and powerful, but long, was actually prepared to be laid before the people; but its character and length rendered it unsuited for its purpose, and the result was that nothing was done. In the meantime, the members of Boston Encampment of Knights Templar, numbering twenty-five or thirty, were accustomed to meet weekly at each other's houses to consult together, and for social purposes. They were devoted Masons, true as steel, and unawed by the popular commotion. At one of these meetings in 1831, it was proposed that they should issue a declaration over their own names "and give the lie to the scandals with which they were daily and hourly assailed." The proposition was adopted, and a committee, of which Charles W. Moore was chairman, was appointed: Moore wrote the "Declaration," and at the next meeting it was adopted and signed. It was originally intended for members of the Encampment only, but the movement became known to other Brethren, and they pressed so earnestly, that the document was submitted to others, among them the Grand Master, by whom the plan was immediately endorsed, and all others were abandoned. In a week, it was signed by four hundred and twenty-seven Masons in Boston. In the meantime the country Masons heard of it, and desired to sign it, and the result was that when it was published, it bore the signatures of fourteen hundred and thirty Masons: it was adopted in other jurisdictions, and was ultimately signed by over six thousand Masons in New England. It was presented to the public December 31, 1831. As this was the first heavy blow given to Anti-Masonry, and as it is as true now as when it was issued, and as it is a fitting commentary upon some recent events, it is given in full:

"While the public mind remained in the high state of excitement to which it had been carried by the partial and inflammatory representations of certain offences, committed by a few misguided members of the Masonic Institution, in a sister State, it seemed to the undersigned (residents of Boston and vicinity) to be expedient to refrain from a public declaration of their principles or engagements, as Masons. But, believing the time now to be fully come when their fellow-citizens will receive, with candor, if not with satisfaction, *a solemn and unequivocal denial of the allegations*, which, during the last five years, in consequence of their connection with the Masonic Fraternity, have been reiterated against them, they respectfully ask permission to invite attention to the subjoined declaration.

"*Whereas*, it has been frequently asserted and published to the world, that in the several degrees of Freemasonry, as they are conferred in the United States, the candidate on his initiation and subsequent advancement binds himself, by oath, to sustain his Masonic brethren in acts which are at variance with the fundamental principles of morality, and incompatible with his duty as a good and faithful citizen; in justice, therefore, to themselves, and with a view to establish *truth* and expose *imposition*, the undersigned, many of us the recipients of every degree of Freemasonry known and acknowledged in this country, do most *solemnly deny* the existence of any such obligations in the Masonic Institution, so far as our knowledge respectively extends. And we as *solemnly aver* that no person is admitted to the Institution, without first being made acquainted with the nature of the obligations which he will be required to incur and assume.

"Freemasonry secures its members in the freedom of thought and of speech, and permits each and every one to act according to the dictates of his own conscience in matters of religion, and of his personal preferences in matters of politics. It neither knows, nor does it assume to inflict upon its erring members, however wide may be their aberrations from duty, any penalties or punishments, other than those of *admonition*, *suspension*, and *expulsion*.

"The obligations of the Institution require of its members a strict obedience to the laws of God and of man. So far from being bound by any engagements inconsistent with the happiness and prosperity of the Nation, every citizen who becomes a Mason is

doubly bound to be true to his God, to his Country, and to his Fellowmen. In the language of the 'Ancient Constitutions' of the Order, which are printed and open for public inspection, and which are used as text-books in all the Lodges, he is 'required to keep and obey the Moral Law; to be a quiet and peaceable citizen; true to his government and just to his country.'

"Masonry disdains the making of proselytes. She opens the portals of her asylum to those only who seek admission, with the recommendation of a character unspotted by immorality and vice. She simply requires of the candidate his assent to one great fundamental, religious truth—*The Existence and Providence of God*—and a practical acknowledgement of those infallible doctrines for the government of life which are written by the finger of God on the heart of man.

"Entertaining such sentiments as Masons, as Citizens, as Christians, and as Moral Men, and deeply impressed with the conviction that the Masonic Institution has been, and may continue to be, productive of great good to their fellow-men; and having 'received the laws of the society and its accumulated funds, in sacred trust for charitable uses,' the undersigned can neither renounce nor abandon it. We most cordially unite with our brethren of Salem and vicinity, in the declaration and hope that, 'should the people of this country become so infatuated as to deprive Masons of their civil rights, in violation of their written constitutions and the wholesome spirit of just laws and free governments, a vast majority of the Fraternity will still remain firm, confiding in God and the rectitude of their intentions for consolation, under the trials to which they may be exposed.'"

While the "Declaration" was a heavy blow to Anti-Masonry, it had acquired too much strength to be overthrown at once. Its power was all the greater because it had been made an element in partisan politics; still the excitement, which had been studiously fomented by its leaders, had begun to subside. The next movement was a desperate attack upon the Grand Lodge. The latter had been chartered as a charitable institution by the Legislature in 1817, with power to hold real estate to the amount of $20,000 and personal estate to the amount of $60,000. The enemies of Masonry conceived the idea that the repeal of the Charter would be fatal to the Grand Lodge, and that the hearing before the Legislature would give an opportunity to ventilate their scandalous charges, and, by securing for them the endorsement of the Legislature, deal a finishing blow to the Institution. The situation of the Grand Lodge seemed such, that these results would follow. When it was obliged to move from its old Hall in 1830, as already stated, it purchased a lot and commenced the erection of a Temple: this involved the holding of more real estate than its civil Charter allowed, but no one supposed that the Legislature would hesitate a moment to consent to an amendment of the Charter allowing it to hold the same amount of property, but changing the amounts and making the limit of real estate $60,000 and personal property $20,000; but the vindictiveness of the Anti-Masons succeeded in defeating the proposed amendment. This was in 1831: and now, at the session in 1834, it was believed that the repeal of the Charter would complete the ruin of the Grand Lodge. Accordingly measures were instituted for the purpose, and the Grand Lodge was notified to appear and show cause why its Charter should not be repealed. But the Grand Lodge had not been idle. Under the authority it already possessed, it had conveyed its real estate to Trustees to be held for charitable purposes, and put it beyond the power of the Legislature to reach, directly or indirectly. The Legislature could not impair the obligation of a contract, and the trust funds of the Grand Lodge were secure from the malice of its enemies, even if their power in the Legislature had been equal to their evil intentions. The course of the Grand Lodge was a complete surprise to them and left them completely baffled. It proceeded in a formal and legal manner to surrender

its Charter. Having taken the necessary measures, it appointed a committee to return the Charter to the Legislature with a "Memorial" prepared by Charles W. Moore. This document was a master-piece and a fitting companion of the "Declaration." It recites the organization of the Grand Lodge; the creation of its charity fund to be held in sacred trust, and the income applied only to relieve the distressed and suffering; the scrupulous performance of the duty imposed by its creation; the incorporation of the Grand Lodge for the purpose of enabling it to administer this trust far more safely and more conveniently; the transaction of its business with a scrupulous regard to the original purposes of its institution, and an honorable endeavor to preserve the inviolability of its corporate powers; the conduct of its members as honest and peaceable citizens, and recognizing in the Ancient Charges of their Order the unexceptionable rules of duty in all their social and political relations, that they have "agreed to be good men and true and strictly to obey the moral law; to be peaceable subjects, and cheerfully to conform to the laws of the country in which they reside; not to be concerned in plots and conspiracies against government, but patiently to submit to the decisions of the supreme Legislature; to pay proper respect to the civil magistrate, to work diligently, live creditably and act honorably with all men:" the reasons which led the Grand Lodge to enter upon the erection of a Masonic Temple, without a suspicion that there could be any objection to the modification of its Charter; the application therefor, and its rejection "for reasons which impartial history will doubtless exhibit, but the pertinence of which the wisdom of the historian may not easily recognize;" the consequent embarrassment of the Grand Lodge; its conclusion to proceed with the building, and trust to the magnanimity and justice of a future Legislature for the necessary modification of its Charter or dispose of the property, as circumstances might require; the adoption of the latter alternative, and the formal notice to the officers by the service upon each of them of a copy of the petition; and then goes on to say:

"The ultimate object of this petition seems to be a revocation of the act of incorporation of the Grand Lodge. On the face of it, however, is spread out a series of direct charges and scandalous insinuations against the principles and practices of that corporation. But, as they are true or supposable, only as a faithful representation of the spirit and proceedings of those who originated them, a due regard to the blamelessness and respectability of the said Grand Lodge, as well as a personal sense of self-respect, alike admonish your memorialists to refrain from any more particular notice of them. The Grand Lodge can enter into no discussion of the principles of Freemasonry with prejudiced and abusive partizans; but especially would it avoid the indecorum of obtruding such a controversy into the presence of the Legislature of the Commonwealth. All controversy which may be honorably avoided is inconsistent with the conciliatory and beneficent designs of our association. We are required rather to suffer undeserved persecution and injury than unnecessarily to maintain strife and bitterness. And although as citizens of a government of laws we can submit to nothing that is clearly wrong, as the friends of peace and order, we can persist in nothing that is not clearly right. Actuated by these sentiments, and by a sincere desire to spare the Legislature the annoyance and unprofitable consumption of time, which the political party interested in the petition may otherwise occasion, the Grand Lodge has determined to make a voluntary surrender of its civil Charter; and the undersigned, the present memorialists, have been duly appointed to inform the Honorable Legislature that by a vote, passed at a regular meeting of that Corporation, on the evening of December 27, 1833 (a copy of which is hereunto annexed), its corporate powers were relinquished, its act of incorporation vacated, and your memorialists instructed to return it to the Honorable Legislature, from whom it was derived.

"Finally, that there may be no misunderstanding of this matter, either in the Legisla-

ture or among our fellow-citizens, we beg leave to represent precisely the nature and extent of the surrender contained in this Memorial. By divesting itself of its corporate powers, the Grand Lodge has relinquished none of its Masonic attributes or prerogatives. These it claims to hold and exercise independently alike of popular will and Legislative permission—not of toleration, but of right. Its members are intelligent freemen, and although willing to restore any gift or advantage derived from the government, whenever it becomes an object of jealousy, however unfounded, nothing is further from their intentions, or from their convictions of duty, than to sacrifice a private institution, for social and benevolent purposes—the interests of which have been entrusted to them—in order to appease a popular excitement, of which that Institution may have been the innocent occasion."

The last paragraph rang through the country like a clarion, carrying dismay to the enemies of Freemasonry, but establishing more strongly the confidence of the faithful craftsmen, giving firmness to the wavering and restoring the courage of the timid.

The tide of popular feeling began to turn. But another blow at the enemy was dealt in Massachusetts. Charles W. Moore and his partner, Seavy, were the publishers of a Masonic paper in Boston: they attacked Samuel D. Green, the editor of the "Anti-Masonic Christian Herald," also published in Boston, and were indicted for libel: their defence was that Green was of depraved and vicious character, and that their published statements were true; they proved the truth of their allegations, and were acquitted. Anti-Masonry in Massachusetts could not rally from the effect of this trial, and soon lived only in memory.

With the decline of Anti-Masonry, the proper work of the craft recommenced. Dormant Lodges were revived; surrendered Charters were restored; the alarm at the outer door was again heard, as the best men in the community sought admission. The ranks of the craft had been purified by the withdrawal of time-servers, the over-timid, those who became Masons to subserve their own interests, and those who never appreciated the real character and object of the Institution. The consequence was the comparatively rapid, yet solid, growth of the Institution, which has been maintained ever since.

On March 1, 1859, the Grand Lodge was again incorporated with power to hold real estate to the value of $250,000 (afterwards increased to $500,000) and personal property to the value of $50,000. It has erected and *paid for* a magnificent Masonic Temple, already affording a large income for charitable purposes.

It adheres to the old doctrine in relation to the powers of Grand Lodges. Its Constitution declares that "By the ancient Constitutions and usages of Freemasonry, the Grand Lodge, as the supreme Masonic authority in this Commonwealth, is invested with certain privileges;" among them is the power of legislation for the government of the craft: the control of "the work;" and the issuing and revoking of Charters: it has also "the inherent power of investigating, regulating and deciding all matters relative to the craft, to particular Lodges, or to individual brothers, which power it may exercise either by itself, or by such delegated authority as, in its wisdom and discretion, it may appoint; but in the Grand Lodge alone resides the power of revoking the Charter of Lodges and expelling brethren from the craft." It concedes that "the Grand Master enjoys all the powers and prerogatives conferred by the ancient Constitutions and the usages and landmarks of the craft;" * * * that "for dereliction of duty, or other unmasonic conduct, he may suspend a brother or a Lodge, until the next meeting of the Grand Lodge;" * * "and do all other acts and deeds as are warranted or required of him by the regulations and the ancient usages of the Fraternity." It holds that Lodge funds are held in

trust by the Lodge, and when the Lodge ceases to exist, the Grand Lodge succeeds it as Trustee, and holds the funds and property for charitable purposes. Lodges exercise their powers "agreeably to their Charters, the laws of the Grand Lodge and the ancient usages of the craft:" and "every warranted Lodge is a constituent part of the Grand Lodge *in which assembly all the powers of the Fraternity reside.*"

This Grand Lodge has adhered with almost wonderful tenacity to the ancient laws and usages of the craft, resisting all attempts to introduce modern methods and ideas; and its solid growth, high reputation, and splendid prosperity are undoubtedly largely attributable to this fact.

Pennsylvania.

Although the present Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, as an independent Grand Lodge, is not next in order of seniority, yet it granted so many Charters in other States, that it becomes convenient to give a sketch of its history in advance of those of some Grand Lodges of an earlier organization.

The loss of its early records is irreparable: and in consequence the historian is limited to scanty materials in tracing the history of Masonry in that jurisdiction through one of the most important periods of its existence.

The statement of Dr. Franklin in the Pennsylvania *Gazette* of December 8, 1730, that there were then *several* Lodges in that Province, must be received with some grains of allowance. He was not then a Mason, and therefore had not the means of accurate knowledge; the general statements of newspapers in regard to such matters in those days were even more liable to be erroneous than at the present day, when such a statement, unsupported by other evidence, would have little weight. His statement is not supported by contemporaneous authority of any kind, nor by subsequent history, while the fact that all, who are known to have been Masons at that time and during several years afterwards, were members of one Lodge, raises a strong presumption that for "several Lodges" we should read "one Lodge." It must be remembered, too, that in those early days the term "Lodge" was applied to the "communication" or meeting of a Lodge, as well as to the body itself: and that a Grand Lodge was a "General Assembly" of Masons, instead of a meeting of the representatives of Lodges, according to the present usage. Such had been the practice in England, and while a change was introduced in 1717, the new system did not get fully established till several years later, and considering how little was printed, and how difficult communication was between the Old World and the New, it requires too great a stretch of the imagination to presume that the new system was understood in Pennsylvania as early as 1730. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that so far as history discloses, the *old* system, and not the *new*, was acted upon. In the newspaper notices in 1732 and succeeding years, it was "*a* Grand Lodge" and not "*the* Grand Lodge," which "was held," not "met." A "Lodge" was the meeting of the members of the particular Lodge, while a "Grand Lodge" was no more nor less than a meeting of all Masons, whether members of the same Lodge or not. This was the practice before the day of chartered Lodges; and the description given in the newspapers of the day, was applicable to the system of *voluntary* Lodges and general meetings of the craft, and inapplicable to the system of *chartered* Lodges, and the meeting of their representatives in Grand Lodge.

The first Lodge meeting held on American soil, so far as history gives evidence, was held in the City of Philadelphia. This fact has been known many years. The recent discovery of one of its books, has added much to the knowledge of its composition, and many other very interesting details; but its contents throw no light upon the origin of the Lodge, except by inference from what it contains and from what it does not contain.

Daniel Coxe was appointed Provincial Grand Master for the Provinces of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, June 5, 1730. Until recently, it has been taken as true, that he never exercised his powers under that commission; but within a few years, it has been strenuously maintained, that this Lodge in Philadelphia was chartered by him, although no evidence has been produced to sustain this theory. The commission recites that the application was made by Coxe and "by several other Brethren, free and accepted Masons, residing *or about to reside* in the said Provinces." If this language excludes the inference that it was made by Coxe *in behalf* of the others, it shows that the application was completed *in England* before presentation to the Grand Master, and certainly suggests that Coxe was in England at that time. He had been in America in April, 1728, and was in London and attended the Grand Lodge, January 29, 1731; but it is not as yet known whether he was in America at all between June 5, 1730, and January 29, 1731; and a careful consideration of the known facts indicates very strongly that he was not. If he was in London on June 5, 1730, he would scarcely have gone to New Jersey and returned to London by the twenty-ninth of January following; if he was not in America between these dates, the fact that "thorough inquiry for letters and papers bearing upon the subject among the descendants of Bro. Coxe, has failed to disclose any testimony whatever of the exercise by him, or by any one acting under his authority, of the prerogtives contained in the deputation," is fully accounted for. Again, a commission dated June 5, 1730, could scarcely have been carried or transmitted from England to New Jersey, and a Lodge in Philadelphia constituted in season for Coxe to have been in London January 29, 1731, with the means of communication then existing; and it if is agreed that this Lodge had existed before December 8, 1730, in accordance with Franklin's statement, the conclusion is irresistible that this Lodge was formed before the deputation to Coxe could have been acted upon.

Then what was this Lodge? All the indications point to the conclusion that it was a voluntary Lodge, without any charter or warrant, formed precisely as the "four old Lodges" were organized. The book recently discovered ("Libre B") was the Lodge ledger, and was commenced, according to the earliest date in it, June 24, 1731, when William Allen was chosen Grand Master, a fact inconsistent with the theory that the Lodge was acting under Coxe as Grand Master. Each member was charged six pence for each Lodge meeting, which, the dates show, was held on the first Monday of each month. The twenty-fourth of June was the day for the meeting of the Grand Lodge, and did not count as "a Lodge day." On the day the book was opened, each member was charged with the dues of five "lodge days," except that one was charged with four "before you sailed for Newfoundland;" the number of members so charged was fourteen, three of whom, including Benjamin Franklin, were charged with a balance of "your entrance fee." The members were thus charged with dues as far back as February, 1731 (N. S.), showing that the Lodge was then in existence, and, it may be, at an earlier date, as if a Lodge was not held at the stated time, no dues were charged for that time. The charges to Dr. Franklin show that he was made in that Lodge as early as February, 1731. The conclu-

sion is that while the Lodge may have worked before, as an occasional Lodge, it did not perfect a regular organization until about the first week in February, 1731, when William Button was elected Master, and Thomas Hart a Warden. Button sailed for Newfoundland in May, and William Allen was elected in his place. On the twenty-fourth of June, 1731, a Grand Lodge was held, according to the old usage in England, and William Allen was also chosen Grand Master. If the lodge was formed after December 8, 1730, (when Franklin published that statement about the Lodges in the Province) Coxe was in England or on his way there, at the time of its foundation.

For several years the accounts were kept in this book with great particularity of detail; but later the items were more general. It ceased to be used in 1738. The number of members whose names were entered in it was forty-eight; after the first year it does not show the names of the Master or Wardens, except the Wardens for the last three years. We learn by contemporaneous publications that Grand Lodges were held on St. John's day in 1732, 1733, 1734, 1735, 1736, 1737, 1738 and 1741, at which Grand Officers were elected. The Grand Master and Grand Wardens were the same persons who, at the time, were Master and Wardens of the Lodge, so far as the names of the latter are given, and unquestionably such was the case as long as both bodies continued to exist. Under the system then followed in Pennsylvania, the functions of the Grand Officers were merely nominal; they acted as such at the Grand Feast on St. John's day, but beyond this, they seem to have had no practical duties; in the Lodge, however, they seem to have borne the same title as in the Grand Lodge.

In 1734, Benjamin Franklin, who was then Grand Master, as well as Master of the Lodge, made a visit to Boston, and became acquainted with Henry Price; and, as their subsequent correspondence shows, conferred with him upon Masonic matters. The same year, and evidently after his return, he published his edition of the Book of Constitutions, which he says on the title page was "reprinted in Philadelphia, by special order, for the use of the Brethren in North America." This "special order" was undoubtedly given by Price, as no one else in America then had any authority to approve a book "for the use of the Brethren in North America," and it appears from the subsequent correspondence, that copies of the book had been sent to Price for use in Boston, before that correspondence took place.

Franklin received a letter from Price, dated October 23, 1734, which unfortunately has not been preserved, but which was evidently written a considerable time after Franklin's return, as in the mean time Price had been sick, and thus prevented from making an intended visit to Philadelphia. Franklin replied by an official letter and a personal letter[1] dated November 28, 1734. He had seen in the mean time in the Boston papers a statement that Price's authority had been extended over all America, and in consequence he hastened to solicit the exercise of that authority, by the granting of a warrant of confirmation to the Lodge in Philadelphia, and also by confirming the Brethren in the privilege of holding a Grand Lodge annually as they had been accustomed to do. The reason given in these letters, for his request, conclusively shows that neither the Lodge nor the Grand Lodge, with which Franklin was connected, existed by chartered authority. These letters also give additional proof, if any were needed, that there was then only one Lodge in Philadelphia.

This Lodge was situated precisely as St. Andrew's Lodge in Boston was situated twenty

[1] See Chap. XXXI.

years later, and in the same manner sought a Charter of "confirmation" rather than one of "erection." In spite of its existence as a merely voluntary Lodge, the Grand Lodge of Scotland granted to St. Andrew a Charter "of new erection," leaving, as we have seen, the question of the *status* of those previously made in it undecided. But there was a vast difference in the Masonic law in this respect as it existed in 1730 and in 1760. At the latter date, the law requiring a warrant for the regularity of a Lodge had become pretty well settled, while in 1730, that law had not acquired the sanction of usage; the Lodge, therefore, would be held to be a substantially regular Lodge, and would receive a Charter of confirmation as a matter of course. In fact, in the final event, the work of this Lodge was recognized as regular, either upon its own merits or because it was confirmed by Price.

In response to the request made to Price, as we have seen in the Boston records, a Charter was granted to Franklin's Lodge, with him as Master. Franklin had also asked to have the Philadelphia Brethren confirmed in the privilege of holding a Grand Lodge annually. But this was beyond the power of Price to grant; he was, it is true, Provincial Grand Master for North America, but he was only *provincial* Grand Master, and while he could issue warrants for Lodges situate in any part of America, he could not create or confirm a Grand Lodge in any particular Province; but all Lodges created by him must be of the obedience of the Provincial Grand Lodge at Boston. From this fact, it is quite certain that the Boston record, that Franklin's petition was held to be for a "Constitution to hold a Lodge," and that Price "did send a deputation to Philadelphia, appointing the Right Worshipful Mr. Benjamin Franklin first Master," is a correct statement of the authority granted; and that Price did not undertake to confirm his Philadelphia Brethren in the privilege of holding a Grand Lodge. But did Franklin accept and act upon this Deputation? There is no positive record evidence that he did or did not; but from the fact that there was no future correspondence between Franklin and Price, or his successors, for several years, that has been preserved, and more especially from the fact that the Philadelphia Masons continued to meet in Grand Lodge as before, and choose the officers of their Lodge to corresponding offices in the Grand Lodge, it seems that Franklin adhered to the wish of himself and his Lodge to have a Provincial Grand Lodge for Pennsylvania, and did not act upon the authority he received from Price. Still it must be said, that if it was a Charter of "confirmation" and was acted upon, no mention of it would naturally have been made in "Libre B," or any other record that has been preserved; and the Brethren, although not authorized by Price, may have gone on as usual in holding a Grand Lodge; but this does not seem probable. However this may have been, the Lodge continued to meet; and there is no trace of the existence of any other Lodge in the Province. In 1737, at a mock Lodge held by "a party of idle men, not members of the craft," a man, whom they pretended to initiate, was so injured that he died. The deed was charged to the Masons, and in spite of their formal and indignant denial, the excitement of the public was so great that Masonry was for some time under a cloud. "Libre B" shows that, nevertheless, the Lodge continued its meetings and received new members; but as that book was used only till 1738, the history of the Lodge cannot be further traced. It is stated on unquestionable authority, that the last entries in the Masonic portion of the Book are in the handwriting of Benjamin Franklin; that the book was used many years later as a memorandum book by the firm of which Franklin was then or had been a member; and that there are still a large num-

ber of blank pages in it. The inference is, that in 1738 the Lodge ceased to keep accounts with its members, and it would almost necessarily further follow, that it ceased to work. The Grand Lodge met in 1738, but no notice of its meetings in 1739 and 1740 have been discovered; it did meet in 1741, and from the failure to find notices of it in Franklin's paper, and the fact that the Deputy of 1738 was chosen Grand Master in 1741, it is believed that it did not meet in the intervening years. The history of Masonry in that Province for the next eight years after 1741, is a blank; so far no allusion to it during that time has been found in contemporaneous publications; undoubtedly both the Grand Lodge and the Lodge were dormant, and in fact practically ceased to exist, and while "the work" of the Lodge was subsequently recognized without question, the Lodge itself was never revived.

On July 10, 1749, Thomas Oxnard, Provincial Grand Master of North America, appointed Benjamin Franklin, Provincial Grand Master of Pennsylvania, with authority to appoint other Grand Officers, hold a Grand Lodge and issue warrants. Under this authority, a Grand Lodge was held September 5, 1749, Grand Officers appointed, and a warrant granted to hold a Lodge in Philadelphia, which was called the "First Lodge." Unless, between the time of his appointment in 1743 and the date of the warrant, Oxnard's powers had been increased to an extent unparalleled in Masonic history, he exceeded his powers in issuing it; his original commission was limited precisely as Price's was, and did not contemplate the exercise of powers vested only in a sovereign Grand Lodge and its Grand Master. This seems to have occurred to the Philadelphia Masons, as in six months (March 13, 1750) William Allen presented a commission appointing him Provincial Grand Master of Pennsylvania; his authority was admitted, and he appointed Franklin as his Deputy; Franklin's associates as Grand Officers were, with one exception, members of the old Lodge in 1738, and Allen seems to have appointed the same ones, except that each one took the office next below the one he held under Franklin. Two other Charters were granted for Lodges in Philadelphia before June 24, 1755.

None of the records of this Provincial Grand Lodge or of any of its subordinates are extant, so far as is known; but the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, through the chairman[1] of its Library Committee, has collected with great diligence, and published, all documents and notices in the various publications, which bear upon the history of Masonry before 1779, the date of the first Grand Lodge record now existing.

A subscription paper for the erection of a Masonic Hall (the first in America) dated March 13, 1754, has been preserved. From this it appears that on March 12, 1752, at a meeting of the Grand Lodge and of the First Lodge, a Committee was appointed to procure a lot, and take measures to erect a Hall "for the accommodation of the said Lodges, Philadelphia Assembly, and other uses." There were thirty-two subscriptions of fifteen pounds sterling each, two of twenty pounds, one of twenty-five and three of fifty. The members of the "First Lodge" subscribed first, and then follow eight subscriptions by former members of the old Lodge. In a list dated June, 1752, of forty members of the First Lodge owing Quarterages, there is not a single name found in "Libre B" of the old Lodge. The eight former members of the old Lodge, who were among the subscribers for the Hall, are recorded as present at the meeting of the Grand Lodge held June 24, 1755, five of them among the Grand Officers and the others as "Members of the Grand Lodge;" there were also present Visiting Brethren and the "Masters, Wardens and Mem-

[1] Bro. Charles Eugene Meyer.

bers of the three regular Lodges," "in the whole 130 Brethren." A sermon was preached by Rev. William Smith, afterwards the distinguished Grand Secretary of the "Ancient" Grand Lodge. If the old Lodge had been in existence September 5, 1749, the name "First Lodge" would not have been given to another Lodge; and as the names of none, who were members of the old Lodge in 1738, or previous years, are found in the lists of members of the First Lodge in 1752, the statement already made, that the "First Lodge" was not the old lodge, is as certainly established as circumstantial proof can establish it.

The Masonic Hall was erected, and, with its three Lodges, the Provincial Grand Lodge seemed to have entered upon a prosperous career: little is known of its subsequent history: but it is known that the Ancients gained a foothold in Philadelphia in 1758, and apparently the other Grand Lodge began to decline. In 1760 was published the notice of a meeting of Tun Lodge, No. 3, to celebrate St. John's Day. On February 28, 1782, Edward Shippen addressed to John Swift, then in Bucks County, a letter (which has been preserved) relating to the First Lodge. It stated that a meeting of the members had been held on the Monday preceding, at which but six were present, and that they had agreed to hold another meeting on the eleventh of March: he wished that Swift would attend and would notify Mr. Kidd, "as it was intended to have as great a number of the subscribers together as possible." He adds, "So many deaths and removals have happened lately, that we can't expect above ten or twelve."

The "Ancients" had been occupying the Hall and apparently supposed that they had an interest in it, for at an "Extra Grand Lodge" held August 6, 1782, "information was given from the chair," that Gen. Roberdeau (a member of the "First Lodge" in 1752 and a subscriber to the Hall Fund in 1754), for himself and others, claimed rent for the "Lodge House," and after considerable debate a Committee was appointed to investigate, and "act in every sense, as they view necessary to defeat the designs of the Gen. Roberdeau in his claims:" and to solicit subscriptions to purchase the property or the ground rents; and, if any legislation should be sought by any claimants, to oppose it. At another "extra meeting" held November 7, 1782, the Committee reported that the Grand Lodge (Ancient) had no interest in the house or any part of it, and that they had met "the Master and members of the First Lodge of Modern Masons and other Subscribers towards the building of the House," and had received from them a proposition which they submitted with their report. The proposition purports to be an extract from the Minutes of the First Lodge at a Lodge held October 30, 1782, the Master (Edward Shippen), Wardens, Secretary and one visitor (a subscriber to the Fund) being present, and it recites that the Trustees of the Lodge and the other members were willing that the Ancients should occupy the upper rooms every Monday and Friday for one year, "paying to the Trustees five shillings as a consideration therefor." This nominal rent was undoubtedly required to prevent any further question of title. The Ancient Grand Lodge considered the matter one evening and postponed further action: but on December 23, 1782, the proposition was accepted. At a later date, a proposition was made to the Ancient Grand Lodge by a committee of the proprietors of "the House," to rent it for thirty pounds a year, and it was accepted; but there is no reference to any action by the Lodge.

The War of the Revolution and the occupation of Philadelphia by the British army were serious obstacles to the maintenance of masonic work in that city, but there are some indications that the Grand Lodge of 1749 suffered more severely by the defection

of many members of its obedience who went over to the Ancients, first being healed: among these was Rev. Dr. Smith, who preached the sermon on St. John's day in 1755. But at this time, in the absence of all records, it is impossible to tell which was the cause and which was the consequence; that is to say, whether the decline of the Grand Lodge caused many of its members to join the Ancients or whether the defection of its members caused the decline: it is said that in Philadelphia, as in Boston, the members of the "Ancient" Lodges were more prominent supporters of the cause of the Colonies, while the "Moderns" were more generally inclined to take the part of the British Government; in Massachusetts, the attempted neutrality of John Rowe prostrated the Grand Lodge of which he was Grand Master, and as Grand Master Allen in Pennsylvania was so thorough a loyalist that he left his home and put himself under the protection of Gen. Howe, and even made an unsuccessful attempt to raise a regiment for the British, the effect of his position must have been disastrous to his Grand Lodge; but whatever the cause, the Provincial Grand Lodge organized by Franklin and all its subordinates became extinct: and in 1793, the Masonic Hall was sold under the authority of the Legislature by two Trustees (Edward Shippen and John Swift, both members of the First Lodge in 1752), and one-third of the proceeds, $1533.57, turned over to the City to be held as a fund "for supplying out of the interest thereof, the necessitous inhabitants of the said City with fuel in the winter season," and was ultimately merged in the "City Fuel Fund;" the portion thus disposed of was the part which belonged to the First Lodge, the members of which, who ordered this disposal of the funds, numbered but seven. The notice of the meeting of No. 3, Shippen's letter in 1782, the extract from the minutes of the Lodge held in October in that year, and the letter to the City announcing the disposal of the First Lodge's portion of the proceeds of the sale of the Masonic Hall lot are the only documents that have as yet been published relating to the Franklin-Allen Grand Lodge after the year 1755.

It is stated in a list of Lodges published in the "Early History of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania," that Tun Lodge, No. 3, chartered in 1753 or 1754, "continued in existence till about 1793." The authority for this statement is not given, and it cannot be accepted as true: the latest mention of this Lodge in any document or publication, was in 1760, and it could scarcely have existed thirty years longer without leaving some trace that could now be discovered.

It was believed that the act of the Legislature under which the Trustees sold the Hall in 1793, might throw some light upon the history of the First Lodge: search has been made, and it has been ascertained that the act was passed September 6, 1785. It has apparently not been published since it was printed (in black letter) about the time of its enactment.

It recites that a number of the members of the Grand and First Lodges of Freemasons, residing in the city and neighborhood of Philadelphia, purchased the lot April 1, 1754; that the members of said Lodges entered into a subscription of moneys to be added to the stock of said First Lodge and therewith to defray the expenses of erecting a building thereon, "which was accordingly done and the same has ever since been called and known by the name of the Free Masons' Lodge;" that the title was vested in William Plumsted, Thomas Bond, Hugh Davey, Edward Shippen, S'l Mifflin, John Swift, D'l Roberdeau, John Wallace and William Franklin, Esquires, as joint tenants, "and although no other use or trust is specified or declared in the said deed, yet from the

minutes of the said first Lodge it appears that the same was intended for the accommodation of the said Lodges at their periodical meetings, and in all intermediate times to be rented to any private assembly or company of people to meet in, and that the rents and profits arising therefrom were to be applied in manner following, *viz.*, first, to distribute and pay to the several subscribers towards the erecting of said building, their several proportions of two thirds of the said rents and profits as the same should grow due and be received, and the other third part of the said rents and profits were to be applied to the use of the said first Lodge, those being the just proportions which the moneys subscribed bore to the Stock of the said first Lodge; and by the said minutes it further appears, that it was agreed by and between all the said subscribers, that as they or any of them should depart this life or remove out of the then province, with design to settle in another place, the shares of those so dying or removing should devolve on the remaining subscribers, saving to them and their heirs, executors and administrators, the right of disposing of their said shares to any of the members of the said first or Grand Lodge, if done within one year of their deaths or removal as aforesaid, but not otherwise:" that "from the length of time elapsed, a considerable number of the subscribers are dead, and the survivors by their petition to this House have represented, that their number is so small that the said building is no longer necessary for their accommodation or for the purpose originally intended, and they are desirous to sell the same, but doubts had arisen whether the surviving grantees could sell, convey, and assure the same, discharged from the said parole trust or agreement without the aid of the Legislature, wherefore they prayed leave to bring in a Bill to enable the surviving Trustees, now resident in this State, to sell the House and lot for the benefit of the said remaining owners, as to two thirds of the produce thereof, and as to the remaining one third thereof, to the use of the said first Lodge, to be applied to such charitable use as they may think proper:" that notice had been ordered and given in the Pennsylvania Journal for four weeks; and that no one had appeared to object: and it was accordingly enacted that the Hon. Edward Shippen, Esq. and John Swift, Esq. the only surviving grantees named in the deed, then resident in the State, be authorized to sell the property at auction and convey the same discharged of the trust, the proceeds to be disposed of as follows; "one equal third part thereof to the Members of the said first Lodge of Free Masons of the State of Pennsylvania, for the use of the said Lodge, to be by them distributed and applied to such charitable uses as they shall think proper; and shall distribute and pay the remaining two third parts thereof to and among all and every the persons who originally subscribed moneys for erecting the said building, who are now living and resident within this State, and the executors and administrators of such original subscribers as were living and resident within this State, one year before the passing of this Act, and the assigns or representatives of the heirs, executors, or administrators of such original subscribers, who disposed of the shares respectively belonging to them, to some Member or Members of the said first or Grand Lodges, within one year after the death, or removal from this State, of such dead or removed subscribers according to the true intent of the said first Lodge, in just and rateable proportions to the several and respective sums of money subscribed by themselves, or the persons whom, by such assignment as aforesaid, they represent."

We thus learn that the minutes of the First Lodge were in existence in 1785, and as they had escaped destruction during the war, the hope is revived that they may ulti-

mately be found, and the very valuable information, which they contain, be given to the Masonic world. It may be, too, that the petition upon which the act was based, will be found on the files of the State and further information gained from that. But it is manifest that in 1785, the Franklin-Allen Grand Lodge had ceased to exist, and that the First Lodge had become so reduced as to be practically dead also: the further conclusion that there were no other Lodges, holding under that Grand Lodge, in either actual or nominal existence, is quite irresistible. It may be safely said, that as early as 1785 the Lodges in Philadelphia, working under the Moderns, ceased to exist; for the meeting in 1793, at which the disposition of the funds was made, was not a formal meeting of the Lodge, but a meeting of its old members for a specific purpose.

It will be noted also that at that early date it was assumed as law, that Lodge funds are *trust* funds and can be applied only to charitable purposes. If the doctrine, attempted to be established in later times, that Lodge funds belong to the Lodge to be disposed of at its pleasure, the portion of the proceeds of the sale which belonged to the First Lodge, might have been distributed among its members; but the whole proceedings show that it was held that this could not lawfully be done, but that the funds must be devoted to some charitable use, so that to-day those funds form a part of the City Fuel Fund, still called "The Freemasons' Fund," and still testifying not only that Freemasonry is a charitable Institution, but also that its funds are trust funds devoted to charity and incapable of being lawfully used for the private gain of its individual members.

In 1758, by warrant dated the seventh day of June, the "Ancient" Grand Lodge in London established a Lodge in Philadelphia, the first Lodge chartered by that Grand Lodge in America. From that Lodge, the present Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania takes its origin. The voluntary Grand Lodge of 1731 became extinct. The Franklin-Allen Grand Lodge, organized in 1749, and its subordinates did not, as was done in Massachusetts, unite with the other Grand Lodge, but went out of existence; and such members of its obedience as were received into the "Ancient" Lodges, were not recognized as regular Masons, but were required to submit to be healed as if irregular, or re-made as if profanes.

Soon after the organization of this Lodge, application was made for a Provincial Grand Lodge; the application was granted, but the reception of the warrant was delayed by various accidents. The Grand Secretary, Dermott, wrote that he had actually issued three: the first, which, according to the Grand Lodge record, was dated July 15, 1761, was sent by a vessel which was taken by the French; the next was lost in some unknown manner; the third dated June 20, 1764, was safely received; while it bore a later date, in fact, by a memorandum upon it, it seems that it was entitled to date from July 15, 1761, the date borne by the record of it in the Grand Lodge books.

The records of this Grand Body previous to July 29, 1779, are missing; but it is known to have met regularly from its organization, except during the occupation of Philadelphia by the British army. It was also active, granting many warrants for Lodges in other States as well as in Pennsylvania; the loss of the records prevents giving an accurate list, but from other sources it has been ascertained that warrants were granted for nine Lodges in Pennsylvania, including one military Lodge, for two in Delaware, five in Maryland, one in New Jersey and one in Virginia, before July 29, 1779.

The "minute book" of Philadelphia Royal Arch Lodge No. 3 (so named because it

conferred the Royal Arch Degree), chartered October 20, 1767, has been preserved, and it affords us nearly all that can be ascertained concerning Masonry in that jurisdiction for the next twelve years after the organization of this Lodge. It is chiefly interesting as showing the usages of the craft at that time. It recognized, as a regular Mason, a Brother who had been "duly and lawfully entered, passed and raised" in 1759, by three Brethren," all Royal Arch Masons," but it declined to admit him to membership because he belonged to the army, and there was a regular Lodge in a regiment stationed there, which they had promised they would not enter, pass, or raise any person belonging to the army. Another Lodge made complaint to this, that two Brothers had used the Master and that Lodge "with great indignity," and, thereupon, it was voted that the two Brothers should not be allowed to visit this Lodge until they should make satisfactory acknowledgment. Three Brethren had permission to leave the Lodge to unite in forming a new Lodge, and fifty shillings were voted to each as his share of all the property of the Lodge. A meeting was held October 10, 1777, to determine what to do with the jewels, Books of Lodge No. 2, and the former Lodge No. 3, which had been stolen but subsequently recovered: it was determined to take an account of the articles and hold them subject to the order of the Grand Lodge: the inference is that Lodge No. 2 had been broken up. The Junior Warden and Secretary "having gone with the enemy," new appointments were made. A brother elected Master was proscribed as inimical to the State, and in consequence he declined to serve "lest it should be disagreeable to any brother;" he afterwards produced a lawful discharge by the court, and was received by the Lodge "as a respectable brother;" the entry is made on the minutes also that "he had prudently relinquished the chair, lest he should incommode the harmony of the Lodge."

But the great event was the celebration of St. John's day, December 28, 1778, an account of which is given in contemporaneous history. General Howe had evacuated Philadelphia, and the Grand Lodge, which had necessarily suspended its meetings during the occupation of the city by the British army, had re-organized. A committee, consisting of the Masters of the different Lodges, had waited upon General Washington, and invited him to participate in the celebration, and he had accepted the invitation. Nearly three hundred brethren met at the College, formed in procession in regular form, the Grand Master and his Deputy supporting General Washington, and marched to Christ Church, where prayers were read by Rev. Mr. White, an anthem sung and a sermon preached by Rev. Dr. Smith (afterwards Grand Secretary). "The brethren being all newly clothed, and the officers in the proper jewels of their respective Lodges, and their other badges of dignity, made a genteel appearance," says the chronicler.

While the Grand Lodge re-organized in December, 1778, and celebrated St. John's day, it either held no regular meeting till July 29, 1779, or no minutes were made in such manner as to be preserved. The record commences at the date last mentioned; in the book is a "Preface" in which it is stated that the former minutes of the Grand Lodge had either been mislaid or carried away, so that it became necessary to open new books.

At the first meeting four Lodges (including Nos. 2, 3, and 4) were represented; the officers of a new Lodge were installed; two Lodges, which had been prevented from meeting for a considerable time, upon their application were instructed to "resume the proper business of the Lodge." A meeting of the Masters of the City Lodges was held October 22, 1779, apparently in consequence of a disorganized condition of the Grand

Lodge; they agreed to request the Grand Master to appoint a Grand Secretary *pro tem.* and instruct him to summon the Lodges to attend a meeting of the Grand Lodge. The Grand Master appointed Rev. Dr. William Smith, Provost of the College, Grand Secretary *pro tem.*, and he gave notice that a meeting of the Grand Lodge would be held on December 20, to choose Grand Officers; and the Lodges were required to produce their warrants and records. At that meeting twelve Lodges were represented, and the warrants of all except two were produced, and "found regular and genuine." The highest number of a Lodge represented was No. 22, recently chartered; as there was no No. 1, this shows the previous granting of twenty-one charters, three of which had been granted since the time when the new Grand Lodge record commenced; one of the charters had been surrendered, so there were twenty Lodges on the roll. There is much difficulty in ascertaining the precise number on account of the loss of the records, the practise of giving vacant numbers to new Lodges and the issuing of warrants by the Grand Master without a vote of the Grand Lodge. At this meeting the Master of No. 2 produced the warrant of his Lodge, granted as "No. 69, Ancient Masons, in England," "and desired that the same might be renewed under the authority of this Grand Lodge," which was agreed to. This would indicate that the idea of an independent Grand Lodge was then entertained, but if so, it was abandoned for the time. The Grand Lodge proceeded to the election of Grand Officers; William Ball, the provincial Grand Master was elected Grand Master "for another year," "and was proclaimed and saluted in due form." He appointed and installed his Deputy; and the Grand Lodge elected the remaining Grand Officers; the record says that the Grand Wardens were installed, but is silent as to any installation of Grand Treasurer and Grand Secretary. A Committee was appointed to revise the "Book of Constitutions;" no result was reached, however; ultimately the Grand Secretary took charge of the matter, and in 1783 published the well-known "Ahiman Rezon," compiled largely from Dermott's. As Franklin's edition of Anderson's Constitutions was a mere reprint, this work of Dr. Smith's was the first American Masonic Text Book, or Monitor. The Grand Lodge met the next day, when three other warrants were produced and confirmed. It was reported that one Lodge had admitted members rejected by other Lodges, and had recommended their own rejected candidates as worthy; these proceedings were held to be "illegal, irregular and unconstitutional," and the Grand Secretary was directed to write the Lodge accordingly. It was also ordered that the transactions of another Lodge "respecting their determining the internal police of their own Lodge, exclusive of all superior jurisdiction whatever, be erased, such determination being unconstitutional and repugnant to the fundamental rules and true order of Masonry."

From this time forward the Provincial Grand Lodge, and then the Grand Lodge, pursued a very prosperous career, being occupied chiefly in the able and vigorous administration of its affairs.

In 1780, fifty copies of its minutes were ordered to be printed and distributed to the Lodges; action already noticed[1] was taken in relation to the appointment of a General Grand Master; the new "Book of Constitutions" was sanctioned November 22, 1781, and "the Mason's Arms" ordered to be engraved as a frontispiece, and in case General Washington would allow the book to be dedicated to him, his "arms be engraved and prefixed to the Dedication;" it was dedicated to him, but did not contain an engraving

[1] Chapter XXXIII.

of his "arms;" before the work was completed, the Grand Lodge ordered the sermon and prayer, "as delivered by Brother Smith, Grand Secretary some time since," be printed in the Book of Constitutions, with the vote of thanks to him, "for his care and attention in forming the same;" two thousand copies were published.

The distinction between "Modern" and "Ancient" Masons was rigidly adhered to, until after the Grand Lodge informally declared its independence. Upon an application from Maryland in 1781 for a charter, the Grand Lodge resolved "that if, on proper application, some of the members of the Modern Lodge are found worthy, and entered, passed and raised in one of the Ancient Lodges in Baltimore," and that Lodge would recommend them, and they would surrender their modern warrant, the Grand Lodge would grant them one; and in the meantime it was recommended to the Lodges to be cautious in not admitting them to sit in the Lodge "while remaining Moderns." In 1782, a dispensation was granted to a Past Deputy Grand Master and the Grand Secretary, or either of them, "taking to their assistance such brethren, as they may see proper, to enter into the mysteries of Masonry," gentlemen in Maryland, "who, being of the modern order, wish to go over again in the ancient form." In 1783, a petition was presented for a Lodge in Virginia, but was not granted until the proposed Master went "through the several steps of Ancient Masonry, in Lodge No. 2" in Pennsylvania. But on December 27, 1785, it was "agreed that a letter be prepared and sent to the different Modern Lodges, expressive of our wishes of a general attachment and union;" this was practically the end of the distinction in that jurisdiction between the "Ancients" and the "Moderns;" but the "Modern" Lodges had become so nearly extinct that none of them passed under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge. Before this time, when communications were received from a Grand Lodge, great care was taken to ascertain if it was an "Ancient" Grand Lodge; but, thereafter, the question was not raised. In 1790, a communication was received from the Grand Lodge of New Jersey in relation to Modern Masons, and the Grand Lodge replied, "informing them of the wish of this R. W. G Lodge to see Modern and Ancient Masons united, but they are of opinion that the same should be submitted to a Grand Convention, which it is hoped will soon take place." That Convention was not held, but the term "ancient" as indicating an existing distinction between Masons is not again found in the Grand Lodge record.

On February 3, 1783, "at the particular request of the attending members, the R. W. Grand Master, who possessed the right, dispensed with the forms, and called Brother Joseph Howell, jr., to the chair as Master of a Lodge, and he was saluted by the Brethren accordingly." This "Passing the chair by dispensation" has been practised ever since; and is the only method by which the "Past Master's degree" as a prerequisite for the Royal Arch Degree can be obtained; the practice prevails in no other jurisdiction.

On August 4, 1784, a Circular Letter unanimously approved by the Grand Lodge was sent out to the other Grand Lodges. It was not inserted in the record, but subsequent references to it show that it contained a declaration that the "subordinate connection" of that Grand Lodge "with the Grand Lodge of England no longer existed." On February 3, 1786, a motion was made that the words usually inserted in the warrants, "declaration of such subordination," be not inserted in any future warrants; after consideration "it was agreed to postpone the same." At the Quarterly meeting in March, a circular was ordered to be sent to all the Lodges, "informing them that it is the wish of the Grand Lodge to establish themselves as a Grand Lodge independent of Great Britain

or any other authority, and that it is intended to take up the matter at the Quarterly Communication in September, and requesting their attendance at that time, either by their proper officers or by deputation in writing." At the September meeting twelve Lodges were represented. It was unanimously resolved "that it is improper that this Grand Lodge should continue any longer under any foreign jurisdiction." A declaration was then drawn up by a committee, and ordered "to be signed by the Grand Master and Secretary, and sealed with the seal of this Lodge," and extended on the minutes. The gist of it is in the resolution unanimously adopted as follows:

Resolved, That this Grand Lodge is, and ought to be, a Grand Lodge independent of Great Britain or any other authority whatever, and that they are not under any ties to any other Grand Lodge except those of brotherly love and affection, which they will be happy to cultivate and preserve with all Lodges throughout the globe."

The Grand Lodge, "acting by virtue of a warrant from the Grand Lodge of England, was closed forever." The next day, September 26, 1786, the representatives of thirteen Lodges met in convention and voted to form a Grand Lodge, and that the late Grand Officers be continued as officers of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, under the old Rules and Regulations, until others should be adopted. The Grand Lodge was then opened, the proceedings of the Convention read and "unanimously agreed to." A Committee was appointed to draft a form of a warrant for Lodges, and to "write a letter to the Grand Lodge of England taking final leave of them." As stated in a preceding chapter,[1] a reply was received six years later (December 3, 1792), and the independence of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania then acknowledged.

The Maryland Lodges had previously taken action in relation to forming a Grand Lodge, but after some discussion, had come to the conclusion that their proceedings were irregular; the account of those proceedings more properly belongs to the history of that Grand Lodge.

The deputation to William Ball and his associates was for "Pennsylvania aforesaid, and the territories thereunto belonging;" and they were empowered to establish Lodges "within his Worship's jurisdiction aforesaid;" but nevertheless charters were granted for Lodges in other States; this was justified by Dr. Smith, the learned Grand Secretary, only on the ground of necessity. After the Grand Lodge became independent, of course it was not limited in its jurisdiction, save by the rules recognized by all Grand Lodges. Charters for Lodges in other States and countries were granted freely.

Seven Lodges were established in Delaware; two appeared to have "died and made no sign;" the Charter of one was vacated for failure to make returns and pay dues; three others took part in the formation of the Grand Lodge of Delaware, and the Grand Lodge, holding that those proceedings were irregular, vacated the Charters; the other remained under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge till 1816, when it joined the Grand Lodge of Delaware.

Nine Lodges were chartered in Maryland; eight in Louisiana; three in Virginia; three in New Jersey; four in South Carolina; one each in Georgia, Ohio, Indiana and Missouri. One Charter was granted for a Lodge at Mingo, in the North West Territory, but was soon after cancelled; one in Cape François, since surrendered; one in Trinidad; one in Mexico; the last four have undoubtedly gone out of existence, but the record does not show the manner.

[1] Chapter XXXIII.

Lodges were established in St. Domingo, and later a Provincial Grand Lodge, which also established Lodges until there were eight Lodges in the Island. But April 7, 1806, the charters of the Provincial Grand Lodge and of all the Lodges were vacated. The Provincial Grand Lodge was reinstated September 15, 1806, and the jurisdiction extended to the Island of Cuba. One of the Lodges was reinstated at the same time, but surrendered its warrant September 4, 1809; another was reinstated March 21, 1808, but its warrant was finally vacated October 27, 1810. Seven Lodges were chartered in Cuba between 1804 and 1822, but none of them are now borne on the roll. Since 1832, no charters have been granted for Lodges outside of the State, and for many years the Grand Lodge has exercised jurisdiction only over Lodges in the State of Pennsylvania, although it still retains the title of the Grand Lodge of "Pennsylvania and Masonic jurisdiction thereunto belonging."

One of the South Carolina Lodges had apparently been St. Andrew's Lodge, No. 1 of Florida. The record recites the receipt of a "memorial from the brethren of St. Andrew's Lodge, No. 1, late of West Florida, and now of Charlestown, South Carolina, with sundry papers relative thereto;" a warrant was drawn and transmitted to the Master of No. 38 to be delivered, "provided that the master and members of said Lodge are found to be of the Ancient and Honorable Fraternity, and accept to be under this jurisdiction:" the warrant was delivered and accepted and the Lodge became St. Andrew's No. 40. Of its origin and previous history nothing certain is known.

Six charters for Military Lodges were granted during the Revolution but were recalled at the end of the war: they were required to work "without interfering with the rights of any stated or fixed Lodges." A charter was granted March 25, 1793, for a Lodge in "The Legion of the United States" commanded by Gen. Anthony Wayne: it soon became extinct, nearly all the members, it is said, being killed in the Indian War. Another was granted in 1814, which existed only for a short time. During the Civil War this Grand Lodge, in common with others, declined to grant warrants for military Lodges. One of the early military charters has been preserved: it prohibits the initiation of citizens in the vicinity of any Lodge in the United States, except by the special dispensation of the Grand Master (or his Deputy) of the Grand Lodge within whose jurisdiction the Lodge may be convened.

William Ball served as Grand Master from the organization of the Provincial Grand Lodge in 1761 till December, 1782: then William Adcock served six years: then Jonathan Bayard Smith also served six years: William Ball was then again called to the chair, but at the end of the year declined further service on account of his age and ill-health. Smith was then elected but declined, and William Moore Smith was elected: he retired at the end of two years at his own request and was succeeded by Jonathan Bayard Smith, who was Grand Master till 1802: so that for forty-one years, this Grand Lodge had only four Grand Masters.

The scope of this work confines the writer to the early history of the Grand Lodges, with at best a very general statement of events occurring later, although of much interest in themselves.

In 1795 certain parties undertook to establish chapters of Royal Arch Masons, and a Grand Chapter as well. Previously the R. A. degree had been conferred in chapters appurtenant to Lodges and under authority of the Lodge warrant; and the Grand Lodge claimed jurisdiction over the degree. The action of these parties coming to the knowledge

of the Grand Lodge an investigation was had, when it appeared that James Molan undertook to introduce the "new scheme;" that he dissolved the chapter appurtenant to one Lodge and formed another according to his own system; that he and his associates obtained the charter of another Lodge, without its authority, and opened another chapter; that in the absence of the Master of another Lodge, the same parties got possession of its charter and formed another chapter; they also "arched" one brother from Maryland and one from Georgia, "considering those as having the force of three Lodges under the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania, one under that of Georgia and one under that of Maryland, they resolved themselves into a pretended Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Pennsylvania," independent of the Grand Lodge. Pending the investigation, the charter of the three Lodges had been suspended. The Grand Lodge denounced the pretended Grand Chapter as illegal, and commanded the brethren to withdraw from it. This was generally done; the Grand Chapter was dissolved; and the members of Pennsylvania Lodges participating in the movement were restored to good standing. The Grand Lodge reaffirmed its Supreme authority over all Lodges of Ancient York Masons in Pennsylvania; declared that the officers of such Lodges are members of this Grand Lodge "although they may never have obtained any degree above that of Master Mason;" and that it is the right of all regular warranted Lodges to make Masons in the higher degrees; and resolved that a Grand Royal Arch Chapter be opened under the sanction and authority of the Grand Lodge. All warrants were to be issued by the authority of the Grand Lodge, and the Grand Master was *ex officio* Grand High Priest. The Grand Lodge retained and exercised authority over the Grand Chapter and the chapter degrees until January 5, 1824, when it assented to a constitution which gave the Grand Chapter full authority over Royal Arch Masonry and its degrees, with one exception: The Past Master's degree continued to be, and still is, conferred only in a Past Masters' Lodge held under the warrant of a symbolic Lodge; if the candidate is not the actual Master-elect of the Lodge, he "passes the chair" and receives the degree by dispensation from the Grand Master; this practise, as already stated, prevails in no other jurisdiction.

Reference has been made to the erection of a Masonic Hall or "House for the Lodge" in 1754 and its sale in 1793. On March 7, 1796, the Grand Lodge took into consideration the matter of "building a Lodge Room," and on the thirty-first of May following adopted a "Scheme" devised for the purpose, but it failed. On January 21, 1797, Lodge No. 3 submitted to the Grand Lodge a plan "for erecting a structure wherein the different Lodges in the city may perform their labors;" it was referred to a committee which reported a plan for organizing the "Pennsylvania Freemason's Hall Association:" the report was accepted but no further results followed. In the mean time, a place of meeting in the State House was procured. In 1801, a Committee was appointed to purchase a lot, but on May 3, 1802, was discharged, having come to no conclusion. A Committee, consisting of the Deputy Grand Master and one from each of the twelve city Lodges, was at once appointed with full power "to devise and carry into effect the means of erecting a permanent building." On May 29, the committee purchased a lot and building and took a conveyance thereof to trustees to be held for the Grand Lodge, and to be conveyed in trust or in fee simple as and when the Grand Lodge might order. The hall was completed in season to be dedicated on the following twenty-seventh day of December under the name of the "Pennsylvania Freemasons' Hall." In a few years it was found insufficient to accommodate the Lodges, and on April 26, 1807, the Grand

Lodge voted to sell it and erect another. This was done, and on June 24, 1811, the Grand Lodge occupied the new hall, which had cost nearly $90,000. On March 9, 1819, this hall was burned down, but was rebuilt the next year; the result was the incurring of a heavy debt, which was carried, however, without apparent difficulty till 1834, when it was found that it was increasing in consequence of the falling off of the income of the Grand Lodge; after much consideration the property was sold for about $110,000, the debt paid and a new hall purchased for about $25,000, which was known as Washington Hall. This was occupied until 1855, when the "New Masonic Hall" was erected and occupied. But this in its turn proved insufficient to meet the wants of the craft, and the Grand Lodge proceeded to erect the most magnificent Masonic Temple in the world, which was completed and dedicated in 1873. While a large debt was incurred for this purpose it has been funded at a low rate of interest, and a sinking fund has been created which, with its accumulations and annual additions, will be sufficient to extinguish the debt in a comparatively few years.

On December 26, 1831, Stephen Girard, a somewhat eccentric but very benevolent man, a useful citizen and highly esteemed Mason, died: by his will, he bequeathed to trustees, in trust, for the use and benefit of the Grand Lodge, $20,000, to be held until, with its accumulations, it should amount to $30,000, which should remain forever a permanent fund, the income of which might be applied for the relief of poor and respectable brethren. This fund has been so successfully managed that it now amounts to over $60,000.

At quite an early day in its history, the Grand Lodge commenced the accumulation of a Grand Charity Fund; but, undoubtedly on account of the heavy debt it was carrying and the falling off in its income in consequence of the anti-masonic excitement, small additions were made to this fund, so that at the time of Girard's death its amount had not reached $2,000. This fund, however, has always been kept separate from other funds. With the revival of Masonry in 1838, it began to increase, and it now amounts to almost $75,000.

In 1788, the Grand Lodge received a letter from the "Secretary of the Sublime Lodge of Perfection" containing the information that one of its members (named) had been tried and expelled; the letter was ordered to be filed and entered on the minutes of the Grand Lodge. This "Sublime Lodge" was then generally recognized by the Masons of the Symbolic degree as a Masonic body.

In 1792 the Grand Lodge, in order to show its just regard and respect for "our late Brother Laurence Dermott, the patron and founder thereof," recommended that its members appear on St. John's Day "with aprons bordered with black or other marks of mourning." Accordingly on St. John's Day (June 24) the brethren appeared so decorated. Undoubtedly more correspondence was had with Dermott by officers of this Grand Lodge, than has been published.

In 1797, Brother Israel Israel stated to the Grand Lodge that a Lodge was said to be held in Philadelphia "by a number of people of black color;" that by invitation, he, with several other Brethren, went to visit them when they were "holding a Lodge as they called it;" but that he found they were not acquainted with the mysteries of the craft; therefore the Grand Lodge ordered that "none of the members of our Lodges visit the said pretended Masons of black color on pain of expulsion." On June 24 following, a letter from "African Lodge" was read, requesting the Grand Lodge to appoint a com-

Fellow-citizens and Brothers,
of the Grand lodge of Pennsylvania

I have received your address with all the feelings of brotherly affection mingled with those sentiments, for the Society, which it was calculated to excite

To have been, in any degree, an instrument in the hands of Providence to promote order and union, and erect upon a solid foundation the true principles of government, is only to have shared with many others in a labour, the result of which let us hope, will prove through all ages, a sanctuary for brothers and a lodge for the virtues. —

Permit me to reciprocate your prayers for my temporal happiness, and to supplicate that we may all meet thereafter in that eternal temple whose builder is the great Architect of the Universe

G. Washington

Fac-simile of Brother George Washington's

"REPLY TO THE ADDRESS PRESENTED TO HIM DECEMBER 27, ANNO LUCIS 5796," BY THE GRAND LODGE OF PENNSYLVANIA, ON THE OCCASION OF HIS INTENDED RETIREMENT FROM PUBLIC LABOUR, AS ANNOUNCED IN HIS FAREWELL ADDRESS.

From the original in the Archives of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania.

mittee to inspect them, and, if deserving, acknowledge them, "and praying our protection;" it was referred to the Committee on Correspondence. No answer appears to have been made to this letter, but the committee at the next session presented a letter (with others) "written by them to the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts respecting the African Lodge (as they style themselves) held in this city;" but that, with the other documents presented, was laid upon the table, and no further action seems to have been taken.

On the election of Washington as President, the Grand Lodge presented to him an address of fraternal congratulations, to which he replied tendering his thanks and best wishes. On December 27, 1796, another address to him was adopted, in view of his announcement of his design to retire from public life; this was presented to him by a deputation. His reply is still preserved in the archives of the Grand Lodge. On December 26, 1799, the Grand Lodge, on the invitation of the Committee of Congress, voted to attend the delivery of a funeral oration in honor of Washington. After passing a resolution of sorrow for his death, the Grand Lodge closed and the brethren formed in order and joined the general procession, and attended the services. At the regular session on the next day, further resolutions were adopted. On the twenty-second of February, special services were held under the auspices of the Grand Lodge. The Lodges joined with the Grand Lodge in procession, with emblems of mourning, and marched to Zion church, where an address was delivered by Rev. Dr. Magaw. Many lodges held similar services; those by the French Lodge L' Amenité were exceedingly impressive.

The anti-Masonic excitement growing out of "the Morgan affair" reached Pennsylvania. As in other States, politicians seized upon it to promote their political interests. In January, 1836, the House of Representatives appointed a committee "to investigate the evils of Freemasonry;" it was armed with the power to send for persons and papers Under the influence of high expectations of making political capital, it started out determined to push matters to extremity. It summoned before it to testify many of the leading Masons of the State; among them was GEORGE M. DALLAS, who had just retired from the Grand Mastership. When he was called, he read a protest denying the power of the Legislature to interfere in such matters. He said, "I will not consent to hold my rights and liberties of private intercourse, private sentiment, or private business, subject to the domiciliary visitations, the changeable majority, or the ideal policy of any body of men whatever;" and he refused to be sworn; others followed his example. This dignified, manly and decided course, in defense of the rights of the citizen, made such an impression that the vexatious, unjust and tyrannical proceeding came to a sudden end. Masonry soon recovered its former prosperity in the State and has ever since maintained it.

In all the other jurisdictions in the United States in which the "Ancients" distinctively gained a foothold, there was more or less a union, or, more properly speaking, an amalgamation, with the so-called "Moderns;" as a consequence, there were modifications in the work, polity and jurisprudence of each. The labors of Webb and his immediate followers had much to do with this, and with securing a great degree of uniformity in "the work" in essential points throughout the country; his Monitor, based on the work, ceremonials and usages of "the Moderns," was largely instrumental in causing their general adoption. But in Pennsylvania there was no such union or amalgamation; as we have seen, "the Moderns" went to the wall; their Lodges ceased to exist; they themselves were healed in "Ancient" lodges. The Grand Lodge naturally continued the work, usages and polity of "the Ancients," without change or modification. It published its

own Ahiman Rezon, and neither Webb's "work" nor his "Monitor" came into use in that jurisdiction. The result was, that, while in all absolute essentials, it is in accord with the other Grand Lodges, in many respects it has a polity peculiar to itself. The mode of working is different; it allows few if any public *masonic* ceremonies, while in almost every other jurisdiction, the ceremony of laying corner stones and burial services are *always* performed by the Grand Lodge, or the Lodge *duly formed as such;* and the constitution of Lodges, the installation of Grand Lodge officers, and the dedication of Masonic halls may be in public at the discretion of the officer having charge, and, whether public or private, the ceremonies are in the strict sense *Masonic* work; and there are other differences.

This Grand Lodge tenaciously adheres to its ancient usages, and no attempt to introduce modern methods, or even *ancient* methods different from its own, finds the least countenance. The Grand Lodge is the supreme authority, the source of all Masonic power; the prerogatives of the Grand Master are recognized to the fullest extent. If a Lodge, in initiating a candidate, neglects the observance of any requirement of the law, however small, the action is held to be void and the name of the initiate struck from the roll as an unlawfully made Mason, and, therefore, as still a profane; the doctrine of "perpetual jurisdiction" was very early asserted and has ever since been maintained; as early as 1825 the rule in relation to the "physical qualification" of candidates was declared to be that no person can be initiated, "either by dispensation or otherwise, who is so far maimed or defective in his limbs or members as to be incapable of gaining a livelihood for himself and family, or to perform all the work required of an individual member within the body of a Lodge;" in the Anti-Masonic days, no visitor, not vouched for, could be examined without producing the proper certificate of the Lodge, if he hailed from that jurisdiction, or of the Grand Lodge if he hailed from without the State, but this regulation was soon repealed.

The fact that this Grand Lodge has maintained steadily some of the usages peculiar to the "Ancients," without modification as in other jurisdictions, illustrates its conservatism and its emphatic opposition to all innovations. Whatever success efforts to promote the delusive and dangerous doctrine of "progress and advancement in Freemasonry" may meet with elsewhere, it is certain that they will avail nothing in this jurisdiction. In the words of one of her sons, "Pennsylvania stands still on the landmarks," as understood and recognized by her.

Virginia.

The proceedings of Massachusetts Grand Lodge, in declaring its independence and establishing itself as a Sovereign Grand Lodge in the early part of 1777, were immediately followed by action on the part of the Masons of Virginia looking to the establishment of an independent Grand Lodge in that colony. But the condition of Masonic affairs in Virginia was very different from their condition in Massachusetts. Brief accounts of the early history of Masonry in Virginia have been published, and Dr. Dove's sketch has been assumed to be correct: this sketch, on its face, is incomplete and fuller investigations show that it contains many errors.

He states that in certain lists of Lodges, published in Edinburg and London, are "No. 172, Royal Exchange" in Norfolk and "No. 204, York-town" in Virginia, and that the former dates from December, 1733, and the latter from August 1, 1755. "Thus it

will be seen from reliable data," he says, "that Masonry was practised in Virginia, under chartered privileges, in 1733, derived directly from the mother Grand Lodge of England." The date is erroneous; for 1733, we must read 1753. If Lodges were actually organized under these charters, all traces of them have been lost.

Cornelius Harnett, according to Dr. Dove, was appointed Provincial Grand Master for Virginia, by the Grand Lodge of England, while residing at Norfolk. According to the same author, he never exercised his authority: but there is evidence tending to show that he established a Lodge in the place of his residence. When the Grand Lodge of Virginia in 1786 established the precedence of the Lodges, "Norfolk Lodge" heads the list and the date of its constitution is given as June 1, 1741. This official determination must be presumed to have been made upon positive and decisive evidence, and the fact and date of the constitution of this Lodge to have been shown by its warrant. But the records of no Grand Lodge show the issuing of a warrant for such a Lodge: and its origin can be accounted for only upon the presumption that it was organized by Harnett, at the place where he then resided. It is stated in Chapter XXX., that a Lodge, by the same name, appears upon the English Register in 1753, and in the published Calendar for 1754: it is there numbered 236, and not 172, as in the list quoted by Dr. Dove. The apparently reliable statements in relation to this Lodge can be reconciled only upon the assumption that it was organized by Harnett and worked under his authority till 1753, and then was chartered by the Grand Lodge of England.

The same list of Lodges "according to their precedence" adopted by the Grand Lodge of Virginia gives as the second in rank "Port Royal Kilwinning Cross Lodge" constituted December 1, 1755. Its name proves its Scottish origin and indicates that it sprung from Kilwinning Grand Lodge: but no positive evidence of the authority, under which it was constituted, has been given.

Cabin Point Royal Arch Lodge is recorded as constituted, April 15, 1775: its origin is not stated. A Lodge was chartered by Kilwinning in 1775 and is entered on the roll as located at Falmouth, Virginia: one writer says that Cabin Point Lodge was chartered by the Grand Lodge of Scotland: while the location of this lodge is stated in the record to be at Prince George Courthouse, it is probably the Falmouth Lodge.

Blandford Lodge was chartered by the Grand Lodge of Scotland March 9, 1756, but, according to the Virginia official list, was constituted September 9,1757.

The Grand Lodge of Scotland also chartered Fredericksburg Lodge, July 21, 1758; but when and how this Lodge originated, cannot now be ascertained. When the Grand Lodge of Virginia was formed, the date of the charter of this Lodge was given as 1758. Dove, in his sketch of "Masonry in Virginia," published in the Masonic Text Book, states that it was chartered in 1758; in a recently published address by a member of the Lodge, it is stated that the charter was granted July 21, 1758, but it had existed previously and for several years: its records for 1752 and subsequent years are in existence, though its later ones were destroyed during the civil war: Washington was initiated in it November 4, 1752. According to the historian of Botetourt Lodge, it had, previously to 1758, assumed to exercise the functions of a Grand Lodge. He says that Botetourt Lodge was organized under a dispenstion from Fredericksburg Lodge dated in 1757, in which it was recited that Fredericksburg Lodge had been chartered by the Grand Lodge of Scotland; that that dispensation was in existence in 1857 and he had frequently examined it before its accidental destruction. The probability is, that his recollection of its contents

was erroneous, and that its date was in 1759 instead of 1757. It chartered and organized a Lodge at Falmouth March 30, 1768, and another at Gloucester, October 10, 1770; but both of these had apparently ceased to exist before 1778, unless the latter was Botetourt Lodge, afterwards chartered at the same place by the Grand Lodge of England. The absence of all evidence in relation to the origin of Fredricksburg Lodge points strongly to the conclusion that it was originally a voluntary Lodge, self-constituted, precisely in the manner in which St. Andrew's Lodge at Boston was originally formed.

It is suggested in Chapter XXXI., that this Lodge was originally chartered by the Provincial Grand Lodge at Boston, but, at best, this is a mere conjecture. It is true that in 1766, St. John's Provincial Grand Lodge bore on its roll the name of Virginia Lodge, Virginia: the date when the warrant was granted is not given: but so far as the Massachusetts record shows, nothing was ever heard from it after the warrant was granted. The additional facts, that up to 1752 it was the custom to note the issuing of charters and this one was not noted; that many lists of Lodges are given before 1766 and the Virginia Lodge is not named therein; and that in these lists the Lodges are usually named in the order of their ages and the Virginia Lodge is named after Lodges chartered as late as 1757, show very clearly that it could not have been chartered as early as 1752, at which date Fredericksburg Lodge was actively at work.

It is quite improbable too that, if Fredericksburg Lodge had a charter from duly constituted Masonic authority, it would ask for, or could obtain, a charter from the Grand Lodge of Scotland. The correspondence of the Grand Master of Scotland with St. Andrew's Lodge shows that that Grand Lodge would not trespass upon the rights of the Grand Lodge of England. At that time the Grand Lodge of Scotland treated the Grand Lodge of England as its peer, and respected its rights as such.

The Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania chartered three Lodges in Virginia, two of them after the formation of the Grand Lodge of Virginia, but evidently without knowledge of its existence; for at the time it received official information of the organization of that Grand Lodge, it had before it an application for a charter for another Lodge, which it refused to grant, referring the petitioners to the Grand Lodge of Virginia. A charter was granted by the Provincial Grand Lodge for a Lodge at Winchester, Virginia, October 4, 1768. In consequence of the formation of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, this Lodge surrendered its charter March 17, 1787, and took a new one: it acted under this charter till March 5, 1807, when it was surrendered. The Lodge notified the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania that it desired to withdraw from the jurisdiction of that Grand Lodge, and place itself under the Grand Lodge of Virginia, within whose jurisdiction (territorial) it was held, and desired instruction how to proceed: the Grand Lodge cordially approved the proceedings of the Lodge and gave it leave to "resign" its warrant and take another from the Grand Lodge of Virginia, all arrearages of dues being first paid. This was done, and at the next session of the Grand Lodge of Virginia, after some discussion and "due deliberation," a charter was granted for the "permanent establishment of the Lodge." On February, 3, 1783, the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania (during the time when the Grand Lodge of Virginia was unable to meet on acccount of the war) chartered a Lodge at Alexandria. In 1788, it asked for, and received a warrant from the Grand Lodge of Virginia. It does not appear that the former warrant was actually surrendered, although in the petition for the new one, the intention of doing so was stated: the Pennsylvania record of this Lodge says "Joined the Grand Lodge of Virginia." On June 26, 1784,

before the Grand Lodge met after the war, the Provincial Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania chartered a Lodge at Portsmouth; on June 24, 1790, it surrendered its warrant and took a new one from the independent Grand Lodge. This was vacated April 7, 1806, for failure to make returns. The Grand Lodge of Virginia issued a charter for a Lodge at the same place December 16, 1807, presumably to members of the old Lodge

According to the historian of Botetourt Lodge, on November 6, 1773, the Grand Lodge of England, Lord Petrie Grand Master, granted charters for three Lodges in Virginia, St. Tammany at Hampton, Williamsburg and Botetourt at Gloucester.

But in the list of Lodges in the record of the Grand Lodge, the date of constitution of St. Tammany Lodge is given as February 2, 1759. In the list of Lodges in Chapter XXXI. is Tappahannock Lodge in Virginia, chartered by Kilwinning in 1758: in the record of the Grand Lodge of Virginia for October 30, 1778, Tappahannock Lodge is mentioned and evidently as identical with the Lodge at Hampton; nor is any such Lodge found in the list of Lodges chartered by the Grand Lodge of England, the conclusion, therefore, seems irresistible that the lodge at Hampton, and called Hampton after 1786, was the Kilwinning lodge chartered in 1758.

Williamsburg and Botetourt Lodges are found on the roll of the Grand Lodge of England ranking from 1773. The historian of the latter [1] says that the Lodge was organized under dispensation granted by Fredericksburg Lodge in 1757. As already stated his recollection of the date must be erroneous, for as Fredericksburg Lodge was chartered July 21, 1758, it cannot be admitted either that it was twice chartered by the same Grand Lodge, or that it would grant a dispensation reciting in it that it had been chartered by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, when such was not the fact. The early records of this Lodge have been lost; it is probable that the lodge shown by the records of Fredericksburg Lodge to have been constituted by it at Gloucester, October 10, 1770, was the old Lodge revived, and that finding that the authority, under which it was organized, was insufficient, it sought and obtained, in 1773, a charter from the Grand Lodge of England.

The roll of Lodges of the Grand Lodge of Scotland gives St. John Lodge, at Norfolk, taking rank from 1763; but the Virginia records do not mention it, unless it has been confounded with one of the Norfolk Lodges already mentioned.

These are all the Lodges in Virginia, not chartered by her own Grand Lodge, of which there is now any specific trace. It is thus seen that Masonry came into Virginia from several distinct sources, and, except perhaps in a single instance, without the intervention of Provincial Grand Masters. So true is this, that while H. P. Thornton was appointed Provincial Grand Master by the Grand Lodge of England about 1764, and Peyton Randolph in 1774, the fact seems not to have been known to the Masons of the Colony, for at the convention of October 13, 1787, they solemnly resolved that Harnett's authority no longer existed: if they had known of the other appointments, they could not have failed to notice them.

Cut off by the war from all correspondence with the parent Grand Lodges, the Masons of Virginia found a necessity for some governing power: accordingly Williamsburg Lodge proposed, that the Masters and Wardens of the different Lodges or their deputies should meet for the purpose of choosing a Grand Master for the State of Virginia. The convention met May 6, 1777: five Lodges, Norfolk, Kilwinning, Blandford, Williamsburg and Cabin Point, were represented. Letters (not given in the record) were received

[1] John B. Donovan.

from Fredericksburg and Botetourt Lodges. It was the unanimous opinion that a Grand Master ought to be chosen, and a committee was appointed to draw up a statement of the reasons why such a step should be taken, which was ordered to be sent out to the different Lodges.

In this statement, it is said that the Lodges in the State "held their charters from five distinct and separate authorities, England, Scotland, Ireland, Pennsylvania and America, (the last at second hand)." After stating the evils arising out of the situation in which Masonry was placed, it proceeds to declare the right of the craft to choose a Grand Master. The Lodges were invitated to send deputies to a convention to be held June 23, 1777: at that convention, five Lodges were again represented; Norfolk Lodge, which was represented before, was not represented, but the number was made good by Fredericksburg Lodge. Letters from other Lodges were read and charters were examined. The opinion was unanimous that a Grand Master should be chosen, but, as a majority of the Lodges were not represented, it was deemed expedient to "decline the choice of a Grand Master for the present." It was concluded that the several Lodges should agree upon a fit person for Grand Master of Virginia and should solicit their respective Grand Masters to appoint him, with authority "to resign the superiority of his principal into the hands of the respective Lodges, in order that such Lodges, by their deputies, may form a general convention of the craft to elect a Grand Master and proper officers of a Grand Lodge in time to come."

The convention named Gen. Washington as a fit person to be Grand Master, but left it to the Lodges to select whom they might please and give notice of their selection to Williamsburg Lodge, which should declare "on whom the majority falls to be nominal Grand Master of this State." But the convention voted that if no appointment of Grand Master should be made by the first day of the next June, the president of the convention, or in case of his death, the Master of Williamsburg Lodge, was directed to call a convention to elect a Grand Master. Whether any attempt was made to carry out this plan of selecting a Grand Master does not appear; if one was made, it failed.

In consequence a convention was called and held October 13, 1778: four Lodges, Blandford, Williamsburg, Botetourt and Cabin Point were represented. The convention voted unanimously that a sufficient number of Lodges was present "to proceed to business;" "that the power and authority of Cornelius Harnett, Esq., as Deputy Grand Master of America does not exist;" and that it is agreeable to the constitution of Masonry that all the regular chartered Lodges within this State should be subject to the Grand Master of said State." John Blair was nominated and unanimously elected Grand Master and accepted the office. On the thirtieth of the same month a convention was held, a Lodge opened in form, and the Grand Master installed by the Master: the other Grand Officers were appointed and those present installed: "assistant stewards" were appointed from seven Lodges, none being taken from Williamsburg, the Grand Master's Lodge; among the seven is "Tappahannock" Lodge, not previously named, but undoubtedly Tammany Lodge at Hampton as above stated. These eight Lodges seem to have been all the Lodges in the State, then active, except the Pennsylvania Lodge at Winchester; if others were in existence they made no sign in the subsequent events.

In the statement of the convention, it is said that Ireland was one authority under which charters were held; but if there had been Irish Lodges in the colony, these had ceased to exist without leaving any trace. It will be observed that charters were derived

from two distinct sources in Scotland. So far as can be learned from the records, however, no discrimination was ever made in consequence of the different sources from which they had sprung. Each evidently recognized the others as regular Masons and their Lodges as lawful Lodges. This may be due to the fact that no strictly "Ancient" Lodges took part in the organization of the Grand Lodge.

The Grand Lodge did not adopt any Rules for its government, but assumed to conduct its affairs under the general law of Masonry. It met next December 22, 1778, to receive and act upon two petitions for initiation; the candidates were accepted and initiated. The third meeting was held June 24, 1797: it was then resolved to meet on the tenth of November "for the purpose of choosing a Grand Master and for forming such regulations as will promote the general order and interests of the craft." It was also resolved that the Lodges in the State ought not to hold their charters from the Grand Lodges of England, Scotland and Ireland, or elsewhere, but ought to have their charters renewed at the Grand Lodge to be holden on the tenth of November "in this State," and that the Secretary order the different Lodges to transmit attested copies by their deputies to the Grand Lodge, that due regard might be paid to the seniority of the Lodges.

But no session appears to have been held on the day fixed, and the Grand Lodge did not meet till December 28, 1780. A charter was granted for a Lodge at Richmond, and the Grand Lodge voted to meet at Richmond on the tenth of April following, the meetings up to that time inclusive having been in Williamsburg. The Grand Secretary was ordered to notify the Lodges accordingly and "summons them to attend with the numbers and dates of their charters for the purpose of electing a Grand Master." A contribution of five hundred dollars was presented from the York Lodge "to be added to the general fund for charitable purposes." This Lodge had been chartered February 22, 1780, whether by the Grand Master, or by the Grand Lodge at a session the proceedings at which are not recorded, does not appear. The proceedings were entered on the minutes, but the minutes were not copied into the record till several years later, and it is very probable that some of the minutes were lost before they were recorded. This probability approaches closely to a certainty, when it is considered that when rules were shortly after adopted, the power of issuing charters was declared to be vested solely in the Grand Lodge.

In consequence of the war, the Grand Lodge did not meet in 1781, 1782, or 1783. It met November 4, 1784, six Lodges being represented. Grand Master Blair "resigned" and James Mercer was elected to succeed him, and installed. The twenty-eighth of October was fixed for the date of the annual meeting of the Grand Lodge: a committee was appointed to draft regulations and directed to provide themselves with copies of the charters of all the Lodges in the State duly authenticated. At the annual session in 1785, the previous proceedings of the Grand Lodge were read, approved and confirmed, and a Committee of Charity appointed. The committee reported eight rules, which were considered and adopted. The first two relate to the composition of the Grand Lodge: the third to the right of voting; the Grand Master and Deputy having one vote each, the other Grand Officers one vote collectively, the Past Grand Officers collectively one vote, and the officers or deputies of each Lodge one vote: the fourth provides for the election of Grand Officers, except the Deputy, who was to be appointed by the Grand Master: the fifth relates to chartering Lodges: the sixth, to issuing new charters to existing Lodges: the seventh provides that the charters shall give power to initiate, pass and

raise to the degree of Master, "but that all degrees of Arch and higher orders, shall be conferred in Grand Lodge only, except where such power shall have already been duly vested in any Lodge by charter:" the eighth relates to Grand Lodge dues, which were five guineas for any degree in Grand Lodge "for the purpose of the Grand Charity;" and from Lodges one fourth of the fees received for conferring the degrees of Fellow Craft "or other higher degrees," to be applied to the same purpose.

A circular was sent out to the Lodges, stating (among other things) that "The Grand Lodge, considering the diffused situation of the craft in this State, was pleased to delegate to all Lodges, the power of raising to the degree of Fellow Craft and Master, though in Europe and in large cities that power is solely confined to the Grand Lodge, and that the Grand Lodge, considering that the principles of the sublime degrees are not so generally understood in Virginia, as to expect uniformity or propriety in the inferior Lodges, have retained the power of conferring such degrees in their own hands with some exceptions in favor of old charters, which it is supposed may contain such powers. But the Grand Lodge have full confidence in that regard, which such Lodges must have for the honor of the craft, and hope that such Lodges will relinquish so much of their new charter as may contain such power and accept a new one similar to those granted to the other Lodges, so that all cause of jealousy between the inferior Lodges may be prevented and all Lodges in Virginia stand upon one and the same ground and be united under one head:" and also that new charters had been prepared "with blank as to name and number"—the name to be entirely at the pleasure of the Lodge, but the number to be determined by the Grand Lodge.

How many of the Lodges took new charters is not known; Fredericksburg Lodge took one bearing date January 30, 1787.

At the session of the Grand Lodge in 1786, the rank of the Lodges was established and the list (including six Lodges chartered at that session) was recorded. The rule in relation to Grand Lodge dues was amended by providing that every person admitted to any degree in a Lodge should pay five guineas to the grand charity, and each Lodge should contribute, for the same purpose, "such donations as their circumstances will enable them to make." Edmund Randolph was elected Grand Master: he appointed as his Deputy John Marshall, afterwards the distinguished Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and who was elected Deputy in 1792, and Grand Master in 1793 and 1794, and served with signal zeal and ability, declining a re-election in 1795.

The regulation in relation to making Royal Arch Masons continued in force till 1790, when upon the petition of Staunton Lodge "setting forth the hardships and inconveniences" arising by its adoption, it was repealed.

In 1787, provision was made for sending communications to other Grand Lodges proposing "a friendly communication, from time to time, of such matters as may be for the general good of the craft."

The contributions by the Lodges for the grand charity were not satisfactory, and it seems to have been a perplexing question for the Grand Lodge. In 1789, it required from each Lodge the payment of one initiation fee annually, premising the order by the following declaration:

As all particular Lodges derive their authority for congregating and working as becometh Free-Masons from a Grand Lodge, it is, therefore, the duty of the particular Lodges to support this source of their power, in order that the general welfare of

the craft may be promoted, and a grand fund for charitable purposes be established, and that some mode more certain in its operations must be adopted to carry into effect the humane purposes of the Institution and to secure to the distressed that relief which it is characteristic of Masonry to administer.

This tax was found to operate unequally on the Lodges, and at the next session a *per capita* tax of three shillings on every member, to be collected by each Lodge in such manner as it should see fit, was substituted.

Out of the collection of Grand Lodge dues and other matters arose a controversy between the Grand Lodge and Fredericksburg Lodge commencing apparently in 1787 and terminating in 1795, between which dates the Lodge was rarely represented in the Grand Lodge. But little of the correspondence has been preserved. It is evident that the Lodge denied the right of the Grand Lodge to tax it. In 1790, a communication from the Lodge was laid before the Grand Lodge complaining of the Grand Lodge and of the publication of its proceedings. The Grand Secretary was directed to reply to it. He suggests that if the representatives of the Lodge had been present in Grand Lodge, they might, by their arguments, have lessened the cause of complaint. He tells them that the Grand Lodge is the judge of what is for the benefit of the craft, and substantially that they are a component part of the Grand Lodge and responsible for its action, and, therefore, that they should be present at the next session and bring forward such measures as they may think conducive to the general weal of the craft. In 1791, the matter was again before the Grand Lodge; but a message was received from the representative of the Lodge that he was prevented by indisposition from being present, and promising to attend at any future time the Grand Lodge might direct, so soon as his health would permit; and thereupon, the consideration of the papers from the Lodge was postponed. The matter seems to have rested till 1793, when the Grand Lodge ordered the Grand Secretary to notify Lodges delinquent in dues or representation, that their charters would be revoked at the next session unless good cause to the contrary be shown. At the next session, the representatives of the Lodge were present and submitted a memorial: upon consideration, the Grand Lodge voted that the Lodge ought to pay all arrearages under the Eighth Regulation, and on their so doing, the controversy between them and the Grand Lodge should be considered as fully adjusted. At the session in 1795, the Grand Secretary was directed to write to the Lodge, acknowledging the receipt of their proceedings, and expressive of the pleasure of the Grand Lodge that the dispute had been adjusted, and urging them to forward their arrearages as soon as possible.

Considering the different sources from which the Lodges originated, it is almost wonderful that controversies concerning "the work" did not arise. The first action was in April, 1790: it would seem that the Pennsylvania Ahiman Rezon of 1783 had been in use in Virginia: in 1790, a committee reported "that it appears consistent with the lawful exercise of the power of the Grand Lodge and at the same time conducive to the welfare of the craft," that that work should be reprinted, and thereupon it was voted that it be done under the management of a special committee: at the October session a copy of the work was laid before the Grand Lodge "with information of such innumerable typographical errors" as rendered the work unintelligible; thereupon the work was rejected, and the printer allowed twenty pounds for his labor, "provided the work be given up to the Grand Secretary to be burnt." This appears not to have been done, for the Grand Lodge voted to send to each Lodge one copy of "the imperfect Ahiman Rezon;"

and at the next session the Grand Lodge, on petition of the printer, voted to give him ten pounds additional, "provided he should give a receipt in full and deliver the work to the Grand Secretary to be disposed of as the Grand Lodge shall direct." As soon as the work was rejected, the Deputy Grand Master (John K. Read) proposed to print a work on his own account, but the Committee decided that the best mode of "obtaining such a revisal of the Constitution of the Grand Lodge and such a compilation of the Ahiman Rezon as may elucidate the science of Masonry" would be obtained by sending a copy of the imperfect Ahiman Rezon to each Lodge with a request to make such comments and suggest such alterations and regulations as they may think necessary, and transmit them to Bro. Read or Past G. Master Alex. Montgomery, who should be a Committee to collect them and prepare a manuscript edition of a Book of Constitution and Ahiman Rezon and lay it before the Grand Lodge at its next session for ratification. The Grand Secretary was ordered to request, in a particular manner, the attendance of deputies at that session, "as business of great importance will be laid before them." At that session the manuscript was presented and referred to a committee of four, with power to authorize the printing of it, if they should "find the extraneous matter collected by the printer be not unmasonic." At the same time, the Lodges were ordered to send to the next Grand Lodge "one or more deputies of great Masonic skill, as objects of considerable importance will then be contemplated." But at that session (October, 1791) no action was taken beyond the adoption of the following resolution (so far as the record shows):

Resolved, That the Masters and Wardens of every Lodge under the jurisdiction of this Grand Lodge, be requested to meet in the City of Richmond, on the fourth Wednesday in November next, in Grand Communication, in order to consider of and adopt an uniform mode of working to be observed by all the Lodges under this jurisdiction, and that special summons be issued by the Grand Secretary for the purpose.

At that session "The Grand Lodge took under consideration the business for investigating which this meeting was principally appointed, and established certain rules and regulations to be engraved on the hearts of all present but not proper to be committed to writing."

In the meantime, Read's Ahiman Rezon had been published: it was approved by the Grand Lodge and issued under its sanction as the proper guide in working, the use of all other publications being forbidden. It included "a system of laws for the government of the Grand Lodge" which was adopted as standing regulations. In 1794, Read sent a memorial to the Grand Lodge stating that he had published "a code of laws for the government of the Grand Lodge and other Lodges in Virginia:" the Committee recommended that the Grand Lodge subscribe for two hundred and fifty copies, but their recommendation was laid over till the next session and then, after full discussion, rejected.

The work thus adopted was practised till 1819, when James Cushman (a disciple of Jeremy L. Cross, who had previously visited Virginia) exemplified his work, which came to him from Thomas Smith Webb through Cross, and it was adopted as the authorized and obligatory work of the Grand Lodge, and Cushman was appointed Grand Lecturer until the next session of the Grand Lodge. Whatever "work" had prevailed before, from that time since the "work" in Virginia has been substantially the Webb work, as distinguished from the "Ancient" "work" practised in Pennsylvania.

While as already stated, in the early days of the Grand Lodge, the terms "Ancient" and "Modern" were unknown in Virginia Masonry, in process of time the terms were

introduced, undoubtedly in consequence of the intimate relations of the Grand Lodge with the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. In the record of the Grand Lodge for 1791, the phrase "agreeably to the customs of Ancient Masons" is used instead of "agreeably to ancient usage," which had invariably been used before that date, and this is the first appearance of the word "Ancient" as applied to Masons. The new phrase was used in 1792, and after that "agreeably to ancient usage" and "agreeably to ancient custom" are occasionally used. In 1798, however, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That if any member of a Lodge under the jurisdiction of this Grand Lodge shall visit or work in any Lodge of Masons, commonly called Modern Masons, or any Lodge of Masons not working agreeably to the ancient usages of York Masons, he shall be reprimanded by the Lodge to which he belongs, and if he should afterwards be guilty of a similar offence, he shall be expelled from the Lodge, and be excluded from the benefits of Masonry.

As four of the eight original constituent Lodges of the Grand Lodge were of those "commonly called Modern Masons," and as one of the Lodges represented, when this resolution was adopted, was originally a Lodge of the same kind, it is safe to presume that the matter was not understood, and that these "commonly called Modern Masons," were supposed to be of recent as well as spurious origin.

Among the early usages and laws of this Grand Lodge were the following: in the absence of the "chair officers" of the Grand Lodge, it was opened by the Master of the oldest Lodge present; it was made the duty of the Grand Master to report to the Grand Lodge his official acts during the recess; after 1793, a Lodge might appoint the member of another Lodge its representative in the Grand Lodge; a Mason expelled by a Lodge could be restored by the Grand Lodge; on appeal the Grand Lodge reversed the decision of a Lodge and pronounced a final judgment: at an early day, balloting upon petitions for initiation was limited to Master Masons: the Grand Lodge opened on the fourth degree, as early as 1791, and raised two brethren to the degree of Past Master, one of them being the Master and the other the Senior Warden of a newly chartered Lodge, and then installed them into their respective offices; re-elected Grand Officers were not installed (1792); the nearest Lodge had jurisdiction to discipline a resident Mason, whether a member of a Virginia Lodge or not; in one instance, on an appeal the proceedings were reversed, and the brother, who had been expelled by the Lodge, was reinstated in all the privileges of Masonry, and being Senior Warden of his Lodge, was admitted to a seat in the Grand Lodge.

While John Marshall was Grand Master (1795) a called Grand Lodge was held to lay the foundation stone of a bridge. The Grand Lodge was opened (says the record) in ample form in the first degree of Masonry. The brethren formed in procession, and proceeded to the appointed place, and there the Grand Master laid the foundation stone (after consecrating it with corn, wine and oil and depositing a silver plate thereon appropriately inscribed) agreeably to ancient custom. The procession then returned to the hall and the Grand Lodge was closed. The inscription upon the plate states that the stone was laid by John Marshall, M. W. Grand Master of the Society of Free Masons, Virginia, assisted by the Deputy G. Master and Wardens (naming them) *and by the Grand Lodge of Virginia.*

In 1799, the Grand Master of Maryland submitted a letter to the Grand Lodge stating that a dispute had unhappily arisen between himself and his Grand Lodge: the Grand

Lodge of Virginia took the whole matter into consideration and expressed its opinion upon each point that had arisen in the dispute. The conclusion was that both the Grand Lodge and the Grand Master had acted erroneously, but that the matter was of such a nature as easily to admit of conciliation, and it was "seriously recommended to them to take effective measures to restore that harmony and fraternal understanding which ought always to subsist among the craft." Copies of the report and resolutions were ordered to be forwarded to the Grand Master and to the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Maryland.

In addition to the Ahiman Rezons of 1791 and 1818, Text-Books, approved by the Grand Lodge, were published in 1847, 1854, 1866 and 1877.

It should be stated that Kilwinning Cross Lodge continued to work under their original charter till 1796, never having received (as stated in their memorial) the charter issued to them by the Grand Lodge of Virginia. The memorial states that their original charter was granted by the Grand Lodge of Scotland: but this statement was erroneous.

In 1802, Cabin Point Lodge had been dormant some years: a petition was presented in its behalf, praying that its charter from the Grand Lodge of Virginia might be renewed, and "that they may be privileged to retain the charter originally granted them by ——, formerly a Provincial Grand Master:" according to the evidence, that old charter was granted by Kilwinning Lodge and not by a Provincial Grand Master.

This Grand Lodge has had a steady growth, nearly all the time since its organization. It was less affected by the Anti-Masonic excitement than more northern jurisdictions. Of course, it suffered greatly in the Civil War. It has been distinguished for the large number of the members of its obedience, who have been prominent in public life, as well as in the professions, and in business affairs.

Maryland.

The first Lodge in Maryland, of which there is any certain knowledge, was the Lodge chartered by Thomas Oxnard, Provincial Grand Master at Boston, August 12, 1750. All traces of it have been lost, except the references to it in the Massachusetts records and in the public newspapers; the latter mention it in 1761, 1763, and 1764. It was dormant, undoubtedly, several years before the inauguration of the Grand Lodge. Apparently the Brethren composing this Lodge met for some purpose before it received its charter; for, according to the public prints, it celebrated St. John's Day on June 25, 1750, by attending Divine Service. As in those days the term "Lodge" was applied to the meeting as well as the body, it is probable that the meetings before the charter was received were not the meeting of a Lodge but of the brethren, and that they met only for such purposes as individual Masons could meet without a warrant, and that no Masonic work was done by them.

In the archives of the Grand Lodge of Maryland is the record book of a Lodge at Leonard town. The first record refers to money received for the use of the Lodge "at a Lodge formerly held at this place;" this indicates that a meeting had been previously held. The record gives no clue to the origin of the Lodge, and that contains all that is known of it: it held meetings in 1759, 1761, 1762 and 1764.

On August 7, 1765, a charter was granted by the Grand Lodge of England for a Lodge

at Joppa, which held its first meeting on the twenty-first of the following November. This was after the "Ancients" had obtained a strong foothold in Pennsylvania. Curiously enough this Lodge supposed itself an "Ancient" Lodge, and adopted a By-Law that no one, who had been admitted in any Modern Lodge should be admitted a member of that Lodge "without taking the respective obligations peculiar to 'Ancient Masons.'" The explanation probably is that the first members were made in the Ancient Lodge in Philadelphia, and, by mistake, applied to the other Grand Lodge for a charter. Two Brethren were complained of for attending the work of an "unconstituted and unwarranted Lodge." A committee was appointed to confer with them and report to the Lodge. One of the brethren promised to abstain from attending any such Lodge, the other said he was not convinced that he had "made any breach in our law;" the Lodge concluded that the matter should be "considered in full Lodge," but nothing further appears in relation to it. This shows that it was not then fully settled that voluntary Lodges were illegal. In March, 1766, an invitation was received from Lodge No. 3, Ancient York Masons, "Held at John Kelley's, in Pewter Platter Alley in Philadelphia," to open a regular correspondence, "which desire was immediately agreed to." The Ancient Provincial Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania refused to recognize this Lodge as an Ancient Lodge, and in consequence, in 1782 it took a charter from that body. It took no part in the formation of the Grand Lodge of Maryland, and seems to have become dormant about ten years after it received its second charter.

The Ancient Provincial Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania chartered two Lodges in Maryland in 1766, two in 1770, one in 1773, three in 1780 (one a Military Lodge), and two in 1782.

Tradition has it that several other Lodges were established in the State, and in the old records there are references to other Lodges, but no specific traces of such Lodges now exist. R. Molleson in 1778, and Henry Harford in 1783, were appointed Provincial Grand Masters for Maryland, by the Grand Lodge of England, but there is no evidence that either of them ever exercised any authority in the State. It is quite likely that some of the Lodges, of which tradition speaks, were chartered by the Franklin-Allen Provincial Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania; but if so, they ceased to exist without leaving any trace behind.

At the close of the Revolutionary war, there existed in Maryland eight active Lodges all hailing under the authority of Pennsylvania: the military Lodge had of course ceased to exist, and one of the Lodges chartered in 1770 had become partially dormant, and active only at times, and finally some of its members in 1795 took a charter from the Grand Lodge of Maryland.

In 1783, the "Eastern Shore" of Maryland seems to have been the most important part of the State, and six of the eight Lodges then existed there. Undoubtedly, influenced by the same reasons that had actuated their brethren in Massachusetts and Virginia, the Masons of the Eastern Shore of Maryland associated the idea of *Masonic* independence with that of *political* independence. We have no means of ascertaining what the preliminary measures were, but on June 17, 1783, representatives from five of the Lodges on the Eastern Shore, met in convention for the purpose (judging by their action) of forming an independent Grand Lodge; among the visiting Brethren were a former member of one of the other Lodges, and John Coats, Past Deputy Grand Master of the "Ancient" Provincial Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. They resolved unanimously,

"That the several Lodges, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, consider it as a matter of right, and that they ought to form a Grand Lodge, independent of the Grand Lodge in Philadelphia."

But Rev. Dr. William Smith, representative of one of the Lodges, was not authorized to go into an election of Grand Officers, so that five Lodges (the number required to form a Grand Lodge upon the theory of the Ancients) were not represented: for this reason the organization of the Grand Lodge was postponed; but it was agreed that a petition should be forwarded to the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania for a warrant for a Grand Lodge to be held on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and the convention then adjourned to meet on July 31, 1783, for the election of Grand Officers and completing the organization. The convention met according to adjournment. The Lodge whose representative had not full authority, and one Lodge not represented at the former meeting, were represented, but one of the Lodges that was represented at the former meeting was not represented at this. The representatives at this meeting were the Masters, Wardens and Past Masters; thus while but five Lodges were represented at the same meeting, all six of the Lodges on the Eastern Shore participated in the movement. Rev. Dr. William Smith was present and presided. He had been Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania and his term of office had not then expired, but he had ceased to act as such, and certain entries in the Pennsylvania records indicate that he, as well as John Coats, then lived in Maryland. It does not appear that the petition to the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania had been forwarded, and no mention of it is found in the records of that Body. The convention again adopted the resolution declaring its right to independence, and voted unanimously to organize a Grand Lodge. Grand Officers were chosen, John Coats, Grand Master, and Charles Gardiner, Grand Secretary.

The Grand Lodge adjourned to meet on the eighteenth day of December, and met according to adjournment, but there not being a full representation on account of the "weather and season," it adjourned to the next day, after the Grand Master had laid before the Grand Lodge his correspondence with the Grand Master of Pennsylvania.

His letter is dated August 18, 1783. Among the reasons which he gives for forming the Grand Lodge are his doubts whether the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, whose warrant was expressly for that State, could rightfully charter Lodges in Maryland; and whether that Grand Lodge could charter another Grand Lodge, any more than one subordinate Lodge could charter another Lodge. The Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania replied, admitting that it could not resolve his doubt on the latter point, but, on the authority of several quotations from Dr. Smith's Ahiman Rezon (the pertinence of which it is difficult to perceive), denying the power of the Maryland Lodges to organize a Grand Lodge.

The Grand Lodge met the next day; five Lodges were represented; the missing Lodge being one that had been represented at both the other meetings. Resolutions to the effect that the Lodges were willing to pay their dues to the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania to the day of the first convention, and that the dues be sent up by a Committee (named) who were "to settle with the Grand Lodge and negotiate the business of the warrant" as set forth in the following resolution:

"Resolved, Unanimously, that application shall be made to the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania for a warrant to constitute ourselves into a Grand Lodge, and that, in case of refusal, we think we have power to form a Grand Lodge ourselves."

The Grand Lodge adjourned to meet June 17, 1784. The summons for the meeting

was issued, in which it was said that, "The present presiding officer means on that day to resign the chair, and hopes that you will in the meantime think of a successor."

But from "accident and other causes" no meeting was held. An able address of the Grand Master is recorded, which he prepared for delivery at that meeting; in it he gives an account of his visit to the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania (the other members of the Committee not being present), and his arguments in favor of the position the Maryland Brethren had taken. He said:

"I then enlarged upon our situation as Freemasons, and free men of a State, independent and sufficiently numerous to form a constitution, and at the same time wishing to promote the most brotherly intercourse with the craft, not only in Pennsylvania, but through the globe. I wanted to know where we were to receive our authority. If your Grand Lodge gives us a warrant, we must demean ourselves to it, otherwise it will be of no force or virtue, consequently void. Pray do you think yourselves bound to pay that obedience to the Grand Lodge of London, from whence you originate? Are you, the representatives of Pennsylvania, dependent upon them? If you are, I, for one as a member, as a Past Master of this Grand Lodge, protest against it. Who formed a Grand Lodge in England, Scotland, and Ireland, or any other state blessed with a Grand Lodge? their own independence. They owe no subjection, but are always happy in meeting and acknowledging their brethren, wheresoever they come, upon equal terms."

A Committee was appointed by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania to "inquire whether this Lodge has power and authority to grant a warrant to form another Grand Lodge:" but the record discloses no other action in the matter, although the Grand Master "candidly admitted that he thought the same" as Brother Coats.

Among the other causes for not holding the meeting on June 17, 1784, was undoubtedly this action, or rather refusal to act, by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania: what other causes existed is not known.

The Grand Lodge did not meet in 1784, 1785 or 1786; but on April 19, 1787, in response to a summons from Grand Master Coats',[1] the representatives of five Lodges met in convention or Grand Lodge: the same five Lodges were represented as at the meeting next preceding. The former proceedings were referred to, and in effect affirmed; but apparently to make sure, the members agreed to establish a Grand Lodge and appoint Grand Officers; the Grand Master and Grand Secretary were re-elected. According to the precedents which had then been set by Massachusetts and Virginia, and which were followed implicitly afterwards, the Grand Lodge of Maryland was legally organized July 31, 1783; and moreover the proceedings, (undoubtedly directed by Dr. Smith) were a model of regularity: this Grand Lodge was never formally dissolved; but on the contrary the Grand Master, then elected, through the Grand Secretary, also then elected, called the meeting of April 17, 1787, in his official capacity, when the former proceedings were affirmed: so that although the Grand Lodge did not meet for nearly three years and although it celebrated its centennial anniversary in 1787, it really dates from 1783.

The only objection to its organization was, that it did not have a charter to authorize its action: but if that objection was not overthrown by Grand Master Coats, it was soon after, by universal consent in this country. It is surprising that it should ever be thought that one sovereign could be chartered by another sovereign, whose peer it was to be.

The Grand Lodge adjourned to meet on September, 19, 1787, when the Lodge at

[1] John M. Carter, Centennial Oration.

Baltimore applied for and received a warrant from the Grand Lodge of Maryland; the Lodge at Joppa had become dormant, so that now all the Lodges in the State (seven) hailed under the banner of the new Grand Lodge. It, thereupon, ordered that the old charters be cancelled, and that the Lodges take charters from itself.

In due time this action was communicated to the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. Since the former correspondence, a great change had taken place in Pennsylvania; the Provincial Grand Lodge had dissolved and the representatives of the Lodges had organized an independent Grand Lodge; it is quite likely that the vigorous arguments of Grand Master Coats had much effect in causing this action, which was in substance so similar to the action of the Maryland Convention in 1783, that the latter seems to have been taken for a precedent, as it was in other cases later. The Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania returned a reply that it was convinced by the solidity of their reasons, approved of their conduct, recognized their authority and perfectly acquiesced in a separation dictated by reason and necessity. It should be stated that between the formation of the Grand Lodge of Maryland in 1783, and its reorganization in 1787, no new Lodges in Maryland were chartered either by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania or any other Masonic authority. By 1787, the Western part of the State had increased in importance, especially the City of Baltimore, and new Lodges were soon chartered in that section. In 1794, the seat of the Grand Lodge was changed to Baltimore, where it has met semi-annually ever since, except that its semi-annual communication in May, 1806, was held at Easton on the Eastern Shore.

When the Baltimore Lodge asked and received its new charter, there was apparently a division in the Lodge; for at the next session of the Grand Lodge of Virginia, Robert Stewart (or Steward) of Baltimore appeared with a petition signed by some members of that Lodge, seconded by some of the members of the defunct Lodge in Baltimore. He succeeded in obtaining a dispensation for a new Lodge in Baltimore by the name of "Baltimore Union Lodge," to continue in force till the twenty-eighth day of October, next ensuing, when the Grand Lodge was to meet again. The Grand Secretary was directed to write a letter to David Stodder, inquiring into the state of Masonry in Maryland, and upon what ground he "styles himself D. G. M." and "requiring a true state of the matter of differences subsisting between the Brethren of Lodge No. 15." Stewart was, or had been, Master of the Lodge, and, according to the letter of the Grand Secretary, claimed that the warrant had been unjustly withheld from him, and he was supported in this claim by members of the other Lodge: the Grand Secretary adds that according to a letter from Stodder a Grand Lodge had been erected for the State: but that it appeared that one Lodge and a branch of another Lodge had never concurred, and, as he found, on inquiry, that there were but three Lodges in Maryland, "the matter stands in *equilibrio*," one Lodge and a half having created a Grand Lodge and one and a half having "seceded." He says, "the unanimous consent, or we'll say a majority, have a right to confer this authority so far as to bind themselves and, in some cases, others." He requests full information in the matter, however. Stodder signed the petition for the new charter as the Master of the Lodge, and he signs a letter as Master of the Lodge in 1788, about the time the Grand Lodge of Virginia met. What, if any, answer he made does not appear; no charter was granted, nor any further action taken by the Grand Lodge of Virginia (so far as the record discloses) till 1790. The Lodge is recorded as represented by William Waddill, the Grand Secretary (undoubtedly as proxy), in April, 1789, and by

John Burke, also Grand Secretary, in April, 1790. At the latter session, it was ordered that a communication from the Lodge under date of the second of March be replied to by the proper committee, and that a copy of the *letter of the Past Grand Secretary* relative to the matter be forwarded: the letter referred to, in this vote, was evidently the letter of 1788. At the annual session of 1791, the Lodge was represented by the Senior Grand Deacon of the Grand Lodge, and by the same brother in 1792 and 1793, after which it was not represented, and in 1807 its number was given to another Lodge. The Virginia record shows no charter, and it was the practice to allow Lodges U. D. to be represented in the Grand Lodge; but still it seems improbable that a Lodge, existing only by virtue of a dispensation *that had expired*, would be allowed to be represented; and yet the only references to the Lodge in the records indicate that the original dispensation was the only authority the Grand Lodge of Virginia ever issued. In 1791, formal complaint against this Lodge and the Lodge chartered by Pennsylvania was made to the Grand Lodge of Maryland, and the Grand Master and Deputy were requested to communicate with the Grand Lodges of Virginia and Pennsylvania in relation to the matter; but if anything was done, no record of it was made. However the Virginia Lodge soon after disappeared, and the other Lodge, which seems to have been alternately active and dormant for several years, ceased to exist, and some of its members in 1795 took a charter from the Grand Lodge of Maryland. It took no part in organizing the Independent Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, was never represented in it, and undoubtedly never took a charter from it. The preponderance of evidence is that neither of these Lodges was a lawful Lodge, when the complaint was made against them in 1791.

It is a singular fact that only one of the Lodges, which took part in the organization of the Grand Lodge, and only one of the first six Lodges chartered by the new Grand Lodge, survived the year 1800; the other ten ceased to exist in the decade between 1790 and 1800.

Some of the members of one Lodge having changed their residence, upon their petition their Lodge granted to them a dispensation to meet at their new place of abode as *a part of their old Lodge*, with power to appoint officers and to do all the work of Ancient Freemasons in proper form, "except only entering, passing and raising a brother, for which a perfect charter must be obtained from the Right Worshipful Grand Lodge of Maryland." This seems to correspond pretty nearly to the modern "Lodge of Instruction;" the body, however, soon applied for and received a charter.

When the Grand Lodge of Georgia, in 1790, proposed to establish a General Grand Lodge, this Grand Lodge adopted the resolution already adopted by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania against the measure; this position it maintained down to 1845, when it supported the proposition.

On September 18, 1793, the Grand Lodge laid the corner stone of the Capitol at Washington, President Washington presiding and conducting the ceremonies, at the request and (legally speaking) under the direction of the Acting Grand Master.

In spite of the early demise of so many Lodges, this Grand Lodge was comparatively prosperous and had a steady growth. During the war of 1812 its growth was retarded; it also suffered severely from the Anti-masonic excitement—to such an extent in fact, that but one Lodge is said to have maintained its regular meetings, and when the reaction began, it had but thirteen Lodges with a membership of less than 300. It recovered from these, but later its prosperity received a severe blow from another cause. It undertook

to build a Masonic Temple without first having obtained the means. The result was a large debt and heavy taxation; these caused dissatisfaction and even bitter dissension. Its creditors became uneasy and the sale of the property under legal process became imminent, but almost at the last moment Bro. Francis W. Burns and John W. Garret (not a Mason) came to the rescue; the brethren stood together, devoting all the resources of the Grand Lodge to the reduction of the debt, so that under splendid financial management, when the Centennial celebration came in 1887, the light of financial prosperity had dawned in the East with the sure promise of the brighter day to come.

South Carolina.

This State was the battle-ground of the fiercest contest between the "Ancients" and the "Moderns." For nearly twenty years each party had a Grand Lodge in active operation, and the contest was maintained for many years after it had ceased elsewhere in this country, and after the union had taken place in England.

The date usually given as the origin of the Grand Lodge of South Carolina is March 24, 1787. This is the date of the organization of the Ancient Grand Lodge. Her own historians, however, claim an earlier date as the organization of the other Grand Lodge, and with reason, even if their claims are not allowed to their full extent. It antedates the Grand Lodges of Pennsylvania, Georgia and New Jersey, and perhaps Maryland. Its claim to antedate Virginia, and perhaps even Massachusetts, will be noticed in its place.

By the ravages of three wars and four fires, the early records of both Grand Lodges and many subordinate Lodges have been destroyed or lost. Even the larger part of the edition of Dr. Mackey's History was burned, so that copies of the work are exceedingly rare, and no *full* file of the published proceedings and other official documents is known to exist; as a consequence neither absolute certainty, nor even strong probability, as to the facts in many cases, can be asserted.

A deputation for the formation of "Solomon's Lodge" at Charleston was granted in 1735, by Lord Weymouth, Grand Master. The same year, a deputation was granted for a Lodge by the same name at Savannah, Georgia: by confounding the two, or for some reason not known, the former was not entered on the roll while the latter was. The former does not appear on the English list until 1760, when it was allowed to date from 1735. But it is certain that the authority for a Lodge at Charleston was granted in 1735, and it is shown by contemporary newspaper accounts that it was actually organized October 28, 1736.

In 1735, the Provincial Grand Lodge of Massachusetts granted a warrant for a Lodge at Charleston, "sundry brethren" having gone there from Boston. In the early part of 1738, it was referred to in a newspaper as being held at the "Harp and Crown," and as having Dr. Newman Oglethorpe for its Master. This is the only known allusion to it in any document extant: it probably existed only a few years.

John Hammerton was appointed Provincial Grand Master in 1736, or early in 1737. He resigned in July following, and in August James Graeme was appointed his successor. His commission has not been preserved, but it would seem that he was appointed only till the end of the year, when his successor was to be chosen by the Provincial Grand Lodge; for on St. John's Day in December following, Graeme was unanimously elected Grand Master, and was re-elected in 1738 and 1739; John Houghton was chosen in 1740,

John Hammerton in 1741, and Benjamin Smith in 1742. After this date until 1751, the newspaper makes no allusion to Freemasonry. Dr. Mackey thinks that the reason for this is found in the law adopted in 1741, by the Grand Lodge of England, prohibiting the printing of the proceedings of any Lodge. This could scarcely have prevented a notice, in a newspaper, of the public celebration of St. John's Day, if one had occurred. However all that can be said with certainty is, that during these ten years, there is a hiatus in the history of Masonry in that State. The question whether, during this time, the Provincial Grand Lodge continued to exist, has been ably discussed, but the evidence is necessarily very slight, and hardly overcomes the presumption arising from the silence of the Gazette, which, before that time and after it, was in the habit of noticing Masonic events of a partially public character.

Solomon's Lodge was active and celebrated St. John's Day (in December) annually up to 1742, inclusive, with public exercises.

Mackey says that this Lodge worked uninterruptedly till 1811, when it suspended labor: it was revived in 1817, but again became dormant in 1838, and was revived in 1841, since which time it has been as active as the wars, fires and earthquakes, through which it has passed, have allowed.

In the English list of 1760, there were, in addition to Solomon's Lodge, four others—Prince George at Winyaw, or Georgetown, dating from 1743; Union at Charleston, dating from 1755; Masters' at Charleston dating from 1756, and Port Royal at Beaufort, dating also from 1756: these were followed by St. Mark's Lodge in 1763. The Gazette gives an account of the celebration of St. John's Day in 1751, by a Lodge at Beaufort. Dr. Dalcho, in 1822, says that St. George's Lodge at Dorchester, Prince George's at Winyaw, and Port Royal at Beaufort were constituted soon after the organization of Solomon's Lodge.

St. John's Day in 1752 was celebrated at Charleston and Beaufort in the usual manner, and at Charleston in 1753. The Gazette, in its account of this celebration, says "the Provincial Lodge was formed." Dr. Mackey concludes that this means Solomon's Lodge, while De Saussure, in his historical address, assumes that it means the Provincial Grand Lodge. A comparison of the titles of the officers then elected with the titles always used in former accounts, and the names of those officers with the names of the officers of the Lodge elected the next year, and with the names of those of Leigh's Provincial Grand Lodge, makes it quite clear that Dr. Mackey's conclusion was correct. In the By Laws of Solomon's Lodge, bearing the date of 1753, are references to the Provincial Grand Lodge: it is not certain that these were new. By-Laws of an old Lodge, made or revised that year, cannot be accepted as proof of the existence of the Provincial Grand Lodge at that time. A Masonic funeral was held at Dorchester, January 25, 1754. If it were not for the practise of holding annual elections, the presumption would be that the Provincial Grand Lodge existed, but gradually became dormant, although the Lodges were active during the whole or part of the time; but what would be considered at that time the effect of not electing Grand Officers annually, according to the custom, is wholly left to conjecture. The subsequent appointment of a Provincial Grand Master by the Grand Lodge of England, and the organization of a new Provincial Grand Lodge, show that the body, formerly existing and perpetuating itself by annual elections of officers, had ceased to exist either by want of action on its part or by being superseded.

On March 30, 1754, Peter Leigh, who had just been appointed Chief Justice of South

Carolina, was appointed Provincial Grand Master of that State by the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England. He arrived in Charleston on the twenty-second of October following, and immediately organized a Provincial Grand Lodge. St. John's Day (December) was celebrated with great zest. The Provincial Grand Master presented the Grand Lodge with a sword, which was said to have been in his family for many years: it remained in possession of the Grand Lodge and was borne in all public processions till 1838, when it was nearly destroyed in the great fire; the blade only was saved, the point of that being broken off. In the confusion it was mislaid, but in 1854 (the centennial anniversary of its presentation to the Grand Lodge) it was found, ingeniously repaired, and used during the celebration of that year. Since 1865 it has disappeared and the most persistent efforts have not been able to discover it.

The Provincial Grand Lodge continued to meet, at first annually and then quarterly till 1759, when, in consequence of the French and Cherokee war, and the death of the Provincial Grand Master, it did not meet. It is to be observed that under Leigh's administration the Grand Officers were not elected, but were appointed by him: when he died, his Deputy discharged the duties of the office until a successor was appointed.

In 1755 and 1756, St George's Lodge at Dorchester celebrated St. John's Day (June); this Lodge is not named on the English list, and no more is known of its history than what Dr. Dalcho said of it and what appears in the newspapers. In the summons for the meeting of the Grand Lodge in 1758, it is stated that there were then "five regular and constituted Lodges" under the Provincial jurisdiction. Six had been chartered; so that one had become dormant, unless St George's Lodge hailed under some other authority. It is probable that "Masters' Lodge" was chartered to confer the Master's degree, the other Lodges having authority to confer only the first and second degrees. There was a Masters' Lodge in Boston, one in Newport, R. I., and as late as 1769, the Lodge at Falmouth, Maine, conferred only the first and second degrees, while the third was conferred in a distinct Lodge called the Masters' Lodge. The Masters' Lodge at Boston was represented in the Grand Lodge, but those at Newport and Falmouth were not, and such may have been the case in Charleston; and when five Lodges were named, the Masters' Lodge may not have been included.

Union Lodge, chartered in 1755, judging from the names of its members, had quite a number of Scotchmen in it. In 1759, they sent five guineas to the Grand Lodge of Scotland for its Charity Fund: that body showed its appreciation of the gift by issuing a charter to the donors for a Lodge by the name of Union Kilwinning. The Lodge adopted the name but continued its old allegiance, although the Grand Lodge of Scotland carried its name on the roll for many years.

In 1761, Benjamin Smith was appointed Provincial Grand Master and served till 1767, when he resigned, and for two years afteward his Deputy, Egerton Leigh, acted in his stead. When Smith resigned, the craft unanimously voted to request Leigh to allow them to petition the Grand Master for his appointment, and he consented; in consequence he was styled Grand Master-elect, but was really Deputy and Acting Grand Master through 1769.

Up to 1766, the Provincial Grand Lodge had been composed of the Grand Officers, Past Grand Officers, and Masters and Wardens of the Lodges; but in that year the summons required the attendance of the Masters and Wardens of Lodges "or their deputies."

St. Mark's Lodge was warranted February 8, 1763: its location is not given, but it

seems to have had an ephemeral existence. Marine Lodge at Charleston was chartered December 22, 1766, and Mackey counts this with the other three Charleston Lodges and the Lodges at Georgetown (or Winyaw), Dorchester and Beaufort to make "the seven Lodges" mentioned in the Grand Lodge summons of that year. But as there were eight Lodges the next year, and there is no mention of the creation of a new one during the year, it is more probable that the summons was issued before Marine Lodge was chartered, and that St. Mark's Lodge was one of the seven in 1766, and one of the eight in 1767. It would seem also that Masters' Lodge was included in the number.

In the latter part of 1769, Egerton Leigh was appointed Provincial Grand Master, and the appointment was officially announced February 20, 1770, at a communication held for that purpose. The accounts in the newspapers during the following years are rather meagre. Men's minds were occupied with more exciting matters: events were happening that were to lead to war, revolution and separation from the mother country. There is evidence, however, that the Lodges were active. In June, 1774, Leigh, whose sympathies were decidedly with the British Government, finding that the popular sentiment was strongly against him, left the country; but he did not resign the office of Provincial Grand Master.

No account of a meeting of the Grand Lodge in that year, or in 1775, has been found.

On December 19, 1776, a notice appeared in the Gazette, that "the Grand Anniversary and General Communication" would be held on the twenty-seventh, "when all Brethren throughout this State are earnestly requested to assemble:" it was signed "By order of the Grand Lodge, John Wells, Jr., G. S. *pro tem.*" Robert Wells had been Grand Secretary under Leigh; as the latter was absent, he could not have appointed the Grand Secretary *pro tem.* The words "By order of the Grand Lodge," imply that a meeting had been held and the appointment made by it. Since Leigh had left, events of the most momentous importance had transpired; war had actually commenced, battles had been fought, and, more than all the rest, the Colonies had declared their Independence and were fighting vigorously to maintain it. South Carolina, even in advance of the National Declaration, on March 26, 1776, had organized an independent State government, fought the battle of Fort Moultrie, and in effect driven the royal government from the State. The use of the word "State" in the notice was in accordance with the new order of things.

The language of this notice indicates that the meeting was to be a general meeting of the craft: there was no notification to the *members* of the Grand Lodge as such. There is no evidence that any action was then taken by the Grand Lodge, but rather evidence to the contrary, as Wells continues to sign as Secretary *pro tem.*

But on January 2, 1777, a notice was published in the Gazette desiring the members of the Grand Lodge to meet in Quarterly Communication on the third of February following. On December 11, 1777, a notice was published for the "Grand Anniversary and General Communication" on St. John's Day: this notice was signed by Wells as Grand Secretary, "by order of the Grand Master-elect." In the Gazette of January 1, 1778, is a brief account of the meeting on St. John's Day, in which it is stated that Barnard Elliott was then "installed Grand Master of Masons in this State." There had been an election of Grand Officers at a previous meeting, presumably at the meeting in February. What transpired at any of these meetings, beyond what has been stated, is not known.

But upon the known facts, Dr. Mackey claims that the Grand Lodge was organized

as an independent Grand Lodge in 1777, presumably on December 27. De Saussure claims that it should date from December 27, 1776, and therefore, that it was the first independent Grand Lodge in America: but as the date of the installation of the Grand Officers is universally regarded as the date of the organization of a Grand Lodge, it cannot date from a day earlier than December 27, 1777. If this organization had been maintained as an independent Grand Lodge, Dr. Mackey's position would be impregnable; but subsequent events show that it must have been, and must be considered, a continuation of the Provincial Grand Lodge.

A quarterly communication was called "by order of the Grand Master" in February, 1778. On October 25, 1778, Elliot died and the Masons attended his funeral as mourners. No notice in relation to this branch of Masonry appeared in the Gazette for three years; in the meantime Leigh had died, and Charleston had been reconquered by British troops, and the State pretty well reduced to the possession of the British authorities. In the Royal Gazette of November 21, 1781, a notice was published reciting that the office of Provincial Grand Master was vacant by the death of Leigh, and requesting the Masters and Wardens of the regular Lodges throughout the Province to "consider of a fit and proper brother to fill that high and important station and of other matters of greatest importance to the craft." This was followed by a notice "By order of the Grand Lodge," from "John Wells, Jr., G. S.," in the Gazette of December 19, 1781, calling a meeting of the Grand Lodge for the ensuing St. John's Day, desiring "all former Grand Officers and the present Masters and Wardens of the regularly constituted Lodges throughout the Province, under the jurisdiction of the Provincial Grand Lodge, in particular, and the Brethren "in general," to attend. The fact that John Wells acted as Grand Secretary, and the composition of the Body, show that this was the same Grand Lodge that had elected Elliot, and not the old Provincial Grand Lodge reorganized. In the account of this meeting, given in the Gazette, it is stated that the Provincial Grand Master's chair being vacated by Leigh's death, John Deas was unanimously chosen to fill it. The election of Elliot was ignored, probably because it was held that his election was void on the ground that Leigh was then Provincial Grand Master; but all the other proceedings appear to have been accepted as valid.

Charleston was evacuated by the British troops, December 14, 1782, in consequence of the treaty with Great Britain. No notice calling a meeting of the Grand Lodge in 1782 or 1783 is found in the Gazette, but a meeting was held on December 27, 1783, an account of which is given in the Gazette of January second: while the meeting is called in this account the twenty-ninth anniversary, it is evident that at that meeting the Grand Lodge exercised all the functions of an independent Grand Lodge, *and ever after continued to do so.* It is probable that if a meeting was held in 1782 the same was true of that meeting; but until evidence is found that there was such a meeting, the twenty-seventh of December, 1783, must be taken as the date from which the Grand Lodge of South Carolina takes rank. In the summons for the meeting in 1784, the officers of the eleven Lodges "constituted, holding under and acknowledging the jurisdiction of the said Lodge," are desired to attend. The phraseology is emphatic as well as new, and undoubtedly was intended to convey the idea of independence and sovereignty, as well as a distinction between its own Lodges and those holding under other authorities, with which it was soon to come into collision.

For about twenty-five years, after the independence of the Grand Lodge in 1783, its

career was a comparatively uneventful one: its sphere of operations was restricted, according to Dr. Mackey, to Charleston and its vicinity. It celebrated St. John's Day occasionally, but how often, the loss of its records, and the failure to preserve copies of contemporaneous newspapers, prevent being known. Its number of Lodges increased slowly, being only twelve or fifteen in number as late as 1808.

This was in part due to the organization and rapid growth of its rival, the Ancient Grand Lodge, or, as it saw fit to call itself, the "Grand Lodge of Ancient York Masons." The name suggests two delusions, which those connected with it entertained. It had no connection with York: its rival organization was the most "ancient": its claim was that it practised "ancient" Masonry, but its votaries soon came to understand that their organization was of *ancient* origin while that of their rivals was of *modern* origin.

The "Ancient" Grand Lodge of England chartered three Lodges in Charleston, No. 92, in 1761; No. 190, in 1774; and No. 236, in 1786. There is some evidence that the last had previously been chartered by the Grand Lodge of England, that one of its members visited Philadelphia and became an "Ancient" Mason, that on his return he persuaded the members of his Lodge to follow his example, and thereupon a warrant was obtained from the "Ancient" Grand Lodge of England. The "Ancient" Provincial Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania chartered three Lodges in Charleston: No. 38, December 23, 1782; No. 40, July 12, 1783; and No. 47, November 22, 1786. No. 40 surrendered its warrant when the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania was formed and took a new one, May 25, 1787: it was originally granted, according to De Saussure to brethren formerly of St. Andrew's Lodge in West Florida. In addition to these, the Provincial Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania on December 27, 1785, granted a petition for a charter for a Lodge at Winnsborough, but the name and number of this Lodge do not appear on the published list of Pennsylvania Lodges. The oldest Lodge, No. 92, if ever organized, disappeared before No. 190 was chartered. The first public notice of any "Ancient" Lodge is of No. 190, in 1777, when it celebrated St. John's Day: other celebrations were held in later years, that of 1784 by three Lodges.

On December 24, 1786, a preliminary meeting was held by which the Master of No. 190 was requested to call a convention on the first of January for the purpose of deliberating on the expediency of forming a Grand Lodge. Dr. Dalcho says that the Ancients had previously proposed terms of union to the Grand Lodge then existing, but as each party insisted upon conditions which the other would not accept, the attempt to effect a union failed.

The convention met on the first of January as proposed, five Lodges, Nos. 190, 38, 40, 47 and 236 being represented by their Masters, Past Masters and Wardens. It was determined to form a Grand Lodge, and the fifth of February was appointed for the election of Grand Officers and the forming of a Grand Lodge "free from any other jurisdiction." Accordingly, on the day fixed, the Convention met, voted to form a Grand Lodge and elected Grand Officers and adjourned to meet March 24, 1787, when the Grand Officers were installed and the new Grand Lodge formally organized. Five Lodges were represented in the earlier meetings, but whether the Lodge at Winnsborough was represented at any of them, or not, cannot be ascertained. However, if it was not represented, it gave in its adhesion and became No 6; it resisted the union in 1808, and became extinct in 1810, or soon after. St. Andrews' Lodge, No. 40, for some reason, repented of the course it had taken or was dissatisfied with the proceedings. As already stated, it

surrendered its warrant and took a new one from the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, May 25, 1787; it entered a protest before a Notary Public, August 9, 1787, and is said to have addressed a memorial to the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. No mention is made of this memorial in the printed record, and in the list of Lodges it is stated that its charter was surrendered, September 24, 1787. This seems to be sufficient evidence that it then gave in its adhesion to the new Grand Lodge, and yet the Pennsylvania record shows that it was represented at every meeting of that Grand Lodge from March, 1787, to December 27, 1788, inclusive, with a single exception, but never afterwards. As the representation was undoubtedly by proxy, its significance is not great, and does not necessarily overthrow the presumption that it gave in its adhesion to the new South Carolina Grand Lodge when it surrendered its Pennsylvania warrant.

This Grand Lodge soon outgrew its rival. It is a singular fact that the "Ancient" Masons were everywhere zealous, aggressive, and intolerant towards the so-called "Moderns." The latter seemed to hold strictly to the principle that profanes must seek them, while the rapid growth of their rivals has indications of proselyting. In South Carolina, a feeling of mutual hostility prevailed, and while "the Moderns" in a few cases seemed inclined to permit the "Ancients" to visit their Lodges, the compliment was not returned; the Ancients were taught, and taught, that no others were Masons, and that the "Moderns" could be made Masons only in the same manner as profanes. More than a year before this "Ancient" Grand Lodge was formed, the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania had directed a letter to be prepared and "sent to the different Modern Lodges expressive of our wishes of a general attachment and union," and thereafter dropped the word "Ancient," which it had formerly used, and invited to its Feasts "all Free and Accepted Masons;" and had ordered correspondence to be opened with "every Grand Lodge in the United States:" the one mention of this subject which is nominally, but not really, an exception to this statement, has been given in the history of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania.

But in South Carolina the line of distinction was very sharply drawn. The Ancients, however, increased rapidly. In four years its six Lodges increased to thirty-five, while the "Moderns" had but eleven or twelve. Both bodies held their regular sessions: in 1791 both were incorporated by the Legislature; the records of neither were printed, and those of both have been lost. No newspaper accounts have been preserved; few details of the history of either for twenty years after 1787 are known: but in 1807, the "Ancient" Grand Lodge had over fifty Lodges on its registry, while the "Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons" had but about fifteen.

Perhaps one cause of the superior growth of the former was, that all Past Masters were members of the Grand Lodge, and it allowed Lodges to be represented by the proxies of their Masters and Wardens.

However, in 1807, the leading men on both sides saw (what had been seen everywhere else in America twenty years before) that the integrity and usefulness of Masonry, as well as the principles of the Institution, demanded a reconciliation and union. When this was seen, their duty became plain. In this country, it is believed, the differences in the ritual of the two parties were then slight. Dr. Dalcho expressly so states. Dr. Mackey argues to the contrary, but Dalcho lived at the time and knew whereof he affirmed, and his statements are in substantial accord with evidence from other sources.

After considerable preliminary discussion, commencing in 1807, and several unofficial

interviews between representative men of the two parties, on July 9, 1808, each Grand Lodge appointed a committee to meet each other for the purpose of "inquiring into the eligibility of forming a union between the two Grand Lodges." Several meetings were held by the joint committee, and on September 5, 1808, they agreed upon Articles of Union. They were the necessary details for the union of the two Grand Lodges, on terms of equality, and the uniting of their Lodges under one governing jurisdiction. But there were two provisions that now seem unnecessary, both contained in one Article: one, that the members of the Grand Lodge were required to appear therein at the next meeting, "and there receive and take the customary oath of secrecy," and the other, that "as soon thereafter as convenient, the Masters of the several subordinate Lodges shall administer the said oath to their respective officers and members." This was afterwards the subject of bitter discussion, but a careful examination shows that the taking of it was regarded as indicating to which side the party taking it adhered, and also as proof that the united Grand Lodge had departed from the ancient ways. It was agreed that the Grand Lodge should adopt a uniform work after the union, and until it should be adopted, each Lodge might work as it had been accustomed to do. It was agreed that all the fraternity should be known as "Free and Accepted Masons," and that the use of the words "Ancient" and "Modern," as terms of distinction, should "hereafter cease." These Articles were ratified by the Ancient Grand Lodge on September 24, 1808, and by the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons three days later. The seventeenth of December was fixed for consummating the union. As an earnest of "the good time coming," the two Grand Lodges united in laying the corner-stone of a public building.

Dalcho says the Articles of Union were ratified unanimously by both Grand Lodges. But the unanimity was not destined to continue; among the Ancients were found, at first a few, but afterwards many, who insisted, as the St. John's Masons of Boston had done nearly fifty years before, that there could be a union only by "submission," or, in other words, only by the "Moderns being made" in Ancient Lodges. The Master of one of the Charleston Lodges (St. John's, No. 31) was the master spirit in the revolt which followed. He carried his Lodge with him; and at the meeting of the Grand Lodge on the seventeenth of December, he and his Wardens, under the instructions of the Lodge, appeared and undertook to have one of the Articles of union repealed. The Grand Master properly ruled the motion out of order. It was then voted to receive the Committee of the other body in open Grand Lodge, and thereupon the Master and Wardens of St. John's Lodge retired. The "Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons" was then introduced and the united Grand Lodge proceeded to the election of Grand Officers, who were installed, and the "Grand Lodge of South Carolina," formally installed on the thirty-first day of December, 1808. The Lodges and Masons, who had been of the obedience of the old Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, heartily and earnestly sustained the union, without, so far as is known, a dissenting voice: all the "Ancient" Lodges in Charleston except one, did the same; but one Lodge in Charleston and many of the country Lodges, and many Masons in the others, were dissatisfied. As soon as the union was fully completed, St. John's Lodge determined to revive the Ancient Grand Lodge. On the seventh of January they sent out a circular well calculated to excite the prejudices of the country Lodges against those in the city: the leaders in the union movement had given a pretext for those prejudices by having the Articles of Union acted upon before there had been time for them to be sent out and examined by the country Lodges. The

Committee rested their case upon the proposition, that a "Modern" Mason could not be admitted into an "Ancient" Lodge, without a violation of obligations, and therefore, that it was "impossible to comply with the seventh article of their convention, which admits of *Modern Masons* into *Ancient* Lodges without having gone through the forms required by Ancient Masonry," as "no man can be admitted into a Lodge of Ancient Masons, without being regularly entered, passed and raised in a regular constituted Lodge of Ancient York Masons." Favorable replies were received from many Lodges. The "oath of secrecy" was objectionable for two reasons: by taking it a Modern Mason could visit an Ancient Lodge, and an Ancient Mason could not attend his own Lodge without taking it. The Grand Lodge made matters worse by prohibiting the admission of members to their own Lodge, until they had taken this oath: what this oath was, it is difficult to determine, and it is still more difficult to understand the reason of it. If it had been an oath of fealty to the new Grand Lodge, some reason can be seen for requiring it, but even that would have been of doubtful policy: but really this matter was an immaterial one, and was only used to "fire the hearts" of the Ancients.

St. John's Lodge soon passed a resolution declaring that it would not acknowledge the Grand Lodge of South Carolina, nor admit any of its members, or any members of its Lodges, "that have taken the test or oath of secrecy for Moderns to enter the Lodge before taking the regular obligation, as we have." It will be perceived that the real objection was the substitution of the "Oath of Secrecy" for the "regular obligation," in favor of Modern Masons.

The Grand Lodge acted with energy and the contest became excited and bitter. Addresses and counter addresses rapidly followed each other: St. John's Lodge was declared to be a clandestine Lodge; every Mason made in any Lodge not holding under the Grand Lodge was declared to be a clandestine, Mason, but this was not to apply to country Lodges, till after the June Quarterly Communication. The recusant Lodges in reply declared that those adhering to the new Grand Lodge had either never been, or had ceased to be, Masons; they were thus placed in the position of being compelled to make an absolute surrender, to acknowledge themselves clandestine, or to organize a new Grand Lodge or resuscitate the old one. They chose the latter alternative.

St. John's Lodge called a Convention, to meet on the first day of May, 1809, for the purpose of reviving the Grand Lodge: the proxies of sixteen Lodges responded to the call. Resolutions, evidently carefully drawn by an able lawyer, were adopted, declaring that the Grand Lodge by its unmasonic conduct had forfeited all rights under the act of incorporation, and that only the Lodges which had refused to take warrants from "The Grand Lodge of South Carolina, Free and Accepted Masons," were the only true Lodges of "Ancient York Masons" in the State, and have power to perpetuate the Grand Lodge of Ancient York Masons. They then elected Grand Officers and fixed the fifteenth of the same month for their installation; the Convention was held in Columbia, but the meeting to install the Grand Officers was held at Charleston.

The contest then became more bitter and exciting than ever. It was carried into the Legislature, when the United Grand Lodge applied for an act of Incorporation; and it was also carried into the courts. Each claimed to be regular; each denounced the other as spurious and clandestine, and each expelled all the Lodges of the other, which had been "Ancient" Lodges. Beyond question, "the work" was very similar under both jurisdictions: in fact, as already stated, the differences were not great in the two Grand

Lodges before the union, and those were in unimportant details. The Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania claims to have preserved and to practise the "Ancient" work, and its ritual differs from the "Webb work" in no essentials that prevent unrestricted intercourse between her Masons and those of other jurisdictions; but undoubtedly then, as too often now, great stress was laid upon the details of the work, as if they were the very foundation stone of Freemasonry.

The revived Grand Lodge received strong support from the action of other Grand Lodges, taken under a misapprehension, not then unnatural, but which now seems almost absurd. The Grand Lodges of Georgia, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Kentucky denounced the union of the two Grand Lodges and sustained the sixteen Lodges in the course which they had taken.

A brief view of the general situation is necessary in order to understand how those Grand Lodges could so misapprehend the facts as to be led to take the action which they did take. It must be remembered that in 1809, communication between States remote from each other was slow and infrequent: that Webb's Monitor, the Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland Ahiman Rezons, the Massachusetts Constitutions and a few others of similar character, were all the Masonic books in circulation in this country, and their circulation was local and limited: that scarcely any of the Grand Lodges published their Proceedings: that no printed documents of a Masonic character were received from England: that the history of Masonry had not been written: that for some twenty years, outside of South Carolina, the terms "Ancient" and "Modern" as indicating classes of Masons had ceased to be used: that it is doubtful if there were ten Masons in this country who knew the actual history of the "Ancient" and "Modern" controversy: that those in our Grand Lodges, who knew something of the practical meaning of these terms had gone out, and their places had been filled by younger men; and that in twenty years the composition of our Grand Lodges, so far as particular individuals are concerned, is almost entirely changed.

Under such circumstances it is not wonderful that when news came from South Carolina that the Ancient Grand Lodge of that State had united with an association of Modern Masons, it should not have been understood that merely the Grand Lodge descended from the Athol Grand Lodge of England, and calling itself "Ancient," had united with the Grand Lodge descended from the older Grand Lodge, called by its opponents "Modern"; nor that it should have been understood that the Grand Lodge had united with an association of Modern Masons, not deriving their origin from "ancient craft Masonry:" it is not very surprising that they did not understand the terms "Ancient" and "Modern" as *names*, but did understand them in their general sense as meaning—the one, of old origin, and the other, of recent origin. The word "York" also misled them—they understanding it in the same sense as now used when we speak of the "York Rite."

In 1809, there were Grand Lodges in fifteen States, besides South Carolina. Those of Delaware and Ohio had been so recently formed that they had not secured recognition; the remaining thirteen (and in addition the Grand Lodge of the District of Columbia) had recognized each other, were maintaining Masonic correspondence with each other, and the members of the obedience of each were visiting the Lodges of each other with as free admission and as warm a welcome as at the present time. Whether "Ancient" Masons or "Modern" Masons (according to the original meaning of those terms) it made

no difference: in fact the great body of the craft did not know that such a division had ever existed. If the Grand Lodges, which sustained the seceding Lodges in South Carolina and their Grand Lodge, had understood that in the pronunciamentos from that State, "Ancient York Masons" meant Athol Grand Lodge Masons, and "Modern Masons" meant Grand Lodge of England Masons, it is certain that they would never have taken that course. That they *could* not have taken it is evident from the following considerations: the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, then existing, was *the result of a union precisely the same in all respects* as the union in South Carolina, and it was everywhere recognized; the Grand Lodge of Virginia (which used exceedingly severe language in relation to uniting with Modern Masons) was formed by Lodges, no one of which was an "Ancient" Lodge, while four were "Modern" Lodges, some of which were present, by their representatives, when the action in question was taken; the Grand Lodge of Georgia (whose action was also emphatic) was organized by one "Modern" Lodge and one "Ancient" Lodge, (or if more than two Lodges participated in the organization, the others were "Modern" Lodges) and the "Modern" Lodge was the largest and most influential—a union, in principle, precisely the same as that in South Carolina; the Grand Lodge of New Hampshire was formed by one "Modern" Lodge and one "Scottish" Lodge—a similar union—and was everywhere recognized; the Grand Lodge of Connecticut was formed by "Modern" and Scottish Lodges—several of each—a similar union, and it was everywhere recognized; the Grand Lodge of Vermont was formed by two Scottish, two Connecticut, and one "Modern" Lodge, and was everywhere recognized; the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania was formed by "Ancient" Lodges, but had, years before, practically abolished the distinction between "Ancient" and "Modern," and was then receiving unto its Lodges "Modern" Masons in precisely the same manner as it received "Ancient" Masons; the same was true of Maryland. It is needless to enumerate more; the facts already stated show that everywhere in America, except South Carolina, there was no discrimination between Lodges originally "Ancient" or "Modern," and that there were no longer "Ancient" Masons, or "Modern" Masons, but all were "Free and Accepted Masons" and "Brethren, united by one common tie."

But the action of these Grand Lodges, though founded upon misapprehension, was no less effective. The new Grand Lodge was encouraged, and Masons who had gone into the Union began to fear that they were wrong and to go over to the other party. For nearly eight years the contest was maintained: but in 1813, the two rival Grand Lodges of England united, so that there, too, the terms "Ancient" and "Modern" lived only in history. This had its effect in South Carolina. The revived Grand Lodge had secured the support of all the country Lodges, and had two in Charleston, having thirty-five in all: the united Grand Lodge had fifteen Lodges, all in Charleston. The actual difference between them was in name alone. The good men, with broad views, on both sides, in 1816 began to comprehend the situation and to consider how a union might be effected. They secured the appointment of Committees by each Grand Lodge, which after many conferences, marked by a fraternal spirit on both sides, on January 1, 1817, agreed on a basis of union. One of the articles provided for a mutual inspection of work by Committees: each Grand Lodge exemplified its work in the presence of a Committee from the other, and both Committees joined in a report that no difference existed in the work of the respective Grand Lodges.

The Grand Lodges, thereupon, adopted respectively the articles of union. To avoid

the mistake made in 1808, they were submitted to the subordinate Lodges. Twenty-two of the thirty-five York Lodges, and fourteen of the fifteen Free and Accepted Lodges ratified them: as nothing is said of any negative votes, it is presumed that the remaining Lodges failed to act. The two Grand Lodges held a joint meeting, the Grand Master of the united Grand Lodge presiding, in accordance with the decision of the committee, who had determined the matter "by lot": the Grand Master then proclaimed the union of the two Grand Lodges, under the name of the "Grand Lodge of Ancient Freemasons of South Carolina." Grand Officers were then elected, and on the next day, December 27, 1817, were installed, and the organization completed. The Proceedings were printed, by order of the Grand Lodge, under the title of "The Masonic Family Reunited;" this pamphlet is now exceedingly rare.

The Lodges surrendered their warrants and took new ones: it would seem that some of the Lodges on the roll at the time of the union were dormant, as but thirty-eight of the fifty were thus re-chartered.

The Grand Lodge commenced the publication of its Proceedings annually and has continued it ever since, except that none were published after the fire in 1838 till 1845, and in a few cases the proceedings of more than one year are in the same pamphlet.

While harmony prevailed throughout the jurisdiction, there was not much growth of the Institution. One of the natural effects of the division and contest had been an unnatural increase in the number of Lodges, and of course the effect of the union was the consolidation of Lodges in some instances, and the surrender or suspension of charters in others; so that in 1827, *eleven* Lodges had become extinct and *thirteen* were marked "suspended," leaving *thirty-one* in active operation, although it is said that some of the Lodges marked "suspended" still retained their charters and were doing work. The Anti-Masonic excitement produced no marked effect in this jurisdiction, but probably the "great apathy," which was reported to exist "on the subject of Masonry," was in part at least due to that cause. The Grand Lodge had no Grand Chaplain for fourteen years, and Dr. Mackey says there was not, during all that time, a single clergyman of character and influence who took an active part in Masonry, on account, as he thinks, of the Anti-Masonic excitement.

But an enterprise, in which the Grand Lodge engaged in 1837, was destined to become a heavy burden on the craft, and produce effects from which the Institution has not yet fully recovered. It undertook the erection of a Masonic Hall, the corner stone of which it laid August 23, 1837. On the twenty-seventh of the following April, Charleston was devastated by a fire which destroyed the new Hall then in course of erection, and the Hall where the Grand Lodge and many of the subordinate Lodges in the city then met, with all the furniture of the Masonic bodies and all the old records of the Grand Lodge.

The Grand Lodge held a meeting within ten days and determined to rebuild at once, and measures were taken to carry this determination into effect; but the fire was a heavy blow, and the Grand Lodge, for the first time in its recorded history, at the June Quarterly Communication, could not be opened for want of a quorum.

It released its interest in the old lot for $4,500, but it was in debt and its net assets were only about $3,000, and the building of a Hall was, for the time, abandoned.

At this time, the Grand Lodge decided that Lodge funds are intended for charitable purposes and not for distribution among its members, and that when a Lodge was dissolved by its own act, its funds must be turned over to the Grand Lodge to be held for

the same purposes. This was in accordance with the civil law, as in several cases the affairs of a Lodge were wound up by procedings at law, and the assets, after paying the debts, were turned over to the Grand Lodge, by which, of course, they must also be held for charitable purposes, although the Grand Lodge might, as it did in some cases, return the funds to the Lodge when it should be resuscitated.

But the Grand Lodge had not given up the idea of a Masonic Hall, and in 1840 measures for its erection were taken and a lot purchased. The various Masonic bodies tendered a loan of their funds, which was accepted; contracts were made and the corner stone laid. The State had appropriated two million of dollars to relieve the sufferers by the fire, as a Building Loan, to be secured by first mortgage on the property on which the building was to be erected; it was payable in ten years, and that time of payment was afterwards extended. This naturally led to improvident undertakings and consequent disastrous results. The Grand Lodge availed itself of the privilege and borrowed $12,900: in effect the Hall was erected with borrowed money. The work was conducted with despatch, and the Hall completed and dedicated September 22, 1841.

But the Grand Lodge found itself confronted with the serious problem of providing for ways and means: its debt was large and funded at a high rate of interest. Without entering into details, it may be said, that owing to the effects of the Civil War, damage by fire and the "earthquake's shock," the Grand Lodge has not been able up to this time to free itself from debt, but by careful management a large reduction has been made, and unless some new calamity intervenes, it will soon free itself from a burden which it has borne with serene patience and confidence in ultimate relief for nearly fifty years, and will continue in the career of growth and prosperity upon which it has already entered.

The Grand Lodge was represented in the Baltimore Convention in 1843, held for the purpose of securing "uniformity in working" throughout the country. An effort was made to introduce the work adopted by that Convention, but it failed, and the Grand Lodge returned to the work taught by John Barney as early as 1825, which he had obtained at second hand from Webb and which was essentially the "Webb work." This fact is very strong evidence that the work of the "Ancient" Lodges in 1808 and 1817 could not have differed materially from the work in the "Modern" Lodges, which was based on Webb's Monitor.

Many questions involving usage and law were from time to time decided. Up to quite a recent period, it required two black-balls to reject; no one could be Master until he had served as Warden, except in emergent cases; only Past Masters (*i. e.* Masters who had held the office a full year) were eligible to office in the Grand Lodge, but ineligibility for want of this qualification was cured by installation. As early as 1846, an attempt was made to establish a "Masonic Mutual Relief Association," based on dues and benefits, but it resulted in the organization of the "Masonic Benevolent Society," based on charitable relief. The reversal by the Grand Lodge, of a judgment of expulsion by a Lodge, was held to restore the party to membership in his Lodge, and was affirmed against the protest of the Lodge; jurisdiction to discipline sojourners for offences committed in the State was sustained, and a member of a Texas Lodge expelled, and that Grand Lodge notified of the proceedings; the power of the Deputy Grand Master to issue dispensations, the Grand Master being alive and within the State, was denied, unless such power is given by express enactment; the decision of a Master in declaring a member suspended for

non-payment of dues, without action by the Lodge was reversed; a regulation was adopted that votes, which, under the By-Laws, may be decided by acclamation, shall be decided by "uplifted hands" in accordance with the old Regulation of the Grand Lodge of England: but the most important action was the disfranchisement of Past Masters from membership in the Grand Lodge, a measure to which there was no constitutional objection so far as it was *prospective*, but deemed to be an invasion of the vested rights of individuals, so far as it was *retrospective* in its operation. It was, however, acquiesced in by all interested, although the adoption of the same measure had, but a few years before, "rent in twain" the largest Grand Lodge in the country, and produced dissensions in the Craft even more acrimonious than those which had existed in South Carolina.

Georgia.

The records of the Grand Lodge of Georgia were burned in 1820, and no Proceedings had been printed before that date. The records of its oldest Lodge before 1785 have been lost: the materials, therefore, for its early history are scanty.

At the meeting of the Grand Lodge of England in 1733, the Deputy Grand Master "recommended the new Colony of Georgia in North America to the benevolence of the particular Lodges." Roger Lacey was Steward of the Grand Lodge of England, and in 1731 George Carpenter was Senior Grand Warden. Both were among the emigrants to Georgia in 1733.

Lord Weymouth, Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England, in 1735 granted a deputation to Roger Lacey to establish a Lodge at Savannah. It is believed that the Lodge was organized soon after under the name of King Solomon's Lodge. It was undoubtedly the Lodge referred to by Whitfield, when he mentions in his diary, June 24, 1738, that he preached to, and dined with the Freemasons.[1] In the English list for 1740, the Lodge at Savannah was designated as "Arms Lodge," undoubtedly from its place of meeting. It appears on those lists as follows: in 1736, as No. 139; in 1740, as No. 124; in 1756, as No. 75, and in 1770, as No. 63. It was active in 1758, as Gov. Ellis, in his report to the Home Government of his reception in Savannah, mentions the Masonic Fraternity as one of the distinguished bodies which received him. It is believed that the Lodge was in a flourishing condition when the war of the Revolution began. But for four years the British army was in possession of the town, and it is believed that during these times the early records were lost. In 1781, the Lodge was opened in Augusta. The first records in 1785 show that the Lodge had been reorganized in December, 1784. From 1785 to 1885, the historian[2] of the Lodge says "the brethren have never failed to open the great lights of Masonry on every Lodge night"—a record that few, if any, of the Lodges in this country can parallel.

The Grand Lodge of England chartered Unity Lodge, in Savannah, in 1774, and Grenadiers' Lodge in the same place in 1775; these Lodges disappeared, leaving no sign of existence.

On October 29, 1784, a petition was received by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania from brethren in Savannah, for a warrant to establish a Lodge in Savannah. A letter accompanied the petition stating that they had "formed themselves into a society of brethren with the concurrence of the brethren in South Carolina." A committee was

[1] Chap. XXXI. [2] J. H. Estill.

appointed to answer the letter. On the twentieth of December following, another petition was received and it was ordered that a warrant be issued, bearing date October 29, 1784. The Master of this Lodge (named in the warrant) became Junior Grand Warden at the organization of the Grand Lodge: he, as Master of No. 42, notified the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania that his Lodge had taken a warrant from the Grand Lodge of Georgia. These facts identify this Lodge as Hiram Lodge. It became dormant before 1818, and was revived in 1826, but soon became defunct.

An account of the formation of the Grand Lodge has recently been discovered in the "Gazette of the State of Georgia," issued December 21, 1786.

Gray Elliott was appointed Provincial Grand Master in 1757; Noble Jones about 1772; and in the account of the formation of the Grand Lodge, it is stated that Maj. Gen. Samuel Elbert was then the Grand Master (Provincial) and resigned the chair. His conduct had been so "generous and masonic" that the Grand Lodge "unanimously hailed him Father of Independent Masonry, and appointed a committee to present him the thanks of the Masonic State with a Past Grand Master's emblematical jewel, in testimony of their respect and brotherly affection."

There were evidently only two Lodges represented, King Solomon's hailing under the Grand Lodge of England, and Hiram Lodge, chartered by the Ancient Provincial Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania; but the brethren did not seem to understand that there was any distinction, and, so far as now appears, the war of the "Ancients" and "Moderns" never vexed this jurisdiction. The newspapers speaks of cementing the different Lodges in the State under one head, but the Grand Officers were all members of the two Lodges, King Solomon's having the Grand Master, William Stephens; the Deputy, Gen. James Jackson; the Grand S. Warden, Sir George Houston; the Grand Treasurer, James Habersham; and Grand Secretary, Samuel Stirk; while Hiram Lodge had the Grand J. Warden.

In this State, Masonry seemed to flourish at first only in the cities: according to a report made in 1818, there were only ten active Lodges, three of which were in Savannah: but in 1822 there were thirty Lodges under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge, and the Institution was exceedingly prosperous: but there followed a season of depression caused by action on the part of the Grand Lodge of an anomalous character.

After the great fire in Savannah in 1820, when the records of the Grand Lodge were burned, a new constitution was adopted. It provided for quarterly meetings of the Grand Lodge; and to appease a jealousy existing between the northern and southern parts of the State, it provided that the first two meetings in each calendar year should be held in Savannah, and the other two in Milledgeville, the capital of the State. The first communication in the year was the annual meeting for the choice of Grand Officers. The State was so large and the facilities of travelling so poor, that the composition of the Grand Lodge at the two places was as different as if there were two distinct Bodies; the Grand Officers, even, did not attend both, and at first the officers at the Milledgeville meetings were nearly all *pro tem.* officers: this soon led to the appointment of Deputy Officers, so that in fact, the Grand Lodge had two sets of officers, one for the southern and one for the northern meetings. In theory it was the same Grand Lodge at both places, but practically there were two Grand Lodges, each revising and repealing and thus annulling the action of the other. Two sets of records were kept, but it was the duty of the Secretary of each to transmit to the other a copy of his minutes: still each published its proceedings annually, and for the years 1821 to 1826 inclusive, and probably



PROMINENT FREEMASONS OF SOUTHERN STATES

JOHN S. DAVIDSON, 32°, G .·. MASTER OF G .·. LODGE OF GEORGIA.
J. ADGER SMYTH, 32°, P .·. G .·. MASTER OF G .·. LODGE OF SOUTH CAROLINA. O. S. LONG, 33°, P .·. G .·. MASTER OF G .·. LODGE OF WEST VIRGINIA. JOSEPH P. HORNER, 33°, P .·. G .·. MASTER OF G .·. LODGE OF LOUISIANA.
PHILIP C. TUCKER, 33°, P .·. G .·. MASTER OF G .·. LODGE OF TEXAS.

for 1827, two pamphlets were published, one by the Savannah Body, and one by the Milledgeville Body.

The inevitable result followed: dissensions arose between the two Bodies; criticisms were made in other Grand Lodges; and at its meeting in December, 1825, the Milledgeville Body adopted the report of a Committee which declared that the existing constitution was "inadequate to insure prosperity to the craft and that its numerous defects could not be remedied by the ordinary method prescribed in such cases," that is to say, in the manner prescribed in the constitution for amending it. The committee recommended that the sense of the Lodges be taken in relation to calling a convention at Milledgeville in December, 1826 (the time of the quarterly communication), to frame a new constitution, and the Grand Lodge so ordered. A committee was appointed to count the vote, and if the result was in the affirmative, to call the convention.

The Grand Lodge at Savannah, in March, 1826, agreed to this action, with the proviso that the new constitution should be submitted to the Grand Lodge for approval; but the Milledgeville Body met this by a declaration that the Masons comprising the subordinate Lodges have the right to ratify or reject the constitution—or in plain terms, that a convention authorized by a majority of the members of the Lodges has the power to frame a new constitution; the effect was to declare that the proposed new constitution should not be submitted to the Grand Lodge for its action. The committee found that seventeen Lodges voted for a convention, and one against it, and that three hundred and nine members voted in favor of the convention: the result was announced in the newspapers of the day, and the committee called the convention, giving each Lodge two representatives. The convention was held and a new constitution was adopted, abolishing quarterly communications of the Grand Lodge and providing for an annual communication at Milledgeville. But the Grand Lodge at Savannah met as usual in March, 1827: it refused to recognize the new order of things and elected Grand Officers. The Milledgeville Body met for the first time on the third of December, 1827. Each side argued the matter ably, the Savannah Grand Lodge taking the ground that the method of proceeding was unconstitutional, and the Milledgeville Body arguing in effect that a majority had the right to do anything, without regard to the constitution. The Savannah Body was clearly right, according to Masonic law as theretofore held, and as since held with perhaps a single exception. The result, however, was an illustration of how a movement, illegal in its origin and progress, becomes a revolution by success, and final ratification, acquiescence or submission of all concerned. The large majority of the Lodges adhered to the Milledgeville Grand Lodge, which proceeded at once to declare the action of the Savannah Body null and void. At its next communication one of the Savannah Lodges had given in its adhesion; but thirteen Lodges stood out, and the Grand Lodge gave them until the next annual communication to make returns and pay their dues. No one of them complied, but continued to respect and obey the Grand Officers elected at Savannah. While this state of things existed, the Anti-Masonic excitement reached Georgia, and raged with much violence. From this combination of causes, the recusant Lodges, with a single exception, died out: among them was Union Lodge No. 3, which has been supposed to be Unity Lodge, chartered in 1774 by the Grand Lodge of England, but which, in all probability, was chartered by the Grand Lodge of Georgia. Among them also was Hiram Lodge, No. 2, which had become dormant and then revived in 1826, as No. 35. Nor were the Milledgeville Lodges exempt from disaster; they died out so rapidly

that the Grand Lodge was obliged to reduce the number necessary for a quorum to five, and even then it could hold no meeting in 1833 or 1834, for want of a quorum. The practice of this Grand Lodge in renumbering its Lodges, thus giving them but temporary numbers, makes it difficult to trace the Lodges, and ascertain what ones survived the storm. But King Solomon's Lodge, in spite of its controversy with the Grand Lodge and the assault of the Anti-Masons combined, continued to hold its meetings and do work, "conferring degrees on all worthy applicants."

In 1829, the Grand Lodge declared the charters of all the recusant Lodges forfeited, and gave their numbers to loyal Lodges, but provided that by making amends they might be received into good standing and take the highest vacant numbers: none availed themselves of this permission. In 1831, King Solomon's Lodge, whose charter had been declared forfeited, and the title to its property vested in the Grand Lodge (but which still remained in its possession), was cited to appear at the next annual meeting to show cause why it should not be expelled and its members placed under the ban of the Grand Lodge. No notice was taken of this summons. In 1832, a new citation was ordered to be issued and sent by mail to the Master or first three officers. No sessions were held in 1833 or 1834, but on the last day of the session in 1835 a resolution was adopted, declaring the Lodge expelled.

About this time, however, there arose a feeling in the Lodge in favor of reconciliation with the Grand Lodge, especially among the younger members; but it was opposed by the older members. On January 5, 1837, an effort was made in the Lodge, which the Master favored, looking towards a settlement of the contest; but the Lodge adopted a resolution not to take any notice of the Grand Lodge: thereupon the Master and other members resigned their membership and petitioned the Grand Lodge for restoration, which was refused on the ground that no evidence was presented that the petitioners were Masons.

As Masonry began to revive there arose a general feeling throughout the State that the schism should be healed. The Brother, who offered the resolution expelling the Lodge, visited it on November 20, 1838, and urged a reconciliation. The Lodge met him in the same spirit, and adopted resolutions to the effect that the difference between the Lodge and the Grand Lodge was beneficial to neither, but injurious to the craft: that the Lodge sincerely desired reconciliation on honorable terms; and that when the Grand Lodge would rescind the resolution of 1835, the Lodge would "stand ready to effect a reconciliation, on such terms as may, in a spirit of mutual concession, be hereafter agreed upon by the parties." Two weeks previously, the Grand Lodge had directed the Grand Secretary to renumber the Lodges, and he proceeded to do so, giving "No. 1" to a Lodge at Augusta. At the session of the Grand Lodge in 1839, the matter was brought up, but the resolutions of the Lodge had been lost or mislaid. Representatives of the Lodge were in the city and it was resolved that they be admitted to seats; a committee was appointed to confer with them and they were introduced and the causes of the estrangement discussed: the committee was increased and directed to ascertain upon what terms a reconciliation could be effected: upon conferring together it was wisely concluded that it was "unnecessary to refer to the grounds of the difference," and the committee reported resolutions to the effect that the sentence of expulsion be removed, and that upon payment of dues and a sufficient apology, the Lodge be considered in good standing, all sentences against the Lodge or its members repealed,

and its representatives admitted to their seats in the Grand Lodge. The resolutions were adopted unanimously. The Master made the apology; and, thereupon, the Grand Lodge remitted all past dues (since 1825), gave the Lodge its old place at the head of the list, restored its old number, and gave its representatives all the privileges of members in attendance upon the Grand Communication.

Immediately the Institution began a prosperous growth: this received a severe check by the Civil War and the consequent depression of business, and also, more recently, by the multiplication of societies, partly imitating Masonry but exchanging its obligations of *charity* for *business* obligations. It also undertook enterprises of a charitable character, which, in consequence of the circumstances already alluded to, involved it in a debt that threatened disaster; but by efficient management and temporarily holding its sessions only biennially (omitting those in 1879 and 1881) it has freed itself from debt and now has under its jurisdiction about three hundred Lodges with an average membership of fifty.

New Jersey.

The centennial celebration of this Grand Lodge was held January 25th, 1887. In the historical account then given by Henry R. Cannon, he says that there is no evidence that the Philadelphia Lodge of 1731 obtained its warrant from Daniel Coxe. Recent investigation only confirms the conclusion previously reached, that Coxe never exercised the authority granted to him, and that probably he was not in this country during the two years his commission was to be in force. A deed, in which his father, Dr. Daniel Coxe (known as the "Great Proprietor" in New Jersey), is named as a party, is on record in the Registry in Boston, but the land described in it has not been identified.

George Harrison was appointed Provincial Grand Master of New York, June 9, 1753, and was *publicly installed* by his predecessor on December 26, 1753. He granted a warrant for a Lodge at Newark May 13, 1761, the first in the State: it is still active, although it suspended work for nearly fifteen years between 1772 and 1787.

Jeremy Gridley, Provincial Grand Master of Massachusetts, granted warrants for a Lodge at Elizabethtown, June 24, 1762, and for a Lodge at Princeton, Dec. 27, 1763. Oliver Ellsworth, afterwards Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, was one of the charter members of the latter. Both of these Lodges ceased to exist before the close of the war of the Revolution, but it cannot be ascertained when, as their records have been lost. Also, American Union Lodge, an Army Lodge warranted by Grand Master Gridley, held a meeting at Morristown, famous by inaugurating the movement for a Grand Master of Masons for the United States.

A Lodge was established at Basking Ridge in 1767,[1] it is said, by the authority of Royal Arch Lodge of Philadelphia. In the list of Pennsylvania Lodges published in 1877 this is given as No. 10, but it is said the date of the charter is not known. It (that is, No. 10) does not seem to have been represented in the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania since the time when the preserved record of that Grand Body commenced, although it was in existence at the close of the war. If it was chartered by Royal Arch Lodge and not by the Grand Lodge, the question is raised whether the generally accepted theory as to the origin of the former is accurate, as a Lodge chartered by a Provincial Grand Lodge would not be likely to undertake to charter another Lodge.

[1] Cannon, Centennial Address.

Military Lodges in the "New Jersey Line" were chartered, one in 1781, and one in 1782, by the Provincial Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, and one in 1782 by the Athol Provincial Grand Lodge of New York. When the army disbanded, these Lodges ceased to exist and their records have not been preserved.

Although Rev. Dr. Smith, Grand Secretary of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, in his letter to the Grand Master of Massachusetts Grand Lodge, dated October 17, 1780, says that "necessity alone can be a plea" for granting warrants for Lodges beyond the bounds of Pennsylvania, that was done freely and systematically, and apparently without doubt as to its right, although when Grand Master Coats challenged its right, it passed the matter over in silence. In the warrant creating this Grand Lodge, Ball was appointed Provincial Grand Master "in Pennsylvania aforesaid and the territories thereunto belonging:" the inscription, in the oldest Book of Records commencing in 1779, purporting to be written by William Moor Smith (son of Dr. Smith), Deputy Grand Secretary, calls it the Grand Lodge * * * "In Pennsylvania and the adjacent districts of America therewith united in Masonic jurisdiction:" when the Independent Grand Lodge was formed, it assumed the name of "The Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, and Masonic Jurisdiction thereunto belonging," and has retained it ever since. It would seem that the question of its right to establish Lodges out of Pennsylvania was never raised until it was done by Dr. Smith and Grand Master Coats, but that its right to do so was taken for granted.

It issued a warrant for a Lodge at Middleton, New Jersey, December 20, 1779, and it is said that at an Emergent Communication held in Burlington, New Jersey, March 27, 1781, it granted a warrant for a Lodge at that place; but the Pennsylvania record shows that the charter was granted at a Grand Lodge held in Philadelphia the day before, and that the Deputy Grand Master and Senior Grand Warden were requested to go to Burlington and install the officers of the new Lodge, and doubtless the "Emergent meeting" was held by those officers to constitute the Lodge and install its officers.

At the close of the war, the Lodges at Basking Ridge and Burlington were the only active Lodges in the State, and apparently the former continued to be active during the intervening three years before the organization of the Grand Lodge. If that Lodge was chartered by the Provincial Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, it seems to be unaccountable that it should be allowed to work, year after year, without being represented, or apparently in any manner noticing the Grand Lodge or being noticed by it. In the Sketch of Masonry in New Jersey by Joseph H. Hough, it is said that there is a reference (and the only one) to Basking Ridge Lodge, on the journal of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania at the meeting held March 26, 1781, as follows:

"Bro. Gray informed the Lodge, that he had seen the warrant of No. 10, in the possession of Dr. Blatchley. Ordered that the Grand Secretary be directed to write to him concerning it."

This is not found in the printed Proceedings, but if it is correct, it shows that Bro. Cannon's statement made more recently is erroneous, especially as in 1786 Ebenezer Blatchley described himself as "Junior Past Master of Lodge No. 10."

A similar entry was made June 12, 1786, in relation to the Lodge at Burlington:

"It is reported to this Grand Lodge that the warrant granted for holding a Lodge in

the city of Burlington, No. 32, is in some person's hands in that place, and is made no use of.

"Ordered that the Sec'y be requested to write some brother residing in that place, requesting him to use his endeavors to find the same and transmit it to the Grand Lodge."

This, of course, indicates that the Lodge was then dormant: its minutes up to the close of 1783 have been preserved, and probably it then suspended work.

The proceedings to form the Grand Lodge of New Jersey were of a unique character. Pursuant to a notice, the origin of which is not known, but probably issued by Lodge No. 10, whose Officers seemed to be the leaders, a Convention of Masons resident in New Jersey was held at New Brunswick December 18, 1786, "for the purpose of establishing a Grand Lodge in the said State, when the following instrument was drawn up and unanimously agreed upon and signed by the members of said Convention."

STATE OF NEW JERSEY, IN AMERICA.
NEW BRUNSWICK, *December 18th*, 5786.

The underwritten, being Master Masons, as every of them find upon strict trial and due examination, and residing in the State of New Jersey, taking into consideration the propriety and necessity of forming a Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the State of New Jersey, do hereby unanimously nominate and elect the following Master Masons to the several offices following, to wit:

(Then follow the names of the Grand Officers).

To continue in said several offices till the Anniversary of St. John the Evangelist, which will be in the year of Masonry, 5787, on which day the officers of the Grand Lodge shall be elected, or continue in office till others are elected, the said Grand Lodge and their sucessors to be a Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, to be called and known by the name of the Grand Lodge of New Jersey, and to exercise the powers and duties of the Grand Lodge, in as full and ample a manner as any Grand Lodge in the world.

And we the underwritten, do hereby solemnly promise and engage to support the said Grand Lodge to the utmost of our power, and also to deliver up and cause to be delivered up to the said Grand Lodge, upon their being installed, all warrants and dispensations for Lodges in our possession under other jurisdictions, hereby authorizing the said Grand Lodge and their successors to form as well, rules and regulations for the government of the said Grand Lodge, as the By-Laws for the Lodges constituted by the said Grand Lodge and their successors, with the assistance of the representatives of the several Lodges under the jurisdiction of the said Grand Lodge. The By-Laws of every Lodge to be in all things the same; Provided always, that every Lodge shall have the privilege of appointing the time and place of their meeting.

This was signed by William McKissack, "Master of Lodge No. 10, as by the warrant constituting said Lodges and filled herewith will appear." Then under the heading "Members of said Lodge" follow the names of four officers, one Past Master, and then ten Members.

Then follow ten other names, hailing from various Lodges, one of them from the old Lodge at Newark: it was afterwards signed by a Past Master and the last officers of the Lodge at Burlington and others, seven in all. Still later, it was signed by sixteen others, among whom were Ebenezer Blatchley, Junior Past Master of Lodge No. 10, and the Masters and several members of an Army Lodge, and three members of a Lodge in Pennsylvania, located near the State line.

In accordance with notice by the Grand Secretary, given by order of the Grand Master and published in the newspapers, the convention met January 30, 1787, when the Grand

Lodge was organized by the installation of the Grand Officers. Dispensations were ordered to issue for Lodges at Newark, Bedminister, Elizabethtown, Morristown and Monmouth. At the next session, the Lodges were numbered, old No. 10 being made No. 1, and the others numbered by lot, thereby indicating that No. 10 was the only active Lodge and that the other four were warranted on the same day.

The Grand Lodge was immediately recognized by other Grand Lodges. It voted in 1790 against the proposition for a General Grand Lodge, and has maintained the same position ever since.

It grew and prospered, chartering many Lodges (one of them in Cincinnati—the only one out of the State) until the time of the Anti-masonic excitement, which not merely checked its growth but put out of existence many of its Lodges. When the reaction came, and as late as 1841, out of fifty-seven Lodges, only *eight* were active; of the others *seven* had been struck from the rolls, *nine* had surrendered their charters, and *thirty-three* had ceased work, retaining their warrants. In 1842, the active Lodges were renumbered, and there were but ten. Since then, however, it has prospered, and when it celebrated its centennial, it had on its roll 155 Lodges with a membership of nearly 12,500. Its records from its organization have been preserved: it has not missed an annual session, although it did not meet in 1847 in consequence of changing the time of meeting from November to January.

It is doubtful if a Grand Lodge, formed as this was, could now secure recognition; it will be noticed, however, that the idea that five Lodges are required in order to organize a Grand Lodge was recognized. *One* active Lodge and *four* dormant ones were represented, and warrants were at once granted to the whole five, upon the assumption that they were in fact regular Lodges.

Although the founders of the Grand Lodge hailed under different authorities, no question as to "Ancients" and "Moderns" seems ever to have arisen. In 1802, the Grand Master reported that there was great uniformity in the work. In 1822, Cross's system of work was recommended to the Lodges, and from 1825 to 1830, inclusive, except 1826, James Cushman was Grand Lecturer and taught the work he had learned from Cross. In 1859 the work, agreed upon at the Baltimore Convention of 1843, was formally adopted, and with slight variations has since continued to be used.

Joseph H. Hough was elected Deputy Grand Secretary in 1838 and re-elected annually till 1842: was elected Grand Secretary in 1843, and has been re-elected annually since, and at this writing is serving his fiftieth year of consecutive official service.

New York.

New York was within the territory for which Daniel Coxe was appointed Provincial Grand Master by the Grand Lodge of England, June 5, 1730; but no claim is made that he ever exercised any authority therein. Richard Riggs was appointed by the same authority Provincial Grand Master for New York, November 15, 1737. No records of his administration have been preserved. In the Gazette during 1739 are notices of the meeting of "the Lodge," "by order of the Grand Master." He must have exercised his authority, but the notices indicate that only one Lodge, or it may be only a Provincial Grand Lodge, was formed.

Francis Goelet succeeded him in 1751, and held office two years; no details of his administration are known, except that he is said to have publicly installed his successor.

George Harrison was appointed by the same authority June 9, 1753, and was installed December 26, 1753. He served eighteen years and granted warrants to a large number of Lodges, one in 1757 and one in 1760, in New York City; one in Albany, in 1765; one in Johnstown, in 1766; one in Albany, in 1768; one in New York, in 1769; and one in Poughkeepsie, in 1771. The first five are still in existence, and are now Nos. 1 to 5 inclusive on the roll of the Grand Lodge of New York. He also issued charters to three Lodges in Connecticut, two of which still exist, and one in Detroit. During his administration, the following Lodges existed in New York City: Temple (1758), Trinity (1767), Union (1767), King Solomon's (1767) and Hiram (1769). These, or the most of them, were probably established by him. No trace of any Lodge, created before his administration, has been preserved. Judging from the accounts in the public prints, the Provincial Grand Lodge held its annual meetings regularly during his administration.

Sir John Johnson succeeded Harrison: he received his deputation in 1767, but was not installed till 1771. He appointed Dr. Peter Middletown as his Deputy, who, after Johnson was obliged to seek the protection of the British Army, attended to the business of the office. Johnson chartered a Lodge at Schenectady in 1774, and, also through his Deputy, two military Lodges, one in 1775 and the other in 1776.

Up to this time, with perhaps a single exception, all the Lodges in New York were chartered under the authority of the Grand Lodge of England. The Irish Registry has No. 399, located in New York, dating from 1763; but no evidence has been found to show that it was ever organized.

But when the British Army took possession of New York City in 1776, the Lodges already existing in the City, as well as those in other parts of the State, ceased work except St. Patrick's at Johnstown, which continued active during the war; the Provincial Grand Lodge also ceased to meet. With the British army, came "Ancient" Masonry. Lodge No. 169, chartered in 1771, had been located in Boston, but in 1776 it was transferred to New York. No. 210 was chartered in 1779 and No. 212 in 1780 in New York: all three were "Ancient" Lodges. With these were several Army Lodges. No. 169, while not an Army Lodge by charter, was composed largely of persons connected with the Army. The representatives of these and three Army Lodges met January 23, 1781, and elected Grand Officers, and upon application of these, undoubtedly, a warrant was issued by the "Ancient" Grand Lodge, September 5, 1781, for a Provincial Grand Lodge in New York, with Rev. William Walter, as Provincial Grand Master. There was considerable delay in effecting the organization of the Provincial Grand Lodge, but it was accomplished December 15, 1782: the three Ancient Lodges above named, and six Army Lodges (one U. D.), took part in it. Four of the Army Lodges, including the Lodge U. D., were Ancient Lodges, and one was Scottish and one Irish. The record from the organization has been preserved. The Grand Lodge at first met monthly but after February 4, 1784, it met quarterly.

During 1783, it granted warrants for four military Lodges, one of them being the Lodge U. D., which participated in the formation of the Provincial Grand Lodge, and one of them being in the "Loyal American Regiment." On January 2, 1783, "after mature deliberation," it was resolved, that a modern Mason might be healed and admitted in the manner then determined, and the plan was recommended to the Lodges. At the next session, a petition was received from St. John's Lodge, "praying to become Ancient Masons:" it was voted to grant the prayer of the petition, and thereupon the Master

and Wardens were admitted and initiated according to the form determined upon at the previous meeting. At a special meeting held the next week, a petition was presented from St. John's Lodge, "representing that they are Modern Masons and praying to become Ancient," and that a warrant be granted to them, having conformed to the regulations in that case made and provided": on the second of January, the petition was granted and the Master and Wardens installed. It seems that when the British took possession of New York, a part of the Lodge left and took the warrant with them: that the proceedings in the Provincial Grand Lodge were taken in behalf of those who remained: that after the war the Brethren returned bringing back the warrant: that they found the properties of the Lodge in possession of the other body known as St. John's Lodge No. 4: that, against strong opposition, they voted to unite with the other Lodge: that before the union was consummated, the Senior Warden obtained possession of the old warrant and withheld it for a time; but that on March 3, 1784, it was presented in the Grand Lodge, and, thereupon, the Lodge was received under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge and its representatives admitted to seats.

Two charters were granted, one of them in blank, which was placed in the hands of the Deputy Grand Master, with liberty to fill it with such names as he might deem proper. He had resigned and was about to leave the country, and this charter was given to him in order that he might establish a Lodge where he might fix his future residence: in 1785, it was returned to the Grand Lodge by Parr Lodge of Nova Scotia. An attempt was made in June, 1783, to remove No. 210 to Nova Scotia, but the Grand Lodge forbade the change, although apparently a majority of the members were about to go there to live. Army Lodge, No. 90, presented its warrant in the usual manner, and it was received and its officers admitted to seats in the Grand Lodge, August 5, 1783.

Upon the declaration of peace, a great change took place in the Grand Lodge. All the Grand Officers resigned, and their successors were elected and installed, nearly all of them being members of No. 169. All the Army Lodges went with the regiments to which they were attached, leaving as the subordinates of the Grand Lodge Nos. 169, 210, 212, 4 and 6. William Cock was elected and installed Grand Master, September 19, 1783.

It has been thought that the Grand Lodge of New York should date its independence from the installation of Grand Master Cock, inasmuch as from that time it exercised all the powers of a Grand Lodge. This is true, but it is also true, that the Provincial Grand Lodge from its origin exercised all the functions of a sovereign Grand Lodge; but all the while it recognized the Athol warrant as its authority: so when Cock became Grand Master, the warrant was left with him and he accepted it, after the matter was fully discussed in the Grand Lodge, and in February following it was unanimously voted that the Grand Officers be a committee "to determine the most eligible mode for the Grand Officers elect of the State of Connecticut obtaining a Grand warrant from the Grand Lodge of England." This shows that at that time a "Grand Warrant" was deemed necessary, and, of course, that the idea of independence was not then entertained: the English Lodges also still retained their old numbers and hailed from the English Registry. On February 5, 1784, Cock resigned as Grand Master, and Robert R. Livingston was unanimously elected in his place and installed by proxy; but at the meeting on the third of March, he attended and was installed in person, and proclaimed Grand Master.

Immediately upon his installation, the Master, Past Masters and Wardens presented

the warrant of St. John's No. 2, "which was accepted accordingly:" its representatives took their seats and two of them were appointed Grand Officers. Union Lodge at Albany was one of the Lodges constituted by Harrison, and was, of course, a "Modern" Lodge. No record, up to the date of this meeting, is found of its transfer of its allegiance to the Provincial Grand Lodge. Livingston was its Master in 1771, and undoubtedly a member of it when elected Grand Master: he appointed a member of it Grand Treasurer.

On February 5, 1784, the Grand Stewards' Lodge was created, which was to meet monthly. At its meeting on March 27, 1784, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved unanimously,—

First. That St. John's Lodge, No. 2, having surrendered their warrant to the Grand Lodge, the third inst. and agreed to conform to its regulations, be entitled to all the rights and privileges of members of said Grand Lodge, and take rank of all Lodges that may be constituted by the Grand Lodge after said surrender.

Second. That all other Lodges in the State, who were in the same situation as St. John's Lodge, No. 2, and who are willing to conform to the regulations of this Grand Lodge, be received in like manner as St. John's Lodge, No. 2, and be entitled to all the rights and privileges of other Lodges now in the City.

At the next meeting of the Grand Stewards' Lodge, the Representatives of Royal Arch Lodge appeared and surrendered its warrant, "praying a new warrant from this Lodge." A committee was appointed to visit the Lodge and "report on the propriety and regularity of their proceedings." The committee reported that they "found the members regular in their work and duly qualified," and recommended a renewal of the warrant, which was granted, June 2, 1784. The warrant of No. 5 (Army Lodge) had been deposited with the Grand Lodge, but upon the memorial of some of its members it seems to have been restored to them.

A Grand Lodge of Emergency was held June 23, 1784, Past Grand Master Cock presiding. Lodges Nos. 169, 210, 212, 4, 8 (new), 2, and 8 (old), were represented, and there were present representatives from Union, Masters, Solomon's, and "Lodge No. 1, held at Clarke's Town." These representatives "in behalf of their respective Lodges acknowledged the jurisdiction of this Grand Lodge and were ordered to take their seats accordingly." It was also represented that the warrant of St. Patrick's Lodge had been carried off to Canada, and a new one was ordered to be issued "as soon as possible."

Thus were all the so-called "Modern" Lodges united under the jurisdiction of a Grand Lodge, which had its origin by virtue of a warrant from an "Ancient" Grand Lodge, and was still nominally an "Ancient" Provincial Grand Lodge; but when it elected a "Modern" Mason its Grand Master, it scarcely needed the adhesion of the "Modern" Lodges to show that all distinctions founded upon the terms "Ancient" and "Modern" had ceased to exist. At this time there were thirteen Lodges under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge, six "Modern," six "Ancient," and one (at Clarke's Town) whose origin does not appear.

But the question concerning the relations of the Grand Lodge with the Grand Lodge of England was not to be kept in abeyance. On November 29, 1786, the representative of No. 210 notified the Grand Stewards' Lodge that his Lodge had voted to pay no dues to the Grand Lodge of the State, owing to the "receipt of letters from the Grand Lodge of England requesting them to pay up their dues:" the matter was referred to the Grand Lodge, which voted December 6, 1786,

"That no Lodge can exist in this State but under the jurisdiction of this Grand Lodge"—a brief but comprehensive and emphatic assertion of the doctrine of exclusive territorial jurisdiction. The Grand Lodge had previously recognized the same doctrine by refusing to charter a Lodge in New Jersey.

It had voted to have a procession on St. John's Day, 1786. But St. John's Lodge No. 2, adopted resolutions that it could not join in the procession, without surrendering its right of precedence. There were other resolutions, which are not given in the record, but which, the context shows, related to the *status* of the Grand Lodge. The Grand Lodge voted that it did not intend, in prescribing the order of procession, "to infringe the rights of St. John's Lodge, or any other Lodge." It further ordered that at the next Grand Lodge, the Lodges should produce their warrants, or duly authenticated copies, "that the rank and precedency of the whole may then be determined:" and the second recommendation of St. John's Lodge was also referred to the next meeting. At the next meeting the arranging of the rank of the Lodges was further postponed: the other matter was fully discussed, and finally a Committee of nine was appointed "to consider the propriety of holding the Grand Lodge under the present warrant; and the proper measures to effect a change, if it should be thought constitutional and expedient;" and the Masters and Past Masters of the Lodges were authorized, if they thought proper, to meet with the Commitee and confer with them on the subject.

The Committee made a brief report, June 6, 1787, which was not spread on the record, but was "read, accepted and confirmed." The report was a little uncertain: it was in effect that the Grand Lodge is established "according to the ancient and universal usages of Masonry," upon a Constitution formed by the representatives of the regular Lodges, convened under the Athol warrant; and that nothing was necessary or essential in the future proceeding of the Grand Lodge upon the subject matter, but to prepare a draft of "the style of warrant to be hereafter granted by the Grand Lodge: conformable to said Constitution." The same Committee was appointed to prepare the draft of the proper warrant. This was intended to be a declaration of the Independence of the Grand Lodge, which thus dates from June 6, 1787.

At the next session the Lodges were directed, as soon as the precedency of rank should be settled, to deliver up their old warrants and take new ones: the Grand Lodge divided upon this question, but there were "only two negatives," and by the order of the Grand Lodge their names are recorded. One of these was from 210, whose representatives at the next Grand Stewards' Lodge excused the delay in paying the dues of the Lodge because "they were in daily expectation to receive letters from England to solve some doubt about the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of England over the Grand Lodge of this State." It was unanimously voted that they be allowed until the next Grand Lodge "to give their resolution respecting the supremacy of this Grand Lodge," "and no answer given by the time limited, their seat in the Grand Lodge would be vacated." At that time they appeared and "entreated indulgence until they received answers to letters which they had wrote the Grand Lodge of England respecting the authority of constitution, we having laid aside the Provincial Grand Warrant:" "after several learned debates," it was voted that they pay up their dues in twenty days and acknowledge the supremacy of this Grand Lodge; otherwise have their names erased from the books," and be reported accordingly. The conditions were not performed and the Lodge was suspended; but afterwards, its representative informed the Grand Stewards' Lodge that

"they were determined in future to conform in every respect to the regulations of the Grand Lodge in this State, and had renounced every idea of foreign jurisdiction." thereupon at the next meeting of the Grand Lodge, the suspension was repealed and the rights of the Lodge restored.

About this time, the old Lodges took names, No. 169 being St. Andrew's; No. 210, Temple; and No. 212, Solomon's: those chartered by the Grand Lodge took names when chartered, in almost every case.

An application was made "by an old and worthy member" of St. John's Lodge, that the fraternity "attend his benefit play in their Masonic clothing, but it was voted that consent could not be given to the 'Brotherhood' attending the theatre in their Masonic clothing, or as a Society." Several cases of discipline came before the Grand Lodge, which acted upon the assumption that no Mason could be expelled by a Lodge unless the proceedings were confirmed by the Grand Lodge, or Grand Stewards' Lodge, which, under the constitution, was vested with many of the powers of the Grand Lodge.

In 1788, the Grand Secretary called attention to the necessity of an alteration in the seal of the Grand Lodge, as the word "Provincial" was inconsistent with the form of warrants, which the committee had prepared and was in use. He was directed to substitute "Grand Lodge of the State of New York" in place of the former inscription.

In 1788, a difficulty arose in No. 212, and its warrant was brought into the Grand Lodge and surrendered. At the same time a petition was presented by a part of the members for the renewal of the charter under the name of St. Patrick's Lodge No. 212. The warrant was granted upon the condition that the petitioners should pay the arrearages of dues of the old Lodge, but with the assurance that the Grand Lodge would consider the question of remitting the dues: this was done at the next session, and the dues remitted. Union Lodge was reported as in fact dissolved; but a committee was appointed to correspond with the members of it.

The idea that the warrant must be present in order to hold a Lodge was illustrated in the case of No. 210. The Master went away taking the warrant with him, but afterwards wrote to the Deputy Grand Master returning the warrant and giving his reasons for withholding it. The Deputy Grand Master had granted a temporary dispensation which had expired, but he had withheld the warrant and thought it necessary "that the Grand Lodge should now take some effectual measures for setting the disturbances which seemed to subsist in that Lodge." A petition was presented that the old warrant be cancelled and a new one issued to the petitioners: the Grand Lodge requested the Deputy Grand Master to issue a dispensation to the Senior Warden for holding the Lodge, to be in force for thirty days, and appointed the Masters of the other Lodges a committee to "convene the members in their Lodge room," inquire into the matter and report. The committee found the Lodge divided into two parties, without hope of reconciliation, and advised that the warrant be renewed to one of the parties. Both parties petitioned, and the committee endorsed one of them; after a long discussion a motion to dissolve the Lodge was carried "by a very large majority." A charter was then granted to the party headed by John Harrison for Jerusalem Lodge, with the rank that No. 210 had previously held, and a warrant was refused to the other party. Subsequently this party got possession of the old warrant of No. 169, and held a Lodge under it, but soon sent a communication to the Grand Lodge acknowledging the impropriety of their conduct, "praying forgiveness" therefor, and asking for a warrant. The Grand Lodge discussed the matter during two

sessions, and the motion to grant a warrant "passed in the negative by a large majority," and the petitioners were given leave to withdraw.

Quite a contest took place over assigning the rank of the City Lodges, Nos. 5 and 212 voting in the negative upon almost every proposition, but the rank was fixed according to the dates of their original charter: St. John's No. 2 was awarded the first rank; Royal Arch Lodge, the second; No 169, the third; No. 210, the fourth; No. 212, the fifth; St. John's No. 4, the sixth; Hiram No. 5, the seventh; and Holland Lodge (recently chartered) the eighth. At first these were regarded as merely fixing the order of precedence; but at the beginning of 1790, the Lodges are recorded with numbers corresponding to the rank assigned to them.

Livingston continued to be Grand Master till 1801, when he declined a re-election, having been appointed Minister to "the French Republic" and being about to depart on his embassy. During his administration a very large number of charters were granted for Lodges throughout the State, which were allowed to be represented in the Grand Lodge by proxies. Numerous calls for charity were made upon the Grand Lodge and in almost all cases met a favorable response: in one case two Algerine Brethren were relieved and given letters of credence.

But dissensions in some of the City Lodges disturbed the harmony of the craft. In some cases charters were granted, as the event showed, for Lodges that could not be sustained. Upon the whole the craft, during this period, increased in numbers and influence. St. John's Day was celebrated infrequently in comparison with other Grand jurisdictions: it was celebrated with a procession in 1785, 1789, 1793, and 1795. The Grand Lodge, with the Lodges, also joined in the procession in honor of Washington, December 31, 1799. In all these cases, in the order of procession places are assigned to Knights Templar "properly clothed," as escort; but no mention of Royal Arch Masons is made in any of them. Each Lodge formed separately, left in front, the junior Lodge heading the procession; in addition, at the funeral of Washington, one standard was borne by three Masons (walking in a triangle) on which was written "Faith, Hope, and Charity;" this was followed by another, borne in the same manner, inscribed "Wisdom, Strength, Beauty:" a brother followed with a standard inscribed with the name of Washington and appropriate sentiments and emblems: the Grand Secretary, carrying an Urn, walked under a dome, supported "by five columns on an equal square" with inscriptions, and carried by "four Masons of superior degree;" and the Grand Treasurer carried Incense in one hand and Flowers in the other. As early as this time there seemed to exist an objection to processions—a matter that, in the future, was to cause a serious trouble in the jurisdiction.

In 1789 a communication was received from three brethren, stating that they were the three officers of a Lodge working at Warwick, in Orange County, under the old warrant of St. John's Lodge No. 1 at Clarke's Town, and praying for a new warrant; the matter was referred to a Committee to report to the Grand Officers, who were authorized to grant the charter, if the report was favorable. This is the second mention of an old Lodge, whose history has not been traced; the fact that it was No. 1, while St. John's was No. 2, indicates that its warrant was granted by Harrison or his predecessor before the first of December, 1757.

The resolutions of the Grand Lodge of Georgia in favor of a "Federal Supreme Lodge" were presented and adopted. Perhaps this result was partly due to a previous visit of

the Grand Master of Georgia, who, on June 24, 1789, visited the Grand Lodge, was received with Masonic Honors, and joined in the celebration of the day; he was given the post of honor in the procession next in rear of the Grand Master. In addition to the usual escort of the Grand Deacons, a body guard of Knights Templar marched on each side and in the rear.

By the usages, under what was regarded as settled law, the surrender of the warrant by the Master to any one of the Grand Officers, was a suspension of the functions of the Lodge. The warrant was entrusted to the Master, and he was held responsible for the proper use of it; therefore, when he found that the Lodge was not proceeding regularly, he surrendered it to some officer of the Grand Lodge, and the Lodge, not having it present, could do nothing: the charter was the tangible and visible emblem of authority, which must be present, or the Lodge could not be opened.

In 1790, the warrant of No. 6 was placed in the hands of the Deputy, and he concluded to retain it; and upon report being made to the Grand Lodge, the warrant was retained, and a dispensation for thirty days granted, pending an investigation. The matter resulted in the Grand Lodge ordering an admonition to be given to the Master and Lodge in the presence of the Masters and Wardens of the other Lodges. Two years later, the Grand Lodge was notified of the expulsion of the Master at the time, but it does not appear that the expulsion was confirmed by the Grand Lodge. In 1794, the Master reported "violent differences and unmasonic conduct of some of the members of the said Lodge," and the Grand Lodge again intervened: the warrant was placed in the hands of the Grand Secretary and a temporary dispensation issued. A complaint was made by "St. John's Mark Lodge" against the Master and Wardens of St. John's Lodge, which was referred to a committee of which DeWitt Clinton was chairman, whose report was favorable to the officers and, thereupon, the warrant was ordered to be restored.

A warrant was granted for a Lodge and issued, but the brother, to whom it was intrusted, not being satisfied with the character of the charter members, withheld it and the Grand Lodge recalled it. In another instance, the Deputy Grand Master reported that a Lodge lost its warrant, which prevented the Lodge from assembling, and he had granted a dispensation to continue until the decision of the Grand Lodge should be known: his action was approved.

Numerous cases happened, in which it was taken as a matter of course that a Lodge could not be held in the absence of the warrant. The order of the Grand Lodge, that all the Lodges should surrender their old warrants and take out new ones not having been complied with, it was voted in 1792 that no Lodge should be allowed a vote in the Grand Lodge, until the vote should be complied with. The Lodges at Albany and in its vicinity had not complied, and seemed unwilling to surrender their old warrants. A committee was appointed to confer with Masters' Lodge, but nothing was effected; finally the Deputy Grand Master went to Albany in 1797 and the matter was committed to him. He got Solomon's Lodge to surrender its charter and take a new one; but it was a year before Masters' Lodge complied with the order. Union Lodge hesitated at first, until its rank should be decided. It had two Provincial warrants, one dated February 26, 1765, and upon consideration, the Grand Lodge decided that it should take rank from that date; but even then it was not satisfied, and Clinton, who had personally visited it and endeavored to induce the members to surrender the old warrant and acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge (as it had once done), had not been able to succeed, recommended that

decisive measures be adopted by the Grand Lodge to assert and maintain its authority over the Lodge, but it was not until June 4, 1800, that the Grand Secretary was able to report that Union Lodge had acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge and promised to surrender its warrants, three in number, and take a new warrant with rank from 1765: nevertheless it did not actually surrender its old charter till 1806. In New England, the surrender of the warrants was not required: it was regarded that the Lodges in the jurisdiction passed at once under the authority of the new Grand Lodge, so that, to this day, very many of the old Lodges are working under their original warrants. In other parts of the country, it is the custom to allow Lodges to retain their old warrants after endorsement by the new Grand Lodge.

In 1791, a letter was received from American Union Lodge and ordered to be spread upon the record. It is much to be regretted that this course was not taken generally. The record shows correspondence with the Grand Lodge of England and the American Grand Lodges which must have been of important character, but none of it on either side is spread upon the record. In March, 1800, two letters were received from the Grand Lodge of South Carolina, described as "letters of importance for Masonry," were "read by the chair," and referred to a committee to report as speedily as possible; at the next meeting the committee "made a report of the plan proposed by said Grand Lodge," and it was voted unanimously that the report be accepted and a "committee of seven appointed for the execution thereof," and the Deputy Grand Master, Grand Wardens, Grand Secretary and three other leading members of the Grand Lodge were appointed: no further hint of the matter is given, and there is no subsequent reference to it.

On June 5, 1793, it was voted that the Grand Lodge Cheque Word be continued for six months; and on December 3, 1794, it was mentioned that the Grand Cheque Word had continued in use for a longer time than was intended, and the Deputy Grand Master was requested to fix a new one and the method of disseminating it was provided. It is not again mentioned in the record, and no reason for its use is given.

On December 4, 1793, a resolution was adopted that every petition for a new Lodge must be recommended by the officers of the nearest Lodge: and in 1797, petitions were laid over and the petitioners informed that the reason was, that the Grand Lodge would not accept the recommendation of Lodges which have not made their returns and paid their dues to the Grand Lodge.

In 1793, a dispensation for six months was granted to some St. Domingo refugees, but it was not renewed, and the Grand Officers were authorized to issue Grand Lodge certificates to such of them as they might find deserving, but with power to withhold them at their discretion.

On March 6, 1793, the representative of Holland Lodge read a resolution of that Lodge "begging the Grand Lodge to come to some resolution regarding modern Masons, whether they may or may not be admitted into the Lodges under the Jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge after being hailed, and if they may, to determine the manner in which the hailing is to be conducted." The resolution was referred to a committee consisting of the Grand Officers and the Masters of the city Lodges, "who are authorized to bring any skillful brethren with them." This happened at the time when Lee was at work under his Quebec travelling warrant, and whether the one had any connection with the other can only be conjectured. No record is found of any report or of anything to indicate that the committee ever met. It is the only allusion to the subject found in the records during Livingston's administration.

In 1792, it was reported to the Grand Lodge that some clandestine Masons were meeting in the City and working under a travelling warrant from the Grand Lodge of Quebec. A list of them was obtained and a copy sent to each Lodge with orders not to suffer any of them to visit a Lodge. In 1795, "Bro. Lee and his associates" petitioned for a dispensation for the purpose of closing their business under the travelling warrant, and the Grand Lodge repealed the previous resolution and empowered the Grand Officers to heal the parties, and to grant them a dispensation to close their unfinished business, if, on examination, they should be found worthy. Subsequently the Junior Grand Warden reported that he had healed a number of persons made by Lee under the travelling warrant and granted them a dispensation which had then expired. Lee and others petitioned for a warrant for a Lodge and a dispensation for six months was issued. In 1797, it was reported that Edward Lee (presumably the same man) was working clandestinely,under a travelling warrant as he claimed, and this, upon investigation, being found true, the Grand Lodge voted to exclude him from all Masonic communication and notify the Lodges accordingly. He seemed to continue in his course, for complaint was made that certain Masons had associated with Lee "in the higher degrees of Masonry:" this was found to be true and the Grand Lodge excluded one "from all Masonic communication," and suspended others until the next meeting of the Grand Lodge, when they were reinstated.

On December 7, 1796, in response to a communication from the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, it was,

"Resolved and declared by this Grand Lodge, That no charter or dispensation for holding a Lodge of Masons, l e ever granted to any persons or persons whatsoever, residing out of this State and within the jurisdiction of any other Grand Lodge."

In 1794 there arose a dissension in Jerusalem Lodge (originally No. 210), which became so violent, that a majority of the members voted to dissolve the Lodge. The Master notified the Deputy Grand Master that he intended to surrender the warrant, but he summoned the Lodge and held a meeting, the proceedings of which the Grand Lodge declared void, and required the surrender of the warrant: the result was that the Lodge was dissolved, and a warrant granted to each party for a new Lodge. The three old "Ancient" Lodges ultimately disappeared from the roll. No. 169, as St. Andrews No. 3, existed till 1827, when it surrendered its warrant. No. 212 became Solomon's Lodge, and was dissolved and a warrant granted to a part of its members for St. Patricks' Lodge, as already stated. This Lodge was dissatisfied at the action in establishing the precedence of Lodges, and apparently dwindled, and finally its warrant was surrendered. Later a dispensation was granted to a part of its members for a Lodge of the same name with a different number; but when a charter was granted, the new Lodge took the name of Temple, and in 1799 this charter was revoked.

In 1793, a dispensation was granted to sundry French brethren in the city. A difficulty arose among them which the Senior Grand Warden was enabled to settle, but as a part of the settlement, it was agreed that the degrees should be conferred on one man, and at the next session of the Grand Lodge he was introduced into the Grand Lodge and the degrees conferred on him therein, the work being done in the French language: a new dispensation was issued for six months. At its expiration, it was extended for a year, and on January 18, 1797, a charter was issued; but trouble immediately arose and the

Lodge expelled a member who was its Master. The Grand Lodge submitted the matter to a Committee, which reported doubts as to the power of a Lodge to try its Master; that the dispute was "a mercantile difference," not proper for the investigation of the Lodge, and, if it were, that the evidence did not sustain the charges. The report of the Committee was accepted and the Master reinstated in all his rights: thereupon a committee of the Lodge returned the warrant to the Grand Secretary with a communication which was laid before the Grand Lodge. It held that a majority of the members of a Lodge may expel a member at pleasure, and every decision of a Grand Lodge contrary to this principle is an abuse of authority: it affirmed that its former action, expelling its Master, was a judgment that the Grand Lodge could not invalidate; and declared that the Lodge cannot enjoy its liberty under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of New York, and, therefore, they would return their New York warrant and take one under the Grand Lodge of France. The Grand Lodge voted that the warrant be restored to the Master, with power to assemble his Lodge in any convenient place; that the communication was anti-masonic, an insult to the Grand Lodge, and its sentiments subversive of Masonic government and destructive of the harmony of the Society; and that a committee ascertain who advised or agreed to the proceedings, and report to the next Grand Lodge. The Masters of the other Lodges were directed to attend the meeting of the Lodge (L'Unité Americaine) and report its proceedings. The committee reported the names of eleven, one of them an active member of the Grand Lodge, who appeared to have taken part in the proceedings, and they were ordered to appear at the next meeting to answer "certain charges which will then be exhibited to them."

But in the meantime action had been taken that gave a much graver aspect to this matter. At the session of the Grand Lodge held December 6, 1787, the Deputy Grand Master, who was presiding, read a letter from Huet Lachelle, styling himself "a Deputy Grand Master under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of France," requesting permission to visit the Grand Lodge in that character or in his private character as a Master Mason. The Deputy Grand Master at the same time said that he had ascertained that Lachelle had granted a warrant for a Lodge in New York City: undoubtedly it was issued to the former members of Lodge L'Unité Americaine.

The Grand Lodge appointed a committee to wait on Lachelle, and inform him that his conduct in granting the warrant was contrary to the rules of the Grand Lodge and an infringement of its rights, and that he could not be admitted unless he would pledge himself in writing to revoke the powers granted by him in that warrant. The committee reported that Lachelle admitted the granting of the warrant and persisted in having the right to grant them when and where he pleased, but would not show his authority, and would not revoke the warrant. At the next meeting the Grand Lodge prohibited Lachelle and his associates in his Lodge and the eleven members of the French Lodge (by name) from visiting or otherwise associating with any Lodge, until further action by the Grand Lodge. At the next meeting twenty-eight members of the old Lodge presented a memorial in which they pleaded ignorance of the forms of proceeding, and averred that they really supposed that they were acting upon Masonic law when they applied to Lachelle, and had no idea of giving offence to the Grand Lodge; but that upon reflection they were satisfied that in every distinct government there should be "a supreme Masonic authority from which each individual Lodge should exclusively derive its authority and

to which it should be accountable," and they pray for authority to meet as a Lodge under such officers as they should nominate.

The Grand Lodge adopted a preamble and resolution to the effect that "whereas the petition admits that the above persons have hitherto acted improperly, and also admits *the exclusive jurisdiction of this Grand Lodge*," it was resolved that they be admitted to Masonic Communication upon delivering up the Lachelle warrant and complying with such disposition of the papers and property of the Lodge as the committee should direct. The committee were also desired to inform Lachelle that his apology was not satisfactory, and to demand from him such apology as *they* might deem satisfactory. The active member of the Grand Lodge, who had been named as concerned in the matter, sent in a full denial, and his suspension was at once taken off. The result was that the Grand Lodge allowed the Master and the few with him to retain the old warrant and granted a dispensation to the other, and much more numerous, party for six months. At the end of this time a charter was granted for the new Lodge by the name of L' Union Française: soon after, the warrant for the old Lodge was surrendered. But the Grand Lodge had successfully vindicated its right to "exclusive jurisdiction" in the State as against a foreign Masonic authority, as it had previously vindicated its right of jurisdiction over "every Lodge in the State," *including those chartered before it was organized*—a doctrine which, very recently, has apparently been denied by it.

Col. Jacob Morton, who had been Deputy Grand Master and had really presided for several years in the sessions of the Grand Lodge, succeeded Livingston and served till 1806. DeWitt Clinton succeeded and served till 1820, when Daniel D. Tompkins was elected and served two years. Tompkins was nominated against Clinton in 1819, but the latter was then elected, and declined the following year; Tompkins also declined a second re-election. Morton was installed with great ceremony, and his brief address on the occasion is the first one spread on the records; the Grand Master of Georgia was one of the guests. The Grand Officers were received at the entrance of the building by a Lodge of Knights Templar, "dressed with the Insignias of their Order and with drawn swords, who conducted them *into the Lodge and to their seats.*"

Perhaps it was in consequence of this that a resolution was introduced prohibiting the appearance of any Mason in the Grand Lodge, or in any procession thereof, without the appropriate badges of a Master Mason, and with any distinguishing clothing or ornament, save what the constitutions of the Grand Lodge or custom have conferred upon the degree of a Master Mason; but after consideration and full discussion it was rejected, only one Lodge voting in the affirmative.

During the time of service of these three Grand Masters, the number of Lodges was very largely increased and the growth of the Fraternity almost marvellous, with an apparent prosperity seldom equalled. There was, however, an increasing jealousy on the part of the country Lodges in relation to the overshadowing influence and control of the city Lodges. This was first voiced by Union, Masters' and Temple Lodges in Albany in a circular dated December 25, 1801, sent out by a joint committee calling a convention of the country Lodges to consider the removal of the Grand Lodge from New York to Albany, or the establishment of another Grand Lodge. The causes of complaint were that the representatives of only five Lodges make a quorum; that the proxy of a country Lodge must be a Master or Past Master in New York City; that if not so limited the attendance of the proxies would cause difficulty, delay and expense; that the city Masons had

engrossed all the Grand Lodge offices; and that the dues were large and the system "unexampled in the former constitutions." To the circular, Apollo Lodge of Troy returned a spirited answer, and laid the whole matter before the Grand Lodge. It declared that as the Lodges were under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge, the only place in which the matter could properly be discussed was in the body of the Grand Lodge, wherein every Lodge is, or ought to be, properly represented; and a convention for the purpose proposed, without a dispensation therefor, "would be irregular and an infringement upon the rights, dignity and privileges of the Grand Lodge and a breach of excellent constitutions and Masonic obligations;" and that moreover they could not perceive that the complaints would be at all remedied by removing the Grand Lodge from New York to Albany. The Grand Lodge adopted a similar view and directed the issue of a circular to the Lodges informing them of the impropriety of the proposed measure, and requesting them not to accede thereto. This seems to have put an end to the movement for the time, but it was destined to be renewed twenty years later with more serious results.

A system of visitation of Lodges was adopted in 1806. Tammany Society invited the Grand Lodge to join in a procession and ceremonials, apparently in relation to persons who had died on board the British prison ships, but finding no evidence that any Masonic brethren were among them, the Grand Lodge held that it was improper to accept the invitation. Complaint was made that a certain brother had made a key to the work for his own use, but a committee of the Grand Lodge having examined the matter and reported that without an explanation it was utterly impossible to ascertain its contents, and in their opinion what he had done was "consistent with the privileges and ancient usages of our Order," their report was adopted by the Grand Lodge. It was decided against the report of a committee that "stiffness in the knee" is not "such a defect as to disqualify a candidate;" also that a Past Master of a Lodge in another jurisdiction, although a member of a New York Lodge, is not a member of the Grand Lodge. Lodges were forbidden to publish expulsions; the use of distilled spirits in Lodge rooms at Lodge meetings was prohibited in 1816; and Lodge dues were declared to be contributed for charitable purposes and not to be diverted from the benevolent purposes for which they were intended.

In 1809 arrangements were made with the trustees of the New York Free School, by which fifty scholars were received into the school for the sum of three hundred dollars to be paid annually by the Grand Lodge; and this was continued for several years. In 1816 the Lodges were urged to pay $16.00 each towards furnishing clothing for the scholars: a committee had charge of the matter, visiting the school and reporting to the Grand Lodge. The dispensing of the charity of the Grand Lodge was given to the Grand Stewards' Lodge and later to a committee of that Body. For a time the proceedings of the Grand Stewards' Lodge are recorded with those of the Grand Lodge.

In connection with communications from the Grand Lodges of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, indicating similar action on their part, a resolution was adopted in 1813, prohibiting any Lodge from initiating any candidate until he should satisfy the Lodge whether he had made a previous application and been rejected; and, if it should appear that he had been rejected, then not till the Lodge should be satisfied that such rejection was not on account of any circumstance that ought to preclude him from the benefits of Masonry: this, of course, utterly ignored the doctrine of perpetual jurisdiction, and of *any* jurisdiction by the rejecting Lodge over rejected candidates.

In 1809 the contending parties in South Carolina sent communications to the Grand Lodge which were referred to a committee, but no report was then made. In 1814 another communication was received and referred to the Grand Officers, and at the next session, the Grand Master, DeWitt Clinton, made a report in relation to the Union in England as well as in South Carolina: the committee either did not fully comprehend the situation or else chose to ignore the existence of the revived Grand Lodge, for it assumed that the union had been made and that there was then only one Grand Lodge. It reported a resolution embodying an important principle of inter-Grand Lodge law:

Resolved, That all Freemasons, who are acknowledged as such by any of the Lodges under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodges of England, Scotland, Ireland and South Carolina, shall be considered as legitimate Freemasons by the Lodges under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge.

In 1814 two sessions of the Grand Lodge were held for a unique purpose: New York was threatened by a British fleet; the citizens, under the direction of a "Committee of Defence," were erecting fortifications to repel the anticipated attack: the Grand Lodge voted to perform one day's labor on the fortifications at such time as should be assigned, earnestly requesting the Fraternity in general to co-operate, and appointed a committee of arrangements. On the day fixed (September 1) an emergent meeting of the Grand Lodge was held, Grand Master Clinton in the chair: the Grand Lodge was opened in a room at the City Hall, proceeded thence with the brethren of nineteen Lodges in grand procession to the fortifications, and "having labored diligently through the day, returned in like order to the City Hall, when the Grand Lodge retired to a room in the same and *was duly closed.*" "The order of arrangements" is given: the brethren of the Lodges met at sunrise in the Park and formed at once, the brethren with their aprons and the officers with their jewels: they embarked on a steamboat, preserving their places as nearly as possible; on arriving they laid aside their Masonic clothing and proceeded to labor: when the work of the day was finished, at a signal from the Grand Lodge, the brethren re-clothed, formed in order, returned to the City, proceeded to the Park and were dismissed.

One of the Forts was called Fort Masonic, in recognition of this service of the craft; the Grand Lodge determined to contribute another day's labor to its completion, and on the nineteenth the Grand Lodge held a meeting and repeated what was done on the first and in the same manner. It is believed that there has been only one other instance in this Country in which a Grand Lodge has actually engaged in the work of operative Masonry, or work so nearly akin to it.

In 1819 the Lodges in the whole State were given numbers, with the effect of changing the numbers of several of the city Lodges: the Lodges had then increased to three hundred and twenty-three, an average increase of fifteen a year. After 1813 there were annually a large number of suspensions for non-payment of dues, indicating a too rapid growth.

It was decided that to admit the principle that it was necessary for a widow to send back to the State in which her husband had been made a Mason in order to obtain relief, was striking at the very root of Masonry; and that being necessitous and deserving, her claim was equally strong in every part of the world where Masonry was known and cultivated: also that pecuniary disputes cannot be the ground of Masonic proceedings, because if the Lodges assume cognizance of matters which the law commits to the civil tribunals,

it cannot fail to excite a jealousy of Masonry which will inevitably render the craft odious; and the Lodge cannot compel attendance of witnesses, put them under oath nor compel them to testify, and therefore is unable to investigate such matters: also that the Master or majority of a Lodge, exercising due discretion, may refuse to admit a Mason, applying to visit.

As already stated, there was a jealousy on the part of the country Lodges towards the city Lodges, which were accused of controlling the Grand Lodge in their own interests and laying heavy burdens on the country Lodges: there was a feeling that the system of visitation by "Grand Visitors" was oppressive, and especially that the limitations upon representation by proxy were so effective as really to deprive many of the country Lodges of any representation. A convention of the Lodges in the western part of the State was held at Canandaigua, January 10, 1821, and amendments to the constitution proposed. The Grand Lodge adopted a resolution declaring in substance that the course pursued by the convention was improper and irregular, but requesting the Grand Master to change the system of visitation; the committee recommended a change of the law in relation to proxies, but the Grand Lodge rejected the recommendation. There was a project also for the Grand Lodge to build a "Grand Masonic Hall" in the City, and this undoubtedly had its effect. At the annual session in 1821, the representatives of the country Lodges were in the majority and amended the rules materially, reducing dues, allowing one proxy to represent five Lodges and a Past Master to be represented by another Past Master as his proxy, with the same limit as to number, providing for mileage and *per diem* for representatives of Lodges located more than ten miles from the city, except that the amount paid the representatives of any one Lodge should not exceed the Grand Lodge dues of such Lodge, and prohibiting the passage of any regulation affecting "the interests or obligations" of the country Lodges and the adoption of any amendment to the constitution at any other than the annual communication; the provision in relation to mileage and *per diem* was made applicable to the representatives at that session. At the session in 1822 the representation was very large, and of course the country Lodges again in the ascendant. Tompkins declined a re-election and Joseph Enos was unanimously elected Grand Master, the city Lodges making no contest, but Richard Hatfield, Elias Hicks and Cornelius Bogert of the city party were elected respectively Junior Grand Warden, Grand Secretary and Grand Treasurer; the election of these was detrimental to the interests of the country party, as the event proved. A committee composed of members from different parts of the State was appointed to revise the constitution. Just before the Grand Lodge was closed, an amendment to the constitution was presented to be acted upon at the next session, providing for two Grand Lodges—one having jurisdiction over the city Lodges and such country Lodges as should choose to adhere to it, and the other having jurisdiction over the remaining Lodges: the brother presenting this belonged to the city party, which now saw that they were liable to have cause of grievance, instead of the other party. At a Quarterly Communication a regulation was adopted to prevent the issuing of blank proxies by Lodges, by requiring the proxy to be filled out in open Lodge and to have a certificate of the Master and Wardens attached.

At the next annual session in 1823 there was a full attendance. A discussion arose on a motion to appoint a committee on credentials, and on an amendment proposed that the committee should be governed by the new regulations in relation to proxies. In the midst of an exciting debate the Grand Master adjourned the Grand Lodge until the next

day. The representatives of thirty-one Lodges, with the Junior Grand Warden, Grand Secretary and Grand Treasurer immediately repaired to another hall and reorganized the Grand Lodge: Grand Officers were elected, and the amendment to the constitution, providing for two Grand Lodges, unanimously adopted. The Grand Master elect declined and Martin Hoffman was elected in his place; the Grand Secretary and Grand Treasurer were appointed a committee to employ counsel to defend any suits that might be instituted against them to recover property in their possession, belonging to the Grand Lodge. The other Grand Lodge met the next day and adopted the pending resolution without the amendment, and adjourned till the next day. The Grand Master, Deputy, Senior Grand Warden and one of the Grand Deacons adhered to this party. The next day the Grand Lodge met and the Grand Master sent a summons to the Grand Secretary and Grand Treasurer to attend with the books, papers and property of the Grand Lodge, but they did not respond. The Grand Lodge proceeded to elect Grand Officers. The old Grand Secretary and Grand Treasurer were again summoned to show cause why they should not be dealt with for contempt of the Grand Lodge, and not responding were suspended for ten years. Authority was given to the new officers to take the necessary legal proceedings to recover the books and property of the Grand Lodge. The City Grand Lodge immediately issued a circular giving a history of the proceedings, their reasons for their action, and a proposition for a settlement, by the formation of District Grand Lodges: no response was made to the proposition. In 1825, the Country Grand Lodge proposed to have two Grand Lodges in the State and divide the territory, giving the City Grand Lodge only New York, Long Island, Richmond and Westchester Counties; the City Grand Lodge rejected the proposition on account of the small territory proposed for it. The Country Grand Lodge met annually: it chartered very many Lodges, thirty in one year and over forty in the next. At the installation of its Grand Officers in 1825, DeWitt Clinton delivered an address, in which, while taking part with neither side, he urged with great force the duty of accomplishing a reunion. In 1826 a report on the subject of the secession of the city Lodges made and printed, was ordered to be suppressed, and members, who had received copies, were requested to return them to the Grand Secretary: a Committee of Conference was appointed, but later it was discharged, and the Grand Master, Stephen Van Rensselaer, and DeWitt Clinton were requested to receive any communications that might be made by the city Lodges, and consult them on all differences and report at the next session of the Grand Lodge. Nothing seems to have come from this, and a few days before the session of 1827 a meeting of members of the country Lodges was held and a committee appointed, which met the committee for the other body and agreed upon terms of union. The material ones were, that there should be one Grand Lodge located in New York City and to be deemed a continuation of the old Grand Lodge; all proceedings of both bodies to be confirmed and deemed regular: the Grand Master or Deputy to be chosen from the city and the other from the country; both Grand Wardens from the country and the Grand Secretary and Treasurer from the city: these articles, in practice, remain law to the present day. The articles were ratified by both Grand Lodges; and they met together the same evening at Tammany Hall, elected Grand Officers, adopted a new constitution, and fully completed the union. With the charters recently granted, the united Grand Lodge started out with five hundred Lodges on its roll. But the Grand Lodge, at the very moment when it seemed secure in its position of great influence, growth and usefulness,

met a disaster as destructive in its effects, as it was sudden and unforeseen in its origin. This State was the birth-place of the Anti-Masonic excitement, and nowhere else did it rage with such unprecedented and bitter fury. The rapid growth of the Institution had not been a *solid* growth: men had evidently joined it out of curiosity and because it was popular, and these fell off the instant it became an object of attack. A demoralization almost amounting to a panic pervaded the time-serving Masons: on the other hand, the intolerant and causeless attack upon them aroused the interest and the firmness of others. They stood together all the more solidly, and insisted upon their rights. But before the the storm was allayed another disaster followed. There had always been in New York City and its immediate vicinity, members of the Fraternity who were ambitious, willful, impatient of restraint, disinclined to submit to superior authority, but, when possessing authority, arbitrary, apparently for the only purpose of showing their power. It had been the law that no Masonic procession could take place without permission from the proper Grand Officers; and there had been in the Grand Lodge a large number who, judging by their votes, were opposed to having Masonic processions except on very rare occasions: but still there was no prohibition in the Constitution of 1827, or the Regulations of the Grand Lodge. In 1837 York Lodge concluded to celebrate St. John's Day by a procession, oration and dinner, and invited other Lodges to join them, and three Lodges accepted the invitation. A Committee waited upon the Deputy Grand Master, who was a resident of the city, and the Grand Secretary, with the inquiry whether there was anything in the constitution prohibiting a procession on St. John's Day, without a dispensation. The answer was in the negative; whether the committee were informed that usage required such permission does not appear; the preparation for the celebration went on: but very late on the evening before the twenty-fourth of June, the Deputy Grand Master sent a notice to Henry C. Atwood, prohibiting the celebration. The prohibition at so late an hour seems inexcusable, as certainly the procession could do no harm; but Atwood was not a man to be suppressed so readily. He made no effort to stay the proceedings. The next morning the Deputy and Grand Secretary appeared at the hall of one of the Lodges and sent for Atwood; in response to their inquiry he denied the right of the Deputy to issue the edict, and insisted that, if he had the power, he had waived it by the answer he had given to the committee, and moreover the prohibition was exceedingly ill-timed. The celebration took place, some three hundred attending. A special session of the Grand Lodge was called and charges preferred against Atwood and Piatt, Past Master, who participated in the celebration. A motion was made to refer the matter to the Grand Stewards' Lodge, to which objection was made: it is claimed that the motion was twice defeated upon a division, but the Deputy Grand Master presiding insisted that there was some mistake, and put it a third time and declared it carried, although half a score declared that it was lost by six majority. Atwood and Piatt were summoned to appear before the Grand Stewards' Lodge to answer the charges. They declined to appear and were expelled, together with all the officers and members of York Lodge. They claim to have appealed to the Grand Lodge, but by grossly illegal proceedings, as they alleged, the appeal was prevented from coming before the Grand Lodge, which confirmed the proceedings of the Grand Stewards' Lodge. The parties thus expelled and others, including two Lodges subsequently also expelled, on September 12, 1837, organized "St. John's Grand Lodge" with nine constituent Lodges. This body met regularly until 1850, when, with great ceremony, St. John's Grand Lodge was merged in the regular

Grand Lodge. Its Lodges, twenty-seven in number, were put on the roll and their work recognized as regular; its Past Grand Officers were admitted as members of the Grand Lodge, with the same rank and upon an equality with its own Past Grand Officers. While other Grand Jurisdictions did not recognize St. John's Grand Lodge, nor justify the course its organizers had taken, they generally approved the settlement. But some of the impatient spirits soon grew restless and organized another revolt. Reuben H. Walworth was elected Grand Master of the Grand Lodge in 1853: it was charged that he had at least wavered in anti-masonic times and said some things that required explanation: but he was regularly elected and installed. These malcontents seized upon his election as a pretext for revolt, and organized a Grand Lodge, or, as they said, revived St. John's Grand Lodge: while there is plenary evidence that Atwood aided and abetted it, he was not prominent. Robert B. Folger was the leading spirit: as chairman of a committee he prepared the pronunciamento setting forth their grievances, all except the election of Walworth having existed when he and his associates, only three years before, gave in their adhesion to the Grand Lodge. In this "report" he declared that Atwood had nothing to do with the movement, but within the year Atwood figured nominally as Grand Master, although, judging by the style, Folger prepared the "Circular Letters" and addresses. It appears that at this time there were spurious Lodges in New York City, organized by Atwood under the authority of what he called a Supreme Council of the Scottish or some other Rite: these the Grand Lodge declared to be irregular Lodges and their initiates clandestine, and interdicted all Masonic communication with them.

Atwood and Folger and their associates were expelled, and their Lodges held as irregular and spurious. The body which they formed had a brief and precarious existence. In 1856, when negotiations were pending between the Grand Lodge of New York and the Phillips Grand Lodge, this body, through its committee, sent a communication to the other committees proposing another union, and a conference was had at which the committee of this body submitted propositions of a character that implied that the Grand Lodge must be so desirous of a union that it would permit the seceders to dictate terms to it; the propositions were summarily rejected and the negotiations came to an end.

"St. John's Grand Lodge" disappeared from view, and presumably it went out of existence in the latter part of 1856, for in 1857 Folger was restored by the Grand Lodge. The record in relation to it, is very brief: it notes the reception of his petition for restoration and its reference to the committee, the report of the committee recommending his restoration and the acceptance of that report. It does not appear whether the illegal body, which he was prominent in forming, had ceased to exist, or whether, in turn, he had seceded from that; inasmuch as many of his associates were afterwards restored, the presumption is that the body had ceased to exist.

The membership of Past Masters in the Grand Lodge was for many years a source of complaint. In 1848 the Grand Lodge adopted a regularly proposed amendment to the constitution, depriving all Past Masters except the Junior Past Master, of a vote in their own right in the Grand Lodge: it was retrospective as well as prospective in its operation. To become effective, it had to be adopted by a majority of the Lodges, or by a vote of the Grand Lodge at a subsequent annual session; this was sent out to the Lodges and, before the session in 1849, it was known that a majority of the Lodges had voted for its adoption: but the Past Masters insisted that under the landmarks they had an inherent right to vote in the Grand Lodge and they determined to maintain their rights. At an

early hour they, in large numbers, entered the hall where the Grand Lodge was to meet, and took possession of the most eligible seats: the subsequent events show that they must have arranged the plan of operations in advance and assigned to each prominent actor his part. Before the usual hour arrived, a Past Deputy Grand Master undertook to open the Grand Lodge and proceed to business, although the Junior Grand Warden was present and objected. However, when the Grand Master entered, the presiding officer surrendered the chair and the gavel, and the Grand Master opened the Grand Lodge in the usual manner. The Grand Secretary proceeded to call the roll: but before doing so announced officially that the amendment to the constitution in relation to Past Masters had been adopted by a majority of the Lodges (then reduced in number to ninety-nine) and was a part of the constitution; the roll-call showed seventy-six Lodges represented. It should have been stated that at the Quarterly Communication in March, when, under the constitution, such a measure could not be acted upon, a resolution declaring the proposed amendments unconstitutional had been adopted, although the Deputy Grand Master presiding had ruled it out of order and declined to put the question. As soon as the roll-call was completed the Grand Master rose to read his address, but the confusion was so great that he could not proceed, and in fact he was not permitted to proceed until he had allowed the proceedings of the Quarterly Communication to be read and the record approved: the Grand Master then read his address, and in it declared that the amendment had been adopted. He was asked at the close of his address, if he decided that the amendment had been adopted, and on his replying in the affirmative, the questioner declared the Grand Lodge dissolved, and at once a chairman was nominated and the pre-arranged programme carried out, by the election of Grand Officers by hand vote, regardless of the efforts of the Grand Master to preserve order; the seceders soon left and the Grand Lodge adjourned till the next day. Unfortunately the Grand Treasurer was with the seceders in sentiment, but was not present at the session of the Grand Lodge—a significant circumstance; also the books, papers and money of the Grand Secretary were seized and carried off by violence. It was discovered the next morning that the seceders had got a lease of the hall, had broken into the Grand Secretary's office and taken possession of that, and had control of the funds of the Grand Lodge by the action of the Grand Treasurer. Both Bodies completed their organizations and the Grand Lodge expelled the principal actors, after the usual notice and summons. Of course, while the schism was deeply deplored, the Grand Lodge was sustained by the other Grand Lodges and the seceders denounced. But quite a number of Lodges adhered to them and they maintained their organization till 1858, when, after several futile efforts, a union was effected. The article in relation to Past Masters was in effect to make the famous amendment prospective in its operation, leaving the rights of Past Masters, who had acquired membership in the Grand Lodge before 1849, unaffected.

A review of the questions at issue leads to the following conclusions: 1. The claim that, under the landmarks of Masonry, Past Masters have an inherent right to membership in the Grand Lodge is not sustained by the usages of the craft. 2. The claim that they had such a right under the charter, if sustained, carries with it the result that the Grand Lodge was then a subordinate of the Grand Lodge of England; a body whose powers are limited by a charter creating it, is not a sovereign body. 3. The claim, that Past Masters are entitled to perpetual membership in the Grand Lodge by the compact of 1827, is not sustained by the terms of that instrument. 4. The claim that when a

person has acquired under existing law a life-membership in a body, he cannot be deprived of it except by his consent, or for some offence, is certainly an equitable one. It is true that Past Masters were members of the Grand Lodge only by virtue of its constitution, and that courts decide that, in such a case, they may be deprived of such rights by an amendment of the constitution made in the manner provided in it, because their rights are held upon that condition; it follows that the Grand Lodge legally had the power to disfranchise its Past Masters, and that the decision of Grand Master Willard was legally correct; but the injustice of the exercise of that power (save possibly in an extreme case) is so manifest, that it may be safely assumed as the settled Masonic policy, that such an amendment will never hereafter be made retrospective in its operation.

There seems to have prevailed an erroneous idea of the legal effect of a compact in such cases—that it is legally binding forever on the united body, whereas the moment the union is effected the united body *succeeds to all the rights of both*, and the compact is no longer any more legally binding than a compact a man makes with himself. The only method in which its binding effect can be continued is by embodying it in the constitution of the united body, and even then it cannot be admitted that a Grand Lodge can make a constitution that its successors can never amend or repeal. The individual parties to a compromise are bound as honorable men to stand by it, and action taken under it is binding; but when they undertake to bind their successors, who are their equals, to continue the same course of action, they are assuming power which they do not possess: they have power to dispose finally of a particular case, but have no power to bind their successors to dispose of all similar cases in the same manner. This seems to have been overlooked by all the parties to these disputes.

Since the union in 1858, the Grand Lodge of New York has grown and prospered. It has been vexed by the maintenance of a Lodge in its territory by the Grand Lodge of Hamburg. The matter was extensively discussed, as the question of exclusive jurisdiction was involved: but it has ceased to excite interest, for the Lodge has so far dropped out of view, that it is not known whether it still continues to exist.

The Grand Lodge adopted very stringent rules in regard to unaffiliated Masons, which, with other causes, caused for some time an annual decrease in its total membership, but within a few years it has commenced to gain, and the prospect is that it will continue to do so.

It has also erected a magnificent Masonic Temple at the expense, originally, of a heavy debt; but within two years such efficient measures have been taken that the debt has been greatly reduced and will soon be extinguished.

This Grand Lodge leads all the American Grand Lodges in the number of its Lodges, its total membership, and the extent of its jurisdiction. It takes also a high rank for the soundness of its polity, its adherence to ancient usages, and the broad views and ability of those entrusted with the administration of its affairs.

North Carolina.

The title, which this Grand Lodge bore for many years, illustrates how readily the term "Ancient" was used, and that it often was used where it had no reference whatever to the distinction between the terms "Ancient" and "Modern" as applied to the Grand Lodges in England. This Grand Lodge used for many years the title "Grand Lodge of Ancient York Masons," while more recently its title is "Grand Lodge of Ancient, Free-

and Accepted Masons;" but the term "Ancient" in both cases must receive its *general* meaning, as no connection can be traced between this Grand Lodge and the "Ancient" English Grand Lodge. In Webb's Monitor of 1805 it is stated that the Grand Lodge was first constituted by virtue of a charter from the Grand Lodge of *Scotland* in 1771; this statement was repeated afterwards and quite generally taken as true, but recent investigation shows that it was erroneous.

The calendar of the Grand Lodge of England for 1756 shows a Lodge at Wilmington, North Carolina, ranking from 1754. According to Dr. Dove, Cornelius Harnett was appointed Provincial Grand Master for Virginia; in 1771 he had resided so long at Wilmington that he had become one of "the most prominent men of the day," and in 1775 he was placed at the head of the provincial government created by the "Congress of North Carolina;" while there is no evidence that he exercised his authority as Provincial Grand Master in North Carolina, it may well be believed that the institution of a Lodge at Wilmington, the place of his residence, was due to him. A Lodge was also established by the Grand Lodge of England at Halifax, August 21, 1767.

The Provincial Grand Lodge at Boston granted a warrant for a Lodge in Pitt County in North Carolina in 1766: the precise date cannot be given, as by direction of the Grand Lodge the issuing of warrants was recorded by the Grand Treasurer in his books, and those books have not been preserved: this Lodge was on the roll in 1766, and in 1767 made a return to the Grand Lodge. The Lodge is called the "First Lodge in Pitt County," and the return is up to June 24, 1767: the officers were Thomas Cooper, Master; Peter Blinn and Col. John Simpson, Wardens; Capt. Richard Evans, Treasurer; James Hall, Secretary; Thomas Hardy and James Hill, Stewards, *pro tem.;* and Richard Richardson, Tyler: the members were William Pratt, John Lesslie, Peter Richardson, Robert Newell, William Brown, John Barber, Robert Bignell, Lenington Lockhart, George Miller, Nathaniel Blinn, James Glasgow, Peter Johnson, Bolen Hall, William Kelley, George Evans, William McClellen and Col. Thomas Hall. The return states that it was forwarded by Thomas Cooper, the Master, who would give any further desired information.

On December 30, 1767, Thomas Cooper was appointed by Henry Price, Acting Provincial Grand Master after the death of Gridley, Deputy Grand Master for the Province of North Carolina, with power to congregate the Brethren there resident into one or more Lodges as he should think fit, or in other words to establish Lodges there. The Massachusetts records show no returns made by him of anything done under this commission.

On January 14, 1771, Joseph Montfort was appointed Provincial Grand Master "of and for America." In 1812, Robert Williams, Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of North Carolina, said that he had had in his possession the charter granted by the Duke of Beaufort, "Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Ancient York Masons," appointing Joseph Montfort, then of Halifax, North Carolina, Provincial Grand Master of America: and that several of the oldest Lodges in the State derived their authority under that warrant, among them Royal White Hart Lodge, No. 2, in the town of Halifax. The warrant had been preserved in the archives of that Lodge, but it afterwards came into the possession of the Grand Lodge, and at the centennial celebration in 1871 a copy was published. If Grand Secretary Williams meant that it was issued by the Grand Lodge in England calling itself "Ancient," he, of course, was in error, as the warrant was issued

by the Grand Lodge which was called "Modern" by its adversaries. It is also to be remarked that White Hart Lodge at Halifax had been chartered some four years previously, and Williams was undoubtedly in error in his statement about that Lodge.

A military warrant was granted by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, according to its list recently published, but at what date and what became of it is not known.

The statement in Webb's Monitor of 1805 (and subsequent editions) that this Grand Lodge was first constituted by virtue of a charter from the Grand Lodge of *Scotland* in 1771, undoubtedly refers to the *English* warrant of the same year. Webb further says that the Grand Lodge convened occasionally at Newbern and Edenton, where the records were kept before the Revolution; when the British forces occupied that town, the records were destroyed and the meetings of the Grand Lodge were suspended. It did not again meet as Provincial Grand Lodge.

On December 9, 1787, a convention was held at Tarboro, for the purpose of organizing an Independent Grand Lodge. The following Lodges were represented: Unanimity, Edenton; St. John's No. 2, New Berne; Royal Edwin, No. 4, Windsor; Royal White Hart, No. 403, Halifax; Royal William, No. 8, Winton; Union, Fayetteville; Blandford, in Bute County, and Old Cone, Salisbury: on the eleventh, the representatives from Kinston Lodge, No. 3, appeared: the delegates from Domock Lodge, No. 5, Warrenton, were refused admission on the ground that the Lodge was not properly constituted: a constitution was adopted and Grand Officers were elected and installed December 12, 1787, the true date of the organization of the independent Grand Lodge of North Carolina.

The names of these Lodges and the numbers which they then bore, give a clue to the origin of several of these Lodges; St. John at Wilmington (chartered in 1754) was not represented, but came immediately under the government of the Grand Lodge, and when the Lodges were numbered in 1791, became No. 1; Royal White Hart Lodge then retained its number 403, showing that it had been organized and was working under its original charter, and therefore, did not take a new one from Montfort, as has been supposed; it was his own Lodge, and so when he came to charter his first Lodge, St. John, at New Berne, he called it No. 2; the Lodge at Kinston (afterwards called St. John's) being No. 3, was the second Lodge chartered by Montfort; Royal Edwin, No. 4, at Windsor, was the next; Domock, No. 5 (afterwards called Johnston Caswell), was the next; as Royal William, of Winton, was No. 8, there must have been two intervening Lodges chartered by Montfort.

When the Lodges were numbered in 1791, "agreeable to the claims of precedency from the different Lodges," they received numbers in the order above stated until Domock Lodge, No. 5, was reached; it would have been No. 6 if it had been "properly constituted," but presumably took a new charter by the name of Johnston Caswell Lodge and went to the foot of the list of the old Lodges, becoming No. 10: Royal William Lodge, which, from its old number, should have been No. 9, became No. 6, so that the two intervening Lodges must have then become extinct; the Lodge at Blandford in Bute County, which took part in the organization of the Grand Lodge, had disappeared from the roll in 1791. In the record of the organization of the Grand Lodge no numbers were given to Unanimity, Union (afterwards Phœnix) and Old Cone Lodges; this fact has led to the opinion that these Lodges were not chartered by Montfort, but from the numbers given to them in 1791, they must have been younger Lodges than Royal William, No. 8,

and therefore chartered after the organization of the Provincial Grand Lodge and undoubtedly by it. Unanimity Lodge has a record commencing in 1778. Taking all the facts together, the better opinion seems to be that, with the exception of the two Lodges chartered directly by the Grand Lodge of England, the North Carolina Lodges in existence when the Grand Lodge was organized, were chartered by Montfort, or the Provincial Grand Lodge formed under his deputation: at any rate no evidence has as yet been given that any one came from any other source.

The Lodge in Pitt County, chartered by St. John's Grand Lodge in Boston, is not identified as one of the Lodges which formed the Grand Lodge. James Glasgow, one of its members in 1767, was one of the representatives of Kinston Lodge in the Convention and was chosen Grand Secretary. The indications are that the Pitt County Lodge had become extinct.

In 1805, this Grand Lodge had (according to Webb) thirty-three Lodges on its roll, including three in Tennessee; the first Lodge in Tennessee was at first named St. Tammany, but afterwards its name was changed to Harmony, which name it bears in Webb's list: in 1816, according to the same authority, it had forty-eight Lodges on its roll, and in 1818, fifty-two: but this includes the Tennessee Lodges which Webb still keeps in the North Carolina list: in 1818, one Mississippi Lodge is also included.

North Carolina claimed exclusive jurisdiction in Tennessee. In 1805 the Grand Lodge of Kentucky chartered a Lodge in Tennessee, then one of the United States. There was quite a controversy about it. The Grand Lodge of North Carolina claimed that, when it was formed in 1771, Tennessee was a part of North Carolina, and, therefore, that it then had exclusive jurisdiction therein. From an early date up to 1784, it is true that Tennessee was included in North Carolina and probably longer; but in 1789, North Carolina ceded it to the General Government, and in 1796 Tennessee was admitted into the Union as a State. Dr. Morris in his History holds that the claim of North Carolina to exclusive jurisdiction over Tennessee, after the latter was separated from the former, was not tenable; and the decisions in more recent cases sustain his position. However, the matter was argued with great ability on the part of North Carolina, and the Grand Lodge of Kentucky recalled the charter and recognized the exclusive jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of North Carolina. In the discussion it was stated that in a convention in which delegates from Tennessee Lodges took part, the "Grand Lodge of North Carolina and Tennessee" was formed. This seems to have been an error: the Grand Lodge of North Carolina assumed that name in 1803 and retained it till about 1813, when the Grand Lodge of Tennessee was formed: it seems to have assumed it, and changed it without any formal action. In its claim, it also relied on the Massachusetts Resolutions of 1796, in relation to jurisdiction, which it had approved and adopted.

From 1813 forward, it grew steadily for many years; its growth was somewhat checked by the anti-masonic excitement, but not so greatly as in many other jurisdictions. In 1860 its Lodges numbered up to 209, of which 133 were borne on its roll, with a membership of about 7000; quite a number of the older Lodges had become dormant, but the oldest three were still alive. In 1866, the number of Masons in the State reached 12,000; the number then fell off slightly but continued to be over 11,000 till 1882; but this included the estimated number of members in Lodges not making returns, and the number of Masons, unaffiliated, either voluntarily or by the demise of their Lodges. In 1883 the Grand Secretary abandoned estimating resident Masons not

members, and for that reason and the demise of more Lodges, the number is reduced to about 8,300 at the present time, of whom about 1650 are not members. The number of Lodges is 214: the last year shows, in the Lodges making returns, a small net gain in the membership, and the indications are that this will continue in the future.

This Grand Lodge has engaged in a charitable enterprise of an important character. In 1842, it started out to establish an institution for the education of "the poor children of Masons throughout the State, and such others as the means of the Grand Lodge would allow:" in fifteen years (1857) by the most strenuous and persevering effort, it succeeded in the erection and completion of St. John's College." But full success was not yet attained: business depression and a consequent decrease of interest in the enterprise were soon followed by the civil war, and for years the enterprise seemed on the eve of failure; but the Grand Lodge persevered, and in 1872 "St. John's College" became an Asylum for the poor orphans of the State. While the change was a necessity, it seems that it was a good one, and that the Asylum is doing more good by relieving destitution and preventing suffering, than the College could possibly have accomplished. As it is, the State aids it: the benevolent of all opinions contribute to its support: and the Grand Lodge not only furnishes means for maintaining it, but also takes an active interest in its management.

Connecticut.

Masonry was first introduced into Connecticut from Massachusetts. St. John's Grand Lodge chartered Hiram Lodge at New Haven, August 12, 1750, with David Wooster as Master; a Lodge at New London, January 12, 1753, which ceased to exist before the formation of the Grand Lodge in 1789; St. John's Lodge at Middletown, February 4, 1754; St. John's at Hartford, late in 1762; Compass at Wallingford, April 28, 1769; St. Alban's at Guilford, July 10, 1771, which became dormant in 1776, and was revived May 17, 1797; and Union at Danbury, March 23, 1780.

George Harrison, Provincial Grand Master of New York, under the Grand Lodge of England, chartered St. John's Lodge in Fairfield (afterwards located at Bridgeport) in 1762; St. John's in Norwalk, May 23, 1765; Union Lodge at Greenwich, November 18, 1764: and St. John's, at Stratford, April 22, 1766.

Massachusetts Grand Lodge chartered Wooster Lodge, at Colchester, January 12, 1781; St. Paul's, at Litchfield, May 27, 1781, but the charter is dated June 21, 1781; King Hiram, at Derby, January 3, 1783; Montgomery, at Salisbury, March 5, 1783; Columbia, at Norwich, June 24, 1785; and Frederic, at Farmington, September 18, 1787. The issue of the charter to Montgomery Lodge was not noted on the Grand Lodge record, and when, in 1786, it was discovered that no record had been made of it, a committee was appointed "to inform themselves of the erection of a Lodge at Danbury by the name of Union and also of another at Salisbury by the name of Montgomery, whose time of creation and record of charter is not to be found in the Grand Lodge books;" but no report is found in the record.

The history of the organization of Union Lodge at Danbury is curious, and shows how little the division among the Massachusetts Masons was known beyond the limits of that State: the petition for that Lodge was addressed to Joseph Webb, then (January 5, 1780) Grand Master of Massachusetts Grand Lodge; it was recommended by Jonathan Hart, then Master of American Union Lodge, chartered by St. John's Grand Lodge and by the

Lodges at Fairfield and Norwalk both chartered by Harrison, Provincial Grand Master of New York, under the old Grand Lodge of England; the petition was in some manner transferred to Rowe, Grand Master of St. John's Grand Lodge, who granted the charter March 23, 1780. The Master was installed April 19, 1780, but the Lodge held a special meeting April 13, 1780, to act upon the petition of Dr. Josiah Bartlett, in order that he might be initiated on the evening of the installation: Dr. Bartlett afterwards became a member of Massachusetts Grand Lodge, and was Grand Master of Massachusetts in 1797.

In addition to these, St. John's Grand Lodge put on its list Waterbury Lodge, in 1765: this Lodge was located at Waterbury in this State: its records have not been preserved, except its By-Laws adopted December 25, 1765, signed by fourteen members, among whom was Joel Clark, first Master of American Union Lodge; it is not known how long this Lodge existed, but it became extinct before 1789. There was also King Solomon's Lodge at Woodbury, which was not in the list of St. John's Grand Lodge nor mentioned in the record of Massachusetts Grand Lodge; the number given to this Lodge indicates that it was chartered between May 23, 1765, and April 22, 1766; these facts make it quite certain that this Lodge was also chartered by George Harrison, as well as those above named.

The celebrated American Union Lodge, chartered by St. John's Grand Lodge, February 15, 1776, was attached to a Connecticut Regiment: it maintained its organization, meeting wherever the regiment was stationed, until the close of the war, when it disbanded: but it was reorganized June 28, 1790, at Marietta, Ohio, as will be noted later; its old minutes have been preserved, and are published in the first volume of the Reprint of the Proceedings of this Grand Lodge. It admitted only persons connected with the Army: it celebrated St. John's Day, December 27, 1779, at Morristown, New Jersey; an address was delivered "by Rev. Dr. Baldwin, of the Connecticut Line"—undoubtedly Ashbel Baldwin, afterwards Grand Chaplain of the Grand Lodge; *thirty-six* officers and members of the Lodge were present and *sixty-eight* visitors, among whom were Washington and other distinguished officers of the American Army.

"General Conventions," composed of representatives of Lodges, were held prior to the formation of the Grand Lodge, the records of but few of which have been preserved. A "committee of thirteen Lodges" met, March 18, 1783, and called a "General Convention," which met on the last Tuesday of April, 1783: twelve Lodges (all then existing except Union of Greenwich) were represented; after the choice of a moderator and clerk, the credentials of the delegates and the charters and by-laws of the several Lodges were read, "and the convention proceeded to business." It "formed" three by-laws, to be adopted by all the Lodges in the State: the first fixed the initiation and other fees; the second provided that every candidate should stand proposed one month, and longer if any brother desired it, except in cases of emergency; and the third related to the admission of visitors: measures were taken to secure uniformity of work, and Jonathan Hart, who had been one of the charter members, Secretary, Senior Warden and Acting Master, and Master of American Union Lodge, was selected to visit the Lodges with that view: a committee of four was appointed "for the purpose pointed out in the third article of the resolves of the last General Convention;" the Convention adjourned to meet in September following. It met according to adjournment: an oration was delivered by Oliver Lewis, which was published: but the proceedings are not given in the Reprint. The arrangement was for the Convention to meet semi-annually, and there

is little doubt that several meetings were held; but no record of them exists or has been published, so far as is known.

On May 14, 1789, a convention was held at Hartford, to consider the question of establishing a Grand Lodge: a committee was appointed to "prepare a systematic plan for forming a Grand Lodge" and lay the same before a convention to be held on the eighth of July following. The convention was held accordingly, and a "Constitution, Regulations and Ordinances were adopted for the government of the Grand Lodge," and Grand Officers elected, who entered at once upon the discharge of their official duties, July 8, 1789.

There had then been (including Waterbury Lodge) *nineteen* Lodges chartered in Connecticut. As already stated *four* had become dormant or dead: of the remaining *fifteen*, *twelve* were represented in the convention, and their representatives signed the Constitution: the *three* not represented were Union at Greenwich, St. John's at Norwalk, and King Hiram at Derby; but these three immediately gave in their adhesion, as a matter of course, and were represented in the Grand Lodge. For some reason not stated on the record, Union Lodge at Danbury, which had been represented in the convention of 1783, in that which organized the Grand Lodge, and in the Grand Lodge in 1791, refused or neglected to take out a new charter until October 18, 1797, when, having "formally acknowledged the jurisdiction of this Grand Lodge and presented a request for a new charter," the Grand Secretary was directed to issue a new charter, but, as the Lodges had already been numbered, with the number (40) which it would have had if it had been an absolutely new Lodge. At the same session a charter was granted for a Lodge at Waterbury, but no mention is made of the old Lodge.

Nothing is found to indicate that any distinction between "Ancients" and "Modern" was recognized, or even known. Of the Lodges forming the Grand Lodge, *eight* came from the Grand Lodge of England, and *four* from the Grand Lodge of Scotland, through Provincial Grand Masters or Grand Lodges appointed by, or springing from them, Hiram Lodge at New Haven being the only one that found a place on the English list: or, taking all the Lodges in the State at that time, *ten* came from the old (not "Ancient") Grand Lodge of England, and *five* from the Grand Lodge of Scotland. Moreover, these lodges had met in convention, without discrimination, in 1783, over six years before the formation of the Grand Lodge.

On October 15, 1790, the following resolution was adopted:

> Resolved, That the Rt. Worshipful Grand Master, for the time being, issue new charters to all the regularly constituted Lodges in this State, upon their former charters being produced to him; which new charters being issued, as is provided in and by the Constitution, all such former charters may be returned by the Grand Secretary to the Lodges from which they were received (if required), being first registered, with such new charters, by the Grand Secretary in the records of this Lodge, and such register certified on the back of said former charter.

This method differs from all the three methods already described as adopted by other Grand Lodges. In accordance with this regulation, new charters were taken by all the Lodges, and in many instances the old charters were also returned to be held in the archives of the Lodge in order to show their origin, while the new charters issued were the only authority under which the Lodges could act.

It is understood that the early records of this Grand Lodge have not been preserved.

The "Reprint" contains only extracts evidently obtained from Circulars, previously to October, 1795. The Grand Lodge had met semi-annually, however, but in consequence of the loss of the records we have no account of its action at several of its sessions, and but meagre account of what transpired at the others.

In 1795 a regulation was adopted that in case a candidate applied to a Lodge other than the nearest, or one in the town in which he resided, the other Lodge must be notified and the question taken by ballot "in the same way as for the initiation of a candidate," whether "there are any real objections to his person or character," and the result transmitted to the Lodge to which the application was made; if the result was adverse to the applicant, he could not be admitted. This is believed to be the first regulation ever adopted in relation to the territorial jurisdictions of Lodges, and it will be perceived that it had for its object, not the benefit of the Lodge, but the prevention of the admission of unworthy candidates.

At the next session, a regulation was adopted that no initiate should be advanced in any other Lodge than the one in which he received the preceding degree, without the concurrence of such Lodge, signified by ballot "in the same way as for the admission of a candidate."

In 1796 the resolutions of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, in relation to exclusive jurisdiction, were approved and adopted. In 1779, on appeal, the decision of a Lodge was reversed and the party accused was "restored to all the privileges and rights of a Mason and member of said Lodge." In 1800, a resolution was adopted concurring in the action of Pennsylvania adverse to the formation of a Supreme Lodge as proposed by the Grand Lodge of South Carolina: the same action was taken in 1803, and again in 1808, when also action adverse to a triennial convention was taken.

In 1802 an attempt was made to revive Columbia Lodge, chartered by Massachusetts Grand Lodge in 1785, but after some discussion the petition was withdrawn. The Lodge, however, reorganized and proceeded to work; and in 1803 applied to be recognized by the Grand Lodge; but it was found that the Lodge worked only about a year after its organization in 1785, and then became dormant, and that the greatest part of its members, if not all, became charter members of another Lodge, constituted in the same town about ten years afterwards (1795); and that many of them had since withdrawn and undertaken to revive the old Lodge: the Grand Lodge decided that the Lodge had forfeited and voluntarily relinquished all right under the old charter; was defunct, and its charter null and void when the Lodge was formed, and could not be, and ought not ever to be, resuscitated; the Lodge, therefore, was declared irregular, and Lodges forbidden to admit any of its work, past or future. About the same time, the Grand Secretary published a circular warning the craft against two spurious Lodges, one in Middleton and one in New London: the chief promoter was said to be a person who had previously been declared to be an "impostor" and "arch deceiver" who had founded a spurious Lodge in Wallingford.

This Grand Lodge, very soon after its organization, adopted the system of fining Lodges for failure to be represented, unless excused for satisfactory reasons, and has continued that system to the present time; the result has been, that the representation of the Lodges at the communications of this Grand Lodge has been greater, in proportion to their number, than in any other American Grand Lodge. It grew steadily, and at times rapidly, until the Anti-Masonic excitement: the effect of that is first found (so far as the

record discloses) in 1828, when, although there was a very full representation, the Grand Master declined a re-election, the Deputy declined "any office in the Grand Lodge," the Grand Master-elect and Deputy G. Master-elect declined to accept, and the Grand Lodge passed a resolution that it was inexpedient at that time to grant any new charters; the Deputy of the preceding year was finally elected Grand Master, and accepted. In 1829 the Grand Secretary reported a large and increasing delinquency of Lodges in making returns "on account of the prevailing excitement and panic now existing on the subject of Masonry," but still there was a very full representation of the Lodges: in 1831, the panic seems to have reached its height; every Grand Officer except the Grand Treasurer and Grand Tyler declined re-election, and so few Lodges were represented that the roll was not recorded: in 1832, the panic had ceased, and the Massachusetts Declaration was adopted by the Grand Lodge and signed by 1235 Masons. For a few years afterwards, the number of Lodges represented was comparatively small; many had surrendered their charters; others had become dormant: the Grand Lodge used lenient measures and soon the dormant Lodges began to revive, confidence was restored and the Institution commenced a new growth. Many charters, however, were revoked, and among them those of some of the Lodges which took part in the organization of the Grand Lodge.

After the dead limbs were trimmed off, the Grand Lodge started on a career of growth and prosperity which it has maintained to the present time, disturbed only by the foolish rebellion of a single Lodge whose members have chosen to become Masonic outcasts for a mere sentiment involving no principle.

New Hampshire.

On June 24, 1735, a petition was presented to St. John's Grand Lodge in Boston, for a charter for a Lodge in Portsmouth, and it was granted. In the new charter granted by the Grand Lodge of New Hampshire in 1790, it is recited that the old charter was granted in 1736, by Robert Tomlinson by virtue of a deputation from the Grand Master of Masons in England; but Tomlinson did not receive his deputation till April 20, 1737, so there must be some error in the recital: the new charter also says that the "Lodge has continued from that time, in regular succession till the present day." There are no records extant earlier than 1739. Richards, writing in 1804, says that the charter was received and the Lodge constituted immediately on the appointment of Tomlinson in 1736: but the Lodge celebrated its Centennial Anniversary in 1837. For nearly ten years between 1778 and 1788, no election of Master was held, but the Lodge met occasionally: with that exception, the Lodge met regularly from as early as 1739. Among its earlier Masters were John Sullivan, Hall Jackson, Nathaniel Adams, Thomas Thompson, Clement Storer, Edward Jennings Long (the first six Grand Masters of the Grand Lodge) John Wentworth, Samuel Livermore and other leading men of their time, in the State.

On March 17, 1780, Massachusetts Grand Lodge granted a charter for St. Patrick's Lodge at Portsmouth: it continued active until the latter part of 1790, when it ceased work and soon became extinct, the most of its members joining St. John's Lodge.

A charter was granted by Massachusetts Grand Lodge, November 7, 1781, for a Lodge at Springfield, Vermont; the line between New Hampshire and Vermont was in dispute, and this town was in the "Debatable Land." The Lodge was actually held at Charlestown in New Hampshire until 1788: on the twenty-second of February of that year,

members of the Lodge presented a petition to the Grand Lodge which voted that "that part of the prayer of the petition which requests an alteration in their charter could not consistently with propriety be granted:" but a charter was granted for Faithful Lodge at Charlestown, and the work already done was legalized. The old Lodge did not meet again in Charlestown, but at once moved over the line into Vermont.

Massachusetts Grand Lodge granted a charter March 5, 1784, for Rising Sun Lodge at Keene, and on December 18, 1788, a charter for Dartmouth Lodge at Hanover.

On the eighth of July, 1789, "deputies" from St. John's and Rising Sun Lodges met at Portsmouth, voted to established a Grand Lodge, prescribed of whom it should be composed and when the quarterly communication should be held, elected a Grand Master, Secretary and Treasurer and adjourned. A second meeting was held July 16, 1789, at which three Lodges were represented: a seal was adopted and the price of charters, and the Grand Lodge dues, were fixed: a session was held and the Grand Master was installed by the Master of the oldest Lodge and the organization of the Grand Lodge completed April 8, 1790.

Massachusetts Grand Lodge, true to its repeated declaration, after this date declined to exercise jurisdiction over any Lodge in New Hampshire. The new Grand Lodge required the Lodges to surrender their old charters and take new ones. St. Patrick's Lodge was already near death's door and took no new charter, and soon became extinct. St. John's Lodge applied for a new charter and received one dated April 28, 1790. On the same day charters were granted for Federal Lodge at Dover and Columbia Lodge at Nottinghan; the former was not taken out, and the grant lapsed, but a new one was granted October 24, 1792, which however was surrendered April 25, 1798. Columbian Lodge took out its charter but was not constituted till August 2, 1792. Rising Sun Lodge applied for and received a new charter, August 3, 1792, and as the Grand Lodge numbered the Lodges according to the date of the new charter, this Lodge became No. 3. Faithful Lodge did not take its new charter till April 30, 1800, and became No. 12; Dartmouth Lodge had but a brief existence and took no charter from the new Grand Lodge. In 1796, a charter was granted for a Lodge at Hanover, but no mention is made of the old Lodge.

Thus when the Grand Lodge was formed there were in the State five Lodges: three of them took part in the preliminary proceedings, and two of the three took new charters, while the third became extinct. One of the remaining Lodges took a new charter and the other dissolved before the organization of the Grand Lodge was completed. The date usually given for the organization of this Grand Lodge is July 8, 1789; but the installation of the Grand Master is now generally taken to be necessary for the organization of a Grand Lodge, and the date of that act is held to be the date on which the Grand Lodge is organized; so that the correct date for the organization of the Grand Lodge of New Hampshire is April 8, 1790.

No record of any meeting in 1791 has been found, but with this exception the Grand Lodge met quarterly until 1814, since which time it has met annually in June.

In 1793, it was decided that a Lodge could be held only in the town named in the charter, and could not be held in territory not in the town at the time, although a part of the town when the Lodge was chartered. On April 26, 1797, the regulations of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts in relation to exclusive jurisdiction were formally adopted by the Grand Lodge. On June 24, 1801, the Grand Officers were installed in public in

St. John's church: the Grand Lodge opened in ample form in the hall, marched in procession with the Lodges to the church, and after the services returned to the hall and closed. On the twenty-second of July, 1801, Washington Lodge was constituted and its officers installed in public. The Grand Lodge met at a hall and opened in ample form; the officers of the new Lodge were summoned before the Grand Master, examined and found "to be Master Masons and well skilled in the mysteries of the craft and worthy of trust and confidence." The Grand Lodge then formed in procession and marched to the hall of the Lodge, which, with many visiting brethren, had already assembled: the Grand Lodge officers took the places of the Lodge officers, with those on their left. "All the Brethren retired except Masters and Past Masters of Lodges, while the new Master was bound and placed in King Solomon's chair." The Brethren returned, and after saluting the Master formed in procession and marched to the church, where the officers of the Lodge were invested with their jewels and the insignia of their respective offices "with pertinent charges respecting their use:" the Past Grand Master then delivered a charge to the Master, and the Grand Marshall proclaimed the constitution of the Lodge. In addition a discourse was delivered; the services were interspersed with music. The Grand Lodge and Lodge returned to their respective halls and closed. This description, condensed from that in the official record of the Grand Lodge, is given in order to show how "public installations" were conducted in those early days.

Thomas Thompson became Grand Master in 1801, and served seven years: his administration was of such character as to produce upon the Institution a marked effect which was felt for many years after he ceased to be Grand Master. He was strict and almost severe in enforcing obedience to law. During his administration the District Deputy system was adopted, and the duties of the Deputies were required to be so fully and faithfully performed, that every Lodge felt their influence. It is scarcely too much to say, that the rigid system of visitation by Deputies then inaugurated, did very much to carry the Grand Lodge through the Anti-Masonic excitement with so small a loss, as compared with neighboring jurisdictions, and to maintain the good condition of the Lodges down to the present time. A degree of looseness and disregard of law had crept in before his time, and milder efforts having failed to remedy the evil, a Lodge was formally impeached before the Grand Lodge; the regulations adopted on the occasion, the forms used, and the full proceedings are spread upon the record. At this distance of time, it seems as if individuals should have been disciplined instead of the Lodge, but probably the bad element was so large that the course taken was necessary. The charges in effect were; 1. That a Master had been chosen and had served for eleven months, who had never been Warden, although there were "good and sufficient Wardens to be found;" 2. That a few members, without the knowledge of the Master, had admitted and made a candidate, who had been "almost unanimously negatived and refused admission the evening preceding." 3. Making two candidates from the jurisdiction of other Lodges without inquiry of those Lodges as expressly required in the general regulations. 4. "Misconduct of some members of the Lodge, both in and out of the Lodge, causing evil reports and imputations on the whole body of the Lodge and of the whole craft throughout the State." The trial was conducted in a most impresssive manner: the Lodge was found guilty of the charges by a unanimous vote on each charge. All then retired from the hall except the Grand Master, the Deputy and the Grand Wardens; after consultation they agreed upon a sentence. The members of the Grand Lodge were

then called in, the sentence submitted to it and approved. Then the parties were called in, and the sentence announced, expelling the Lodge "from all privileges, immunities and rights as a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons throughout the globe." A time was fixed for the Lodge to close up its affairs and until then it was allowed to meet for business purposes only: at the end of the time, an attempt was made to have a rehearing, and a dispensation was issued giving the Lodge the right to meet as before provided, but finally the petition was withdrawn and the charter returned to the Grand Lodge, which, by solemn vote, ordered the seal on the charter to be broken and the signatures to be "defaced." Perhaps the reason why the petition was not pressed, was that the Grand Master informed the Lodge explicitly that the Master, who had been elected without service as Warden, could never be recognized.

The Grand Master also appointed a special "Grand Deputation" to visit all the Lodges in the State, "to examine their books and records, inquire into their transactions, proceedings, and *conduct as men and Masons*, to communicate and give them instructions, and to do and perform whatever may be found beneficial for the craft, agreeably to the ancient customs of Masons and the rules and regulations of the Grand Lodge." The duty was performed and the reports, spread upon the record, show that it was performed "without partiality, favor or affection." While several of the Lodges were criticized quite freely, the most of them were reported to be in good condition; but one was found "in so distracted a situation as never to be able to gain a reputable standing among men or Masons," and the deputation, sitting as a Grand Lodge, required a surrender of the charter. This was done and the Grand Lodge in full session approved the action of the Deputation; the seal of the charter was broken and the signatures thereon were defaced. These two Lodges thus extinguished were Nos. 2 and 3, the latter being one of those which organized the Grand Lodge.

The Grand Master on finally retiring from office, being unable to attend the Grand Lodge, sent in a very forcible valedictory address, in which he besought his brethren to guard against innovations (particularly at that session, as attempts in that direction were then to be made), and at all times to remember that they "had sworn to maintain the ancient landmarks and constitutions of Masonry," and "that it is not in the power of any man or body of men to make alterations or innovations in Masonry." He cautioned them that the harmony theretofore prevailing was in danger of being "disturbed by the introduction of Royal Arch Masonry;" but he was especially severe against the "Knight Templars;" he declared that the effect of "these fanciful degrees" would be the "prejudice and neglect of true Masonry." He said that about forty years before (which would be about 1768), he passed through, in England, all the degrees then known in Masonry to his "great disappointment afterwards," and he gives as the result of his observation and experience "that the first and original degrees alone are universal Masonry."

Soon after 1800, Rev. George Richards, who had been Grand Secretary of Massachusetts Grand Lodge, became a member of this Grand Lodge, and was very active and effective in Masonic work. In 1804, he published the first American Edition of Preston's "Illustrations of Masonry," to which he added considerably; over *two thousand* copies were subscribed for, some Lodges apparently *subscribing for a copy for every member;* an edition was printed the same year at Alexandria, and from the fact that Richards had over eight hundred copies subscribed for in Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, it is probable that the Alexandria edition was also published by him, although it differs,

in the number of pages which it contains, very materially from the Portsmouth edition. In 1806, "Letters of Masonic Credence" under the seal of the Grand Lodge, commending him as well skilled in the Prestonian Lectures, in all the degrees, and specially deputing him to receive, and enjoining him to give, all such information and instruction "as may tend to the improvement of the craft, abolishing the distinctions between ancient and modern Masons, in one uniform mode of lecturing and working." Later he read a "report on the state of Masonry in Connecticut, Pennsylvania," etc., for which he received the thanks of the Grand Lodge and a copy of which he was requested to deposit in the archives of the Grand Lodge.

In 1805, the Grand Lodge was incorporated, and a Committee was appointed to devise a plan by which the benefits of the incorporation might be also extended to the subordinate Lodges. A report was finally made, and after some discussion it was concluded that the Lodges could not derive any benefit from the act, and further consideration of it was dismissed.

From this time the Institution grew steadily until after the anti-Masonic excitement had gained considerable force; the special feature in the administration of its affairs was the faithful and effective service of the District Deputies, whose reports were spread upon the record. The anti-Masonic excitement was briefly referred to by the Grand Master in 1827; he referred to it as a thing of the past, and congratulated the Grand Lodge on the flourishing condition of the craft in the State and in the country. But the next year, on account of the excitement, he deemed it his duty to discuss the character of the Institution and notice one objection which had been made against it. The charge had been made that intemperance was the natural effect of their meeting; this he denied, saying, that few Lodges permitted even the use of ardent spirits at their meetings. The representation in the Grand Lodge was very full, but before the close of the year several Lodges ceased to meet, and others followed their example, so that in 1840, the Grand Lodge struck from the roll *twenty-six* Lodges, leaving *twenty-two* then in good standing; but this, as compared with other States, was a large proportion. In 1839, the statistics of *forty-eight* Lodges are given; of these, *two* had done no work since 1827; twenty-two, none since 1828; eight, none since 1829; four, none since 1830; three, none since 1831, while only four had done work the previous year; seven Lodges made their last return in 1828, and year by year others became dormant, until more than half had ceased to be active, and only fourteen were represented in Grand Lodge.

One of the Lodges, in 1835, voted to dissolve, and to divide the funds among the members, one of whom sued the Treasurer for his share; but the court decided that the funds of the Lodge were held in trust by it for charitable purposes; that the vote to divide them among the members was null and void; that the dissolution of the Lodge made no difference, as the court would appoint a trustee to administer the trust; and that the funds, including those already divided, were still holden to be applied for charitable purposes, and upon proper proceedings instituted for the purpose, such disposition of them would be enforced. It is quite certain that, if the relations of the Grand Lodge to its Lodges had been shown to the court, it would have been held that, upon the dissolution of the Lodge, the Grand Lodge becomes the trustee and entitled to the possession of the funds to be held in trust by it for the same charitable purposes for which they were held by the Lodge. In 1841, the dormant Lodges began to be revived, and the active Lodges began to receive applications for initiation and for membership; in

1842, the Grand Master was requested to visit, in person or by Deputy, the delinquent Lodges, thirty-one in number, with the view of reviving those worth reviving and closing up those whose cases should be deemed hopeless. Very few charters were restored, however, and the growth was slow. In most cases in which a Lodge was subsequently called for in a place where an old Lodge had existed, the Grand Lodge granted a new charter instead of restoring the old one; still a few were restored, some of them several years after they were declared forfeited.

But the membership began to increase and has continued to increase, affected only by times of severe business depression; and the Grand Lodge has attained a high reputation for solid, prosperous growth, adherence to its old usages, able and conservative administration of its affairs, and the ability of the reports of its more important committees.

Rhode Island.

Thomas Oxnard, Provincial Grand Master at Boston, on December 24, 1749, granted a charter for a Lodge at Newport with Caleb Phillips as Master. This was the introduction of Masonry into that State so far as we have any tangible evidence. There is a tradition that Masonry had been practiced there at an earlier date, and the house is still shown in which, according to tradition for very many years, the Masons used to meet; while it is probable that there was a foundation for the tradition even that gives no details. In 1759, it was found that the Master Masons at Newport were conferring the Master's degree; Jeremy Gridley, then Provincial Grand Master, on March 20, 1759, issued a warrant for a Masters' Lodge there, with John Mawdsley as Master, and confirming the work that had already been done, reciting that the parties engaged in it did not think "but they had authority to do so;" indications point to the conclusion, that the Lodge already existing received this warrant as granting to it additional powers, and that two separate organizations were not maintained.

Gridley had, on January 18, 1757, issued a warrant for a Lodge at Providence, with Captain John Burgess as Master. There are no records of any meetings from July, 1764, to December, 1768; after June 7, 1769, it became dormant, and was revived by a warrant from Grand Master Rowe, dated July 15, 1778.

The Grand Lodge was formed in a peculiar manner. There were in 1790 but two Lodges in the State, the one at Newport, and the one at Providence. In that year, the Lodge at Newport submitted to the other Lodge "A plan for constituting a Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations within the United States of America." It was a constitution (as the word is now used) for a Grand Lodge. A committee of the Providence Lodge amended it in some particulars and signed a report, approving it, December 16, 1790. The committee of the other Lodge accepted it as amended: the Newport Lodge adopted it March 14, 1791, and the Providence Lodge, April 6, 1791. This plan provided for electing one half of the Grand Officers and two honorary members from each Lodge: these each Lodge proceeded to elect, the Newport Lodge having the Grand Master.

The constitution provided that the Grand Lodge should meet alternately at Newport and Providence on the twenty-fourth of June annually, except when that day should fall on Saturday or Sunday, when the day should be fixed by the Lodge at the place of meeting. On June 27, 1791, the Grand Lodge met at the State House in Newport; the Master of the oldest Lodge (Newport) installed the Grand Officers. Immediately after

the installation, the Grand Lodge formed in procession and marched to Trinity Church, where a discourse was delivered and a collection taken up, the proceeds of which were ordered "to be invested into wood and distributed to the poor of this town the ensuing winter."

The Grand Lodge returned to the State House and opened for business, which was brief and of a merely routine character: the Grand Lodge then closed and the brethren dined together. The names of all the members of the two Lodges are given in the printed record, and thereafter annually for many years the names of those admitted are given, so that the Grand Lodge record gives the names of all who became members of the subordinate Lodges.

Newport Lodge returned one hundred and thirteen members, among whom were Moses M. Hays, then Grand Master of Massachusetts Grand Lodge, John Mawdsley, the first Master of the Masters' Lodge at Newport, and Moses Seixas, who was one of the leaders in the movement to organize the Grand Lodge. Providence Lodge returned one hundred and twenty-one members, among whom was Jabez Bowen, to whom Gridley granted the warrant reviving Providence Lodge.

In 1792, the Grand Master was requested to issue "certificates to the two deputed Lodges in this State, expressive of the powers wherewith they are vested and their subordination to the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge." In both Lodges a separate vote was taken upon the admission, as members, of those who had received the degrees in the Lodge: Entered Apprentices were apparently not eligible to membership, but Fellow Crafts were.

For many years the Grand Lodge met and celebrated the day with a procession, a discourse and a dinner, and did but little more, as affairs in the jurisdiction were requiring no particular attention from it: the membership of the two Lodges increased, that of Providence Lodge the most rapidly. A brief "Masonic Burial Office" for services at the grave was adopted in 1797.

New Lodges were created only by vote of the Grand Lodge, and generally were required to work under dispensation for several years before a charter was granted. Charters were granted to Washington Lodge, in Warren, in 1796; to Mt. Vernon Lodge in Providence, and Washington Lodge at South Kingston, in 1799; to St. Albans Lodge at Bristol, in 1802; to Friendship Lodge at Gloucester and Mt. Moriah Lodge at Smithfield, in 1805; to Harmony Lodge at Pawtuxet and Union Lodge at Pawtucket in 1808; and to King Solomon's Lodge at East Greenwich and Manchester Lodge at Coventry in 1810. Lodges, to which dispensations were issued by vote of the Grand Lodge, were allowed representation in the Grand Lodge before they were chartered. In 1800, it was ordered that the Lodges be numbered according to the date of their warrants. In consequence some Lodges, which received dispensations before other Lodges received theirs, nevertheless received later numbers.

All these Lodges, with perhaps one exception, were *constituted and their officers installed in public* by the Grand Lodge; the Washington Lodges in 1799, and the last two in 1810: the possible exception is Mt. Vernon Lodge, no account of whose constitution is found in the printed record; its officers, however, were installed in public by the Grand Lodge at its Annual Communication in 1803. The Grand Master was unable to be present at the constitution of Harmony Lodge in 1808, and Thomas Smith Webb, Past Grand Warden, as his special Deputy, opened the Grand Lodge and performed the services.

In 1800 the Grand Lodge established the territorial jurisdiction of Lodges by forbidding the reception of a petition from one residing nearer another Lodge, without the recommendation of such Lodge.

In 1791 the Grand Lodge appointed a representative to attend a convention to form a Supreme Grand Lodge, and in 1793 renewed the appointment; but in 1802 voted against forming such a Body, but in favor of a convention for the purpose of adopting a uniform mode of working and such general regulations as might be deemed expedient and proper.

In 1800 Thomas Smith Webb became a member of St. John's Lodge in Providence, and attended the Grand Lodge in 1801: he was at once called to serve on committees, among them one to revise the constitution. He acted as Grand Secretary *pro tem.* at special meetings during the year, and at the next session was elected Junior Grand Warden; in 1803 and in 1804 he was Senior Grand Warden, and in 1805 the two years' limitation for holding that office was repealed and he was re-elected, but declined to accept. The original constitution limited the offices of Grand Master and Deputy Grand Master to Past Masters *of Rhode Island Lodges,* and under this clause Webb was not eligible to either of those two offices. In 1808 the constitution was revised, and any one "who had sustained the office of Master in some regularly constituted Lodge" became eligible to those offices: the same change was made in relation to the Past Masters, members of Lodges in that jurisdiction, who became members of the Grand Lodge.

After 1805, Webb continued to attend the Grand Lodge and serve on important committees and in the places of absent Grand Officers till 1811, when, being a Past Master of Temple Lodge in Albany, he was elected Deputy Grand Master, re-elected in 1812, elected Grand Master in 1813 and 1814, and declined a re-election in 1815. In the vote of thanks, the Grand Lodge included "for the great and signal services he has rendered to Freemasons in general and particularly to it in this State." He had published an edition of his Monitor in 1797, before he came to Providence, and when elected Grand Master he had published four additional editions: two others, with different varieties of each, were published in his lifetime. He died suddenly of apoplexy, in July, 1819, at Cleveland, Ohio, on his way to visit his daughter. His body was removed to Providence, at the expense of the Grand Lodge and Grand Chapter, and the other Masonic Bodies in Providence, and re-interred by the Grand Lodge, November 8, 1819. Within a few years, the Grand Lodge has taken measures to obtain the means for erecting a suitable monument to his memory.

As the constitution of 1808 was prepared by a committee of which Webb was chairman, and was undoubtedly his work, a statement of some of its more important features is given as bearing upon the history of the Institution. In its preamble, the power and character of the Grand Lodge are thus stated.

"Every Grand Lodge has an inherent power and authority to make local ordinances and new regulations for their own benefit and the good of Masonry in general; provided always, that the ancient landmarks be carefully preserved. This hath never been disputed, for Grand Lodges are the true representatives of all the Fraternity, with legislative authority in their respective jurisdictions."

In the Grand Lodge, in the absence of any Grand Officer, the Grand Officer next in rank succeeded to his place, and in the absence of all, "the members, according to seniority and abilities, shall fill the vacant offices." "And the same rule shall be observed

in all Lodges under its jurisdiction." Officers and members of the Grand Lodge could appoint proxies, but the proxy of an officer of a Lodge must be a member of the same Lodge.

The Grand Lodge, by a two-thirds vote, could authorize the Grand Master to issue a dispensation for a new Lodge, to which the Grand Lodge might grant a charter or not as it should determine; but no charter could be delivered to a Lodge until it was constituted.

No one could be made a Mason at the same meeting at which he was proposed, and "from this rule no dispensation shall be allowed." Rejected candidates could not be received by another Lodge without the unanimous recommendation of the rejected Lodge: but no recommendation could be granted or moved "in favor of a candidate who has been rejected by more than two votes."

Quarterly communications were held under the new constitution, in addition to the annual communication, which was for the choice and installation of Grand Officers and the Feast: no other business, unless urgent, could be transacted, "in order that nothing may occur to interrupt the harmony and tranquillity of the brethren at the anniversary festival." Later this was changed and only semi-annual, annual, and Festival communications are now held.

In 1811, a petition was presented for a Lodge on the Island of St. Bartholomew: but the Grand Lodge determined that it did not have sufficient information, and directed inquiry to be made if there was a Lodge in the Island, and if so, under what authority it was held, and if there was a Grand Lodge in the Kingdom of Sweden. This action recognized the doctrine of territorial jurisdiction.

It was decided by the Grand Lodge, upon a report made by Webb, that, according to ancient usage, the Master of a Lodge can be installed only by the Grand Master, the Deputy, the Past Master or a Past Master thereunto specially authorized by the Grand Master or the Deputy.

A dissension in Newport seriously disturbed the Grand Lodge in 1816. A new Lodge had been chartered which undertook to meet in the same hall with the old Lodge. A disagreement between the Lodges arose, and the Grand Lodge sent a committee to endeavor to harmonize them. The committee reported an adjustment which they supposed was agreed to by both parties. There were two parties in St. John's Lodge, and one of them carried a vote in the Lodge to exclude the other Lodge from the hall. The new Lodge soon surrendered its charter. In the meantime, the Grand Lodge had reversed the proceedings of the Lodge in expelling two members from membership and reinstated them: and had also declared the election of officers void and ordered another. The malcontents robbed the hall of the charter, records, jewels, and other property of the Lodge, declared themselves a Lodge independent of the Grand Lodge, and published their declaration in the public newspapers. The Lodge, however, elected officers, who were installed by the Grand Master who was presiding. It then expelled eight of the principal men engaged in the revolt, and the Grand Lodge confirmed its action. The spurious Lodge met at a tavern and undertook to act as a regular Lodge. They were denounced as impostors, and the public warned against them. They, in their turn, sued the Grand Master and Grand Secretary for slander in several suits, claiming over $20,000 damages: the Grand Lodge assumed the defence. The other party even threatened to sue clergymen if they should officiate as Grand Chaplains, but the Grand Lodge promptly voted to indemnify them, and the clergymen paid no heed to the threats. The Grand Lodge

accepted an invitation to lay the corner stone of a public building at Newport and performed the ceremony. The names of all the initiates were also published and all Lodges and Masons warned not to recognize them. In 1819, the Grand Lodge, on petition of the Newport Lodge, passed a vote allowing the Lodge to receive back those who were expelled (apparently not including the leader), and to receive those who had been initiated in the spurious Lodge, provided they were found worthy and "will come forward and receive the three degrees in the Lodge."

A special communication of the Grand Lodge was held September 27, 1814, to tender to the "Committee of Defence" the services of the Society for the erection of fortifications, and the third of October was named as the time. The offer was accepted, and on the day appointed the Grand Lodge opened, and with a large number of brethren from the Lodges, including many from Eastern Star Lodge of Rehoboth, Mass., formed in procession with the Grand Master, Thomas Smith Webb, at their head, and marched with music to Fox Point and went to work at the erection of a fort which had been there laid out. At sunset they had completed their labors by the erection of a breastwork about four hundred and thirty feet long, ten feet wide and five feet high; they then formed a procession, and having marched upon the parapet several times from one extremity to the other, the Grand Master named the work "Fort Hiram." In the evening the Grand Lodge waited upon the Governor, and he approved the proceeding and sanctioned the name given to the fort. The record says, "Perhaps in no instance has there been a greater work accomplished in one day by an equal number of persons than was done on this ever-memorable occasion."

The Anti-Masonic excitement caused the extinction or suspension of a few Lodges, but did not prevent the regular meetings of the Grand Lodge. Several of the subordinates continued their meetings but did not work for about fifteen years. No new Lodges were chartered after 1826 for thirty years, No. 19 having been chartered in 1826 and No. 20 in 1856; and it is a curious fact that the three of the Lodges, which became extinct during, or immediately after, the excitement and had not revived at the time of the centennial celebration of St. John's Lodge in Providence in 1857, were the three youngest Lodges, chartered in 1825 and 1826.

Political Anti-Masonry was fierce and aggressive in this State. A memorial was presented to the Legislature charging Masons with "designs, principles and practices adverse to religion and morality, and subversive of civil government and incompatible with all the social and civil virtues and duties." In 1831, the Legislature appointed a committee to investigate the matter. The Grand Lodge published an address in answer to the memorial and appointed a committee to answer in its behalf before the committee of the Legislature. In 1832, the committee made a long report fully exonerating the institution in the State from the criminal charges brought against it, but still recommending its discontinuance. The Grand Lodge declined to adopt the recommendation, alleging that political power, and not the public good, was the object of the instigators of the attack, and determined to "adhere to our institution through evil, as well as good report." Thereupon the Anti-Masons petitioned the Legislature of 1833 to repeal the civil charters of the Lodges. The latter were summoned to show cause why this should not be done; the Grand Lodge and St. John's Lodge of Providence employed counsel to appear and defend, and a sharply contested battle of ten days followed; nothing was done at that session but in January, 1834, six charters were repealed, and sixteen left in force. A law was also

passed prohibiting the administration of "extra-judicial oaths," but it became a dead letter.

On March 17, 1834, the Grand Lodge surrendered its civil charter and recommended the same course to the Lodges; some of them did so, but St. John's Lodge of Providence declined, and its charter was never taken away.

In spite of the severity and bitterness of the attack, it is said that not more than twelve in the whole State renounced Masonry; four of these were clergymen; one of them committed suicide within a few weeks, and within a few months the other three were all deposed from the ministry for gross immorality.

A new constitution was adopted in 1826, and also in 1848. The original constitution was materially changed in several respects. One important amendment vested in the Grand Lodge the power of amending its own constitution, without referring it to the Lodges otherwise than in giving them notice of the proposition. In this jurisdiction the old doctrine in regard to the prerogatives of the Grand Master has always prevailed. The law of exclusive territorial jurisdiction has been always scrupulously maintained; in 1856, it adopted a Regulation that if any resident of the State should go out of the jurisdiction and be made a Mason, he should not be recognized as such "except by unanimous vote of the Lodge nearest his residence, the same caution to be used in admitting him to a seat in the Lodge as if he applied for initiation." During the civil war it issued a charter for a Military Lodge, but without the power of making Masons; it was really a Lodge of Instruction.

The growth of the institution since the revival has been gradual but healthy. Almost without exception, a great degree of harmony has prevailed, increased no doubt by the custom of holding a "Festival Communication" annually. In 1863, however, the harmony was broken. The Grand Lodge had revised "the work" in order to secure uniformity. As usual a few were found, to whom "the work" was all of Masonry, and the work which they had learned was the only true work. Unfortunately one of these was Master of Mt. Moriah Lodge. He refused to accept the revised work and carried his Lodge with him. The Grand Master gave him notice of a proposed visit to the Lodge to witness the work. The Master assembled the lodge an hour earlier than usual, and when the Grand Master arrived the work was finished; the charter had been sent away, evidently to keep it out of his reach. The Master and Lodge disobeyed the Grand Master and treated him with contempt. Efforts were made to induce the Lodge to obey the law, but they failed. Charges were filed in the Grand Lodge against the Lodge, the Master and several members (one of which was for opening the Lodge in the absence of the charter, in violation of law). On the trial the charges were sustained by a unanimous vote, the charter revoked, the Master expelled and twenty members suspended; one of the latter made the necessary acknowledgment and was restored. The recusants threatened legal proceedings and continued to meet as a Lodge and do work. The Grand Lodge notified the Masonic world of its action, and warned the craft against recognizing these spurious Masons. A few of them succeeded at first in visiting Lodges in other States, but soon the doors of every Lodge were closed against them; the Grand Lodge expelled six of the suspended Masons for attending a clandestine Lodge. In 1865, ten of the suspended ones at last saw their folly, and made the required acknowledgment and were restored; at the same time five of the six last expelled, applied for restoration; three were restored and the petition of two was denied. Upon petition the charter was restored and the

Lodge revived. It thereupon asked to have the remaining ones restored; the Grand Lodge held the matter under consideration till 1867, when it restored all except the Master, whom it held responsible for the whole trouble. It is strange that men of intelligence will join in such a revolt. They must know that the Grand Lodge will be sustained by all the other Grand Lodges, and they themselves become Masonic Ishmaelites if they persist; but so it is, that, taking the jurisdictions together, such a case arises about once in twenty years, and some willful man disturbs the peace of the craft by his unreasonable whims, and involves others in disgrace and deprivation of their Masonic privileges.

Vermont.

Two attempts were made, one in 1778 and one in 1781, to transfer the allegiance of certain New Hampshire towns bordering on the Connecticut River to Vermont, and the last attempt came near resulting in civil war. On November 8, 1781, Massachusetts Grand Lodge granted a charter for Vermont Lodge at Springfield, Vermont; the Lodge actually organized, November 29, 1781, on the other side of the river at Charlestown, which was one of the New Hampshire towns then claiming to belong to Vermont. As already stated, this Lodge continued to work in Charlestown till 1788, when it moved to Springfield and worked there till 1795, when it was moved to Windsor.

North Star Lodge at Manchester also was chartered by Massachusetts Grand Lodge, January 20, 1785, and held its first meeting on February 3, but was not "installed" (constituted) till December 4, 1787.

Dorchester Lodge at Vergennes was chartered May 5, 1791, by Sir John Johnson, Provincial Grand Master, under the *old* Grand Lodge of England.

The Grand Lodge of Connecticut chartered Temple Lodge at Bennington, May 18, 1793, and Union Lodge at Middlebury, May 15, 1794. Two brethren from Connecticut were present and assisted at the organization of Union Lodge, October 2, 1794.

On August 6, 1794, the representatives of North Star, Dorchester, and Temple Lodges met in convention for the purpose of forming a Grand Lodge. Vermont Lodge was not represented and Union Lodge had not received its charter. The convention met the next day, appointed a committee to draft a constitution, ordered the other Lodges to be notified of its action, and adjourned to meet at Rutland on the tenth of October.

The convention met according to adjournment, when three delegates from each of the five Lodges were reported to be present. It voted that it was fully authorized "to proceed in forming a constitution for a Grand Lodge," and that it was expedient to do so. It spent five days in organizing, and in considering and adopting a constitution, which was engrossed and signed by the delegates, except that only one signs for Vermont Lodge; at the same session Grand Officers were elected and the convention then dissolved.

The constitution reserved the power of amending it to a convention to be called by the Grand Lodge, which it declared, however, was "independent and governed solely by its own laws." There is no record of the installation of the Grand Officers, but the next day, October 15, 1794, the Grand Lodge met and proceeded to act as a Grand Lodge, granted a charter for a Lodge at Rutland, appointed a committee to prepare a form for charters, transacted other routine business, and adjourned till January, when it met, approved the proposed form of charter and closed to meet at the Annual Communication in October.

Applications for charters were presented to the Grand Lodge in the following years in

rapid succession, many of which were granted and many refused. The reading of the records gives the impression that the institution grew too rapidly in this jurisdiction, and that too many Lodges were chartered. However, it grew wonderfully up to the time of the Anti-Masonic excitement. The old Lodges, in accordance with the provisions of the original constitution, surrendered their old charters and took new ones. Charters for new Lodges were at first granted to five Master Masons; but the Grand Lodge found it necessary to pass regulations, from time to time, in order to prevent the undue multiplication of Lodges, which seemed to be asked for in almost every town. Attempts were made to prevent the establishment of Lodges within twenty miles of each other, but the proposition was changed so as to require the consent of all the Lodges within twenty miles or, if it was refused, that they should be notified that a charter would be petitioned for at the next session of the Grand Lodge; later the consent of two thirds of the Lodges in the same district was required. It was ordered that no charter should be granted until the proposed officers should pass a satisfactory examination, unless they could be "satisfactorily vouched for by a member of the Grand Lodge."

A convention was called in 1804 to amend the constitution, but it was really a special session of the Grand Lodge, at which a large amount of other business was transacted.

Up to 1805, business seems to have been done in the Entered Apprentice Lodge, and all allowed to vote. In that year the right of voting was limited to Master Masons. At the same session a regulation was adopted that Lodges should have the power to suspend, expel and restore members by a two-thirds vote, and from the decision there should be no appeal. In 1806, the District Deputy system was adopted, but the expense of visitation was required to be borne by the Lodge visited. Lodges were authorized to try all offenders, whether their own members or not, for offences committed within their "immediate vicinity." In 1809, in order to secure uniformity of work, Jonathan Nye was appointed Grand Visitor and instructed to spend two days at least with every Lodge; and in 1811, he was authorized to suspend charters, if he judged it to be for the good of Masonry. As a natural consequence of the rapid increase of Lodges, many soon became delinquent, and the Grand Lodge occupied itself often in determining what course to take in relation to them. Among the Lodges whose charters were revoked, were Temple Lodge and North Star Lodge, two of the five which organized the Grand Lodge. In 1819, a committee reported recommending Cross's "Masonic Chart" to the patronage of the Fraternity, but the report was rejected. An Edition of Webb's Monitor had been published in Vermont in 1816, and probably was at this time in general use in the State; at this very session Jonathan Nye, P. G. Master, had delivered a eulogy upon Webb at the request of the Grand Lodge.

One curious case arose: there had been a Lodge in New York, near the line, of which many residents of Vermont were members. Later a Lodge was chartered on the Vermont side, and then the New York members surrendered their charter and took membership in the Vermont Lodge. Later still, the residents on the New York side of the line took a new charter from their Grand Lodge, and then demanded a part of the property of the Vermont Lodge. The controversy lasted some time, and finally, after various reports upon it to the Grand Lodge, it appointed referees to hear the parties and decide the matter. They reported that the Vermont Lodge should pay the New York Lodge eighty dollars in full of all claims, thus terminating a controversy that bade fair to involve two Grand Lodges in it.

In 1826, the Grand Lodge voted by an overwhelming vote, "That no ardent spirits or public dinner shall be hereafter furnished this Grand Lodge at any of its Communications;" and soon after, the Grand Lodge recommended to the Lodges to prohibit the use of ardent spirits at their meetings and in their halls.

The Anti-Masonic storm swept over Vermont with great fury. There had always been in the State an element of opposition to Masonry. In 1824, it was officially reported to the Grand Lodge that a clergyman of the highest character, as a Christian minister, had been dismissed from his charge because he had become a Mason. In the able and practically valuable address of Grand Master White, when he retired from the chair in 1827, he referred "with pain and extreme regret" to the "rash and inconsiderate step taken by a disaffected brother, calculated to bring the Institution of Masonry into disrepute." In 1826, one Lodge surrendered its charter, and in 1827, another; while several Lodges failed to make returns, and more failed to be represented. At this time seventy-three Lodges had been chartered. In 1829, the dues paid indicated that only thirty-six had been initiated during the year, and twenty of these were in one Lodge. Fifteen Lodges had become delinquent, and the District Deputies were instructed to take up the charters, unless satisfactory reasons were given for the neglect. An address to the people of Vermont was adopted by the Grand Lodge and signed by a large number: while it states that the charges made against the Masons, were largely on account of political Anti-Masonry, the address takes the defensive in most energetically denying the charges. In 1830, the condition of things was worse, and in 1831, a proposition was made in the Grand Lodge to "dissolve the Institution." The Grand Master, Nathan B. Haswell, knowing that the proposition was to be made, in his address spoke eloquently against it. He advised his brethren to "Breast the Storm." In conclusion he said:

"We are a Frontier Post in Masonry, and as such are receiving at the present time the combined attack of foreign and domestic foes in our own and neighboring States.

"The eyes of the Christian and the philanthropist are upon us, viewing the conflict, watching to see whether we capitulate and surrender our Masonic Citadel; and this day, my brethren, will decide whether in Vermont it stands or falls. Although a frontier post in Masonry, our mountains and 'the everlasting hills' by which this hall is surrounded, planted by God as monuments of His unchangeableness, and from which we may glean lessons of wisdom, should be emblematic of our firmness and moral courage, in resisting encroachments, thus showing to our brethren in other States, and throughout the world, our continued fidelity in sustaining and defending our altar and our principles."

The resolution was offered, discussed ably at considerable length, and dismissed by a vote, taken by yeas and nays, of 90 to 19. The Lodges were advised to meet twice a year —once for discipline and instruction in Masonry, and once for the election of officers.

In 1832, only ten Lodges were represented: the Deputies were directed to ascertain if the Lodges met as advised in 1831. In 1833, some thirty-five Lodges were represented. Since the last meeting the political Anti-Masons had carried the election in the State, and many representatives came to the Grand Lodge to dissolve it, or failing in that, to surrender their charters. When the Grand Lodge was opened, Philip C. Tucker, then Deputy Grand Master, moved a resolution that the Grand Lodge was ready to receive the charters of such Lodges as desired to surrender them, and that the representatives, instructed to surrender charters, be requested to deposit them with the Grand Secretary; but the resolution was laid on the table. But little business was done that day. The Grand Lodge met at nine the next day, and very soon after a preamble and resolutions

were introduced, the former reciting that the Communication had been specially notified to consider the surrender of charters, and that however good Masonry may have been in former times "the day of utility is gone;" and the latter revoking all charters, authorizing the Lodges to dispose of their property as they should see fit, dissolving the Grand Lodge and releasing all from allegiance to it. Of course, the preamble endeavored to sugar-coat the pill with protestations and declarations that the Grand Lodge took the proposed course of its own accord and for the public good. The matter was discussed all the forenoon, and until late into the afternoon, by the leading members of the Grand Lodge, as well as by Rev. Paul Dean, of Boston. The preamble was then withdrawn and a vote to dismiss the resolutions was carried by a vote of 79 to 42. Tucker's resolution was then adopted, amended, however, by providing that the surrender might be made to the Grand Secretary in vacation, and that Lodges might dispose of their property as they saw fit, the Grand Lodge recommending, however, that the avails be appropriated to the common school fund of the State. Grand Officers were elected, John B. Hollenbeck (who alone still survives) being elected Grand Secretary. No charters were then surrendered; even the mover of the resolutions did not offer to surrender the charter of his own Lodge. The Grand Officers issued an address to the people, which, though temperate in tone, took the offensive, and directly charged the attack upon Masonry to dishonest politicians who were only trying to promote their own interests under the false pretext of anxiety for the public welfare.

In 1834, seven Lodges only were represented. During the year Masonic conventions had been held; the Grand Lodge adopted resolutions denouncing these as unconstitutional, affirming its previous declarations as to the aims and objects of Masonry, and declaring that any attempt to mix it with partisan politics is a gross innovation upon its principles. It did not meet in 1835, for when it adjourned in October, 1834, it was to meet in January, 1836. The Grand Lodge then met and adopted resolutions of the same character as those of former years, and an additional one providing that the Grand Master, Grand Secretary and Grand Treasurer, with such members of the Grand Lodge as saw fit to do so, should meet on the second Wednesday of the next January and adjourn the Grand Lodge for two years, and so on, meeting biennially.

Those three Grand Officers accordingly met in 1837, 1838, 1840, 1842 and 1844, and passed resolutions adjourning the Grand Lodge as contemplated in the resolution.

In the latter part of 1845, the excitement had subsided and Grand Master Haswell, who had never given up the idea of resuming Masonic work, took advice in relation to reviving the meetings of the Grand Lodge. The Grand Lodge of Michigan had recently been revived, but it was generally held that the proceedings were not regular, and he was more cautious on that account.

In this section of the country, by long usage, the rules of the civil law had become Masonic law in relation to many matters. An association does not cease to exist by merely ceasing to meet, but it continues to exist as long as it has a quorum of adhering members; officers hold over until their successors are chosen and qualified. The laws of the Grand Lodge did not prescribe the number necessary for a quorum, and as three make a Master Masons' Lodge, three made a quorum in the Grand Lodge; so that the Grand Lodge had met regularly according to technical law; but it was not necessary to rely upon this, for when the Grand Master, Officers and permanent members of the Grand Lodge met on the day fixed in its constitution, in January, 1846, it was as legal a

meeting of the Grand Lodge, even if it had not met since 1836, as if it had met regularly the year before. The same rule applied to Lodges whose charters had not been surrendered or revoked; in fact very many Lodges in the New England States met on their regular days, after they had been dormant ten or more years, and went on with their work just as if they had met on their last regular communication day.

In pursuance of an invitation from the Grand Master, forty-two Masons met on January 14, 1846, the day fixed by the constitution for the session of the Grand Lodge, and after consultation and consideration, finding that several of the Lodges had kept up their meetings and some of them had continued to work during the ten years since any had been represented in the Grand Lodge, and that the representatives of several were in attendance, they determined to open the Grand Lodge, declaring that, in their opinion, the Grand Lodge had, by the proceedings taken, maintained its proper organization.

The Grand Lodge was accordingly opened, ten Lodges being represented, and the Grand Master, Deputy, Grand Junior Warden, Grand Treasurer and Grand Secretary last elected, all being present. The Grand Master (Haswell) made an address reviewing the past and present situation; he said that but eight Lodges had surrendered their charters in accordance with the permission given by the Grand Lodge. Annual sessions were re-established; the forfeiture of charters was waived; but Lodges were required to surrender their charters unless they should be represented the following year. In 1847, *ten* Lodges were represented and were reported active, *ten* extinct, and *four* had forfeited their charters. Philip C. Tucker was elected Grand Master, and for several terms ably and vigorously administered the affairs of the Grand Lodge. The growth was slow. In 1848, thirteen Lodges were reported active, and thirteen as having surrendered their charters. The Grand Lodge gave the others further time, but in 1849 *forty-six* Lodges were formally declared to be extinct, ten others were given a year longer in which to reorganize, and the others, fifteen in all, were re-numbered. Others were revived very soon, so that the number of Lodges increased, at first rapidly, and then more slowly, until they have reached one hundred and one in number. The membership in 1854 was 1,156, and increased up to 1874, when it was 8,631; then it fell off till 1882, and then began to increase again, but very slowly, and has now reached 8,118.

Kentucky.

The history of the Grand Lodge of Kentucky down to about 1860, has been fully written by Dr. Rob Morris, whose recent death brings to mind the great extent and variety of his labors for the craft. Not only was he the Historian of his Grand Lodge, but he served it with ability and zeal in many official stations, including that of Grand Master, and upon the most important committees. He published Monitors and a work on Masonic Jurisprudence, but large as were his labors in this direction, his fame will last the longest as the Masonic "Poet Laureate" of his day; and his Masonic poems will be repeated and admired as long as the Institution shall endure.

From an early time up to 1792, Kentucky was a part of Virginia; as a consequence the Grand Lodge of Virginia exercised jurisdiction over it. It chartered in Kentucky, Lexington Lodge, November 17, 1788; Paris Lodge, November 25, 1791; Georgetown Lodge, November 29, 1796, which had received a dispensation January 9, 1796; and Hiram Lodge, December 11, 1799, whose dispensation was issued September 20, 1799. In

the latter part of 1779, or in 1800, the Grand Master issued a dispensation for Abraham's, afterwards Solomon's, Lodge, at Shelbyville.

Pursuant to a notice from Lexington Lodge, representatives from these five Lodges met at Lexington, September 8, 1800, in convention, and voted that it was "expedient, necessary and agreeable to the Masonic constitution that a Grand Lodge should be established in this State." The proceedings in organizing the Grand Lodge of Maryland were taken as a precedent. The formation of the Grand Lodge was assumed to be a *right*. The consent of the Grand Lodge of Virginia was not asked, but in accordance with the order of the convention, a communication was forwarded to that Grand Lodge, giving the reasons for the step about to be taken, and stating that it was not necessary to refer to precedents to authorize this measure, as they "must be familiar to the Grand Lodge of Virginia." The convention then issued a call for a second convention to meet October 16, 1800, for the purpose of forming a Grand Lodge.

Accordingly the Masters, Wardens and Past Masters of the five Lodges (including the one U. D.) met, organized by putting the oldest Past Master in the chair, and proceeded at once to the election of Grand Officers, who were immediately installed. Thus on October 16, 1800, the Grand Lodge of Kentucky took its place as the fourteenth American Grand Lodge.

The Ahiman Rezon of Virginia of 1792, and the subsequent regulations of that Grand Lodge, were adopted as the "rule of government" of the new Grand Lodge. The Lodges were required to surrender their warrants and take new charters, the Lodge U. D. being charged a double price; they were numbered according to their old numbers under the Grand Lodge of Virginia.

The Grand Lodge approved a circular, prepared by a committee appointed for the purpose, to be sent out to other Grand Lodges. No answer had been received to the very fraternal letter sent to the Grand Lodge of Virginia; none had been expected, for the time fixed for the organization of the Grand Lodge was two months in advance of any session of the Grand Lodge of Virginia at which an answer could be given. The circular affirmed that the Kentucky Masons were not influenced by any want of satisfaction with, or fraternal regard for, the mother Grand Lodge, but by the necessity incident to their situation. The reasons were set out in detail with great force, and their right to form a Grand Lodge was declared to be undoubted; but a regard for the opinions of their brethren induced the Grand Lodge to develop the circumstances which compelled, rather than induced, "this measure to be adopted as a matter of right and choice." At the Annual Communication in October, 1801, the reply of the Grand Lodge of Virginia was received; it was marked by the same fraternal spirit which characterized the communication from Kentucky. The Grand Lodge approved the course which had been taken, and of the respectful manner in which it had been advised of the proceedings; fraternal correspondence, and hearty coöperation in all efforts to promote the interests of the craft, were promised. The declaration that the proceedings of both Grand Lodges may well be taken for a model, in the formation of a new Grand Lodge, is worth repeating.

According to the Ahiman Rezon, *five* Lodges were necessary for a quorum. At the session in October, 1801, only *three* Lodges were represented the first day, but the Grand Lodge opened and adjourned till the next day, when but *four* Lodges were represented. It determined that "the good of the craft" required that it "should proceed to business" and *thereupon amended the law*, so that the representation of a majority of the Lodges

should constitute a quorum; but even this proved embarrassing, and afterwards the law was again changed so that the representation of three Lodges should be sufficient to authorize the Grand Lodge to proceed to business. It is believed that the word "quorum," and the idea which it expresses, are innovations in Masonry, and were borrowed from other institutions. The ritual teaches the composition of a Lodge. In the early times, the same rule was applied to a Grand Lodge; indeed the Grand Lodge was regarded, and generally spoken of, as "a Lodge." Several Grand Lodges still adhere to the old usage; but most of them have departed, in this respect, from the fundamental idea of a Grand Lodge.

This Grand Lodge was soon formally acknowledged by the other Grand Lodges, and began to extend its borders by chartering new Lodges; but the country was sparsely settled and its growth was at first slow. It met semi-annually till 1807 and afterwards annually. Up to the same date it transacted much of its business in "Committee of the Whole"; then it began to appoint standing committees which, by division of labor, saved time. From its organization, the Grand Master, as well as the Grand Secretary, has signed the minutes; this practice is founded upon the theory that the Grand Master is responsible for their correctness, and the Grand Secretary is only his assistant, to be appointed by him. In 1803, a Charity Fund was established, to which additions continued to be made annually. In 1804, "Chapter Past Masters" were admitted as members of the Grand Lodge on an equality with those who had been Masters of Lodges, and in the same year the practice of suspending for non-payment of dues was commenced. In 1802, the Grand Lodge conferred the degrees on a candidate "for the purpose of procuring his attendance as Grand Tyler." In 1808, the Grand Lodge published a Book of Constitutions; this marks an apparent change in the polity of the Grand Lodge. Before, it had used the Virginia Ahiman Rezon founded on Dermott's; this new work was based upon Webb's Monitor and Anderson's Constitution. The Webb-Preston work seems also to have been practically, if not formally, adopted. It also, acting upon the error already mentioned in relation to the meaning of the terms "Ancient" and "Modern," repudiated the United Grand Lodge in South Carolina and approved the course of the seceding Lodges. It at first declared the incorporation of Masonic Bodies to be contrary to Masonic polity, but afterwards reversed its decision and took a charter from the State.

From 1812, until the Anti-Masonic excitement commenced, the Grand Lodge grew rapidly. In 1810, there had been twenty Lodges chartered; in 1820, sixty; and in 1827, ninety. In 1826, fifty Lodges were represented in Grand Lodge, the largest number in its history up to that time, and not to be again reached till 1845, when fifty-four were represented. From 1826, the number gradually, but steadily, decreased till 1834, when but *thirteen* chartered Lodges were represented; in 1836, the number was only *eleven:* then the number began to increase, and in 1840, thirty-three were represented. Of the ninety-five Lodges chartered up to 1835, seventy-four (including those out of the State) disappeared from the roll before 1845, but at that time eighteen of them had been restored. After 1845, the number of Lodges increased very rapidly; in 1850, eighty were represented; in 1858, two hundred and twenty-nine, there being then three hundred on the roll, with a membership of over 10,000. Thirty years later, the number previously chartered was 640, the number on the roll about 500, and the total membership about 15,000.

But during this time the number of Lodges and of members had increased and in turn diminished; in 1872, the membership was over 20,000, and it diminished within twelve years from that time over *thirty* per cent. The same effect has followed the same cause in other instances, though not to so marked an extent.

The Grand Lodge of Kentucky has engaged in several educational and benevolent enterprises, but the most important one, and the one which has justly become the pride and glory of that Grand Lodge, is the founding and maintaining of a Masonic Widows' and Orphans' Home. For years after the plan was adopted, the Grand Lodge struggled for success against very many discouraging circumstances. The erection of the buildings made necessary a comparatively heavy tax upon the members. This at once produced increased delinquency in the payment of dues; many members, who were not willing, or did not feel able, to pay the tax year after year, demitted and many others were suspended. Many Lodges either surrendered or forfeited their charters. But enough remained to carry the plan through to success, and the result is one of the most important institutions in the country for the relief and assistance of widows and orphans. A tax of fifty cents on each member in the State is still collected annually for the maintenance of the "Home." While its history is of great interest in all respects, it shows that our membership is largely affected by the *rate of taxation*, and that what appears to be, and is, a light tax, will seriously diminish its number, and cause Lodges to become extinct. Whether these losses are an *actual* loss or not, is an inquiry not within the scope of this work.

Delaware.

Masonry, in organized form, was introduced into Delaware by the Grand Lodges of Pennsylvania and Maryland. The former chartered a Lodge at Cantwell's Bridge, June 24, 1765; it did not join in the formation of the Grand Lodge of Delaware, but gave in its adhesion to it in 1816, having till then remained under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. The same Grand Lodge chartered a Lodge at Christiana Ferry, afterwards Wilmington, December 27, 1769; also one at Dover, August 16, 1775. The warrant of this Lodge was produced in Grand Lodge in 1779 and confirmed; it was represented in the convention which organized the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania in 1786, and is said to have surrendered its old warrant and taken a new one in 1787; but on March 1, 1790, the Grand Master read a paragraph of a letter concerning it, and thereupon it was voted that a "former resolve of this Grand Lodge, concerning the renewal of warrants, be suspended in respect to that Lodge;" and as it does not appear to have been represented after 1786, and the record does not show what became of it, the better opinion seems to be that it did not take out a new warrant, and so failed to be put on the roll of the independent Grand Lodge, and soon after became extinct.

The Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania also chartered a Lodge at New Castle, April 3, 1780, and one at Duck Creek Cross Roads, June 24, 1785. The latter was represented in the convention in 1786, and apparently a few times immediately afterwards and then disappeared. It undoubtedly soon became extinct, probably not having taken out a new warrant; also one at Lewistown, May 28, 1794, but its charter was vacated April 7, 1806, for delinquency: also Delaware Hiram Lodge at Newark, December 6, 1802.

The Grand Lodge of Maryland chartered St. John's Lodge in Sussex County, September 18, 1792; its charter was forfeited for delinquency, and on June 13, 1800, the

Grand Lodge refused to revive it; but apparently, instead of reviving it, on the same day chartered Hope Lodge at the same place.

On June 6, 1806, a convention was held for the formation of a Grand Lodge. There were then five Lodges in the State—the ones at Cantwell's Bridge, Wilmington, New Castle and Newark, chartered by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, and the one in Sussex County, chartered by the Grand Lodge of Maryland; the first three had taken part in the organization of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. Four of these (all except the one at Cantwell's Bridge) were represented in the convention. A resolution was unanimously adopted that the members considered it "a matter of right and for the general benefit of Masonry" that a Grand Lodge should be formed in that State, and that they "now do proceed to form and organize themselves into a Grand Lodge." A committee of five was appointed to prepare a set of regulations, and the convention adjourned to meet the next morning.

They met according to adjournment on June 7, 1806, appointed Grand Officers *pro tem.*, and opened the Grand Lodge of Delaware. The proceedings of the previous day were "read, approved, confirmed and ratified." The committee reported a set of regulations, which were read, amended and unanimously adopted. It was voted that warrants issue under the authority of the Grand Lodge, as of that date, numbered according to the dates of their old warrants. Grand Officers were then chosen, and the Deputy Grand Master, Grand Treasurer, Grand Secretary and Grand Marshall installed. A committee of five Past Masters was appointed to install the absent officers of the Grand Lodge, when convenient, any three of them being empowered to act. The Grand Lodge then closed to meet on the third Monday of January following.

The Grand Lodge communicated its proceedings to the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, and the Lodge at Wilmington made a special communication on its own account. That body referred them to a committee, which made a report on both communications at a subsequent meeting. The committee say that Wilmington Lodge had undertaken to make a return, but that there was much more due the Grand Lodge than was returned, and that the Lodge had offered to pay only about one-third of what they had returned as due for a full discharge, and that its representative had stated that the amount he had offered was all he was authorized to offer, and that the Lodge considered itself independent of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, as it had taken a warrant from the Grand Lodge of Delaware; the committee further reported that, according to ancient usage, the Lodge should have informed the Grand Lodge of its intention and have settled its dues, an indispensable prerequisite to enable it to obtain a charter from any regular Grand Lodge.

It was, thereupon, resolved that the papers had not been presented with the respect due from a Lodge to the Grand Lodge, that the amount offered for dues could not be accepted, and that the warrant of the Lodge, for the reasons mentioned, be cancelled.

The committee also give a history of the formation of the Grand Lodge and take several exceptions to the proceedings. They object to the opening of the Grand Lodge before the officers were installed; but if it was not a Grand Lodge, it was the convention in regular session and the proceedings were proper, and *when the Grand Officers were installed* it became a Grand Lodge. The appointment of Past Masters to install the absent officers is sustained by quite universal usage at the present day. They declare the form of the officers' obligation to be an irregularity; they do not state wherein, and as it is

almost identical with the clause of that obligation as now used, it is not perceived wherein it was irregular. But the objection, considered conclusive against the regularity of the Grand Lodge, was that only four Lodges participated in the proceedings, five being deemed "indispensably necessary." Such is not the law now, and was not then. The Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania had then recognized, as regular, more than one Grand Lodge formed by not exceeding *three* Lodges. The point that the Lodges should have settled their dues before withdrawing was well taken, so far as *duty* was concerned; but that did not affect the *legality* of the proceedings. The Grand Lodge declined to recognize the new Grand Lodge, and declared that the warrants of the three Lodges had been superseded by their joining in the establishment of the pretended Grand Lodge of Delaware, "and that the same be vacated."

The Grand Lodge of Maryland also declared the Grand Lodge of Delaware to be an illegal Body, and summoned Hope Lodge to appear at its next session and show cause why the charter should not be annulled, and the members suspended. At the next session a communication was received from the Grand Lodge of Delaware, but the Grand Lodge declared that it saw no reason to recede from its former resolution; and in 1808 it passed a vote annulling the charter of Hope Lodge.

The matter was brought before the Grand Lodge of Virginia, which held that the Lodges *had the right* to form a separate Grand Lodge, but it was their bounden duty to pay up all the arrearages due to the Grand Lodge from which they are about to separate, ask its permission to withdraw and to crave its assistance. The legality of the proceedings was really admitted, but the Grand Lodge declined to fraternize with the new Grand Lodge "till they be reconciled to their mother Lodge."

In 1806, two members of one of the Delaware Lodges petitioned the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, referring to the vacating of the charter and asking for a Grand Lodge certificate; and the Grand Lodge directed a special certificate to be issued.

But neither these decisions, nor the course pursued by the mother Grand Lodges, caused the new Grand Lodge to reverse or revise its action; it maintained its organization and held its regular communications. In due time it was recognized by other Grand Lodges, by some tacitly and by others formally. In 1816, the Lodge at Cantwell's Bridge gave in its adhesion and was numbered five. At that time there were five other Lodges. In 1818, the number had increased to nine Lodges.

The Anti-Masonic excitement affected it somewhat, but the Grand Lodge held its communications regularly and published its proceedings annually during the years when that excitement was at its highest pitch.

In 1860, its Lodges numbered up to *nineteen*, but *seven* had disappeared from the roll. In 1887, it had twenty-one Lodges, with 1553 members.

Ohio.

After the close of the Revolutionary War, the Master and quite a number of the members of American Union Lodge settled at or near Marietta, Ohio. They had with them the charter of the Lodge, which had been closed "to stand closed until the W. Master should call them together." In 1790, or early in 1791, the Master reorganized the Lodge and sent out communications to the Grand Lodges, with a copy of its charter and by-laws, announcing its proceedings and requesting recognition. It seemed to assume that it was

a Lodge at large and not under the jurisdiction of any Grand Lodge, and in fact to claim that it was "invested with every power necessary to constitute, rule and govern" Masonry in the Territories. It was recognized by the Grand Lodges of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New York and perhaps others, but only as a constituent of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts. It continued to work for several years until its charter was destroyed by fire. Then it sought a revival of it from the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, which declined to do more than grant a charter to it as a constituent of its own. Then it applied to the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, which authorized it to resume work under a copy of the original charter, but, it is said, with an express provision that the charter should be in force only until a Grand Lodge should be formed in the territory in which it was located. Whether this provision was in the charter or not is immaterial, because such was the express law of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, under which its charters were granted; and also this authority was granted only upon the assumption that the Lodge was a subordinate of that Grand Lodge. When the convention to form the Grand Lodge of Ohio was held, this Lodge by its representatives took an active part in all the preliminary proceedings. One of its representatives presided, and they all signed the proceedings of the Convention, which voted to form a Grand Lodge, and elected Grand Officers; but when the inchoate Grand Lodge met to complete its organization, this Lodge was not represented. It was understood then that the reason was that the town had been inundated, and the incident distress and confusion prevented the attendance of the representatives. Railroads and telegraphs did not then afford facilities for immediately ascertaining the facts, and the Grand Lodge proceeded upon the assumption that the representatives were unable to attend. But the Lodge continued to stand aloof. The Grand Lodge, by formal vote, sent copies of its proceedings to it, but no notice of them was taken, although it kept on working. The Grand Master, at the request of the Grand Lodge, addressed a letter to the Lodge, again inviting it to join the Grand Lodge. Correspondence ensued in which it claimed that, as it was a duly chartered Lodge in existence when the Grand Lodge was formed, it had a right to continue to work under its old charter and its old allegiance, and not become subordinate to the Grand Lodge of Ohio. It is scarcely necessary to add that in this position it did not have the support, aid or encouragement of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts. In Grand Lodge the correspondence was referred to a committee, which reported, reciting the facts and referring to the amicable means used to convince the Lodge of its duty, and the hope entertained that it would come under the authority of the Grand Lodge, until that hope could no longer be cherished, as the Lodge had a little time before formally rejected the Grand Master's invitation and declared its independence. In consequence, the committee reported resolutions declaring that the Lodge had forfeited its privileges and become an unauthorized Lodge, and forbidding all Masonic intercourse with it, and declaring its work in the future clandestine, but allowing it to meet once to consider the resolutions, and also providing that when it should surrender its old warrant, the Grand Master was empowered to issue a dispensation authorizing it to continue its labors until the next Grand Communication; the resolutions were unanimously adopted. At the next session (1816) a petition was received from some of the former members of American Union Lodge for a charter. It was referred to a committee, which found it necessary to consider the rights of those who were claiming to continue work under the old charter. The conclusion was that the charter contained a limitation of its duration to the time when a Grand Lodge

should be established in the State; that the Lodge was bound by the part it had taken in the formation of the Grand Lodge; and further the committee say,

"But if the charter had contained no express limitation it appears to your committee to be a just inference from the nature of the authority, and the boundaries of the various Masonic jurisdictions, as they are settled and established in the United States, that the operation and effect of the instrument would cease on the formation of a Grand Lodge in the State."

The Lodge participated in the preliminary proceedings, but withdrew before the Grand Lodge had been organized, so that technically it did not give in its adhesion to the Grand Lodge. But the doctrine of the Committee, that upon the formation of a Grand Lodge in a State, every Lodge therein passes at once under its authority, is that which had already been announced by the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts and approved by the other Grand Lodges.

By unanimous vote of the Grand Lodge, a charter for American Union Lodge, No. 1, was granted to the petitioners, containing such a reference to the old charter as to show that it was a revival of the old Lodge and entitled to the books, funds and other property which belonged to that Lodge. The Lodge was authorized to reinstate the members who had continued to work in spite of the prohibition at the previous session, provided they would give satisfactory assurances of obedience to the rules and regulations of the Grand Lodge. It does not appear how many of the members availed themselves of this privilege; but some did not, as in 1817 a Lodge was censured for admitting some of them as visitors, and it was stated in Grand Lodge, that some of them had continued to work as a Lodge in spite of the prohibition of the Grand Lodge; whereupon it was voted that a notice be prepared and published warning the craft against them, and all Lodges were ordered to make specific inquiry of every visitor if he had been connected with that spurious Lodge since February 1, 1816, and, if he had been, to reject him as an impostor. In 1820, the Grand Lodge ordered the Lodge to demand of these parties the books, funds and properties of the old Lodge. In 1821, the Lodge made some report to the Grand Lodge in relation to the recusants, and it decided that the Lodge had the authority to discipline them; this seems to have been the last of the old Lodge, as no further complaint or action in relation to it is found in the Grand Lodge record. The new Lodge became dormant early in 1829, in the Anti-Masonic excitement, but was revived October 20, 1843, by vote of the Grand Lodge.

The history of this Lodge is important on account of the contest which it made against the doctrine of complete and exclusive jurisdiction of a Grand Lodge in its territory. It also illustrates the two ideas or theories of a charter of a Lodge. In Massachusetts, the idea of a charter was that it creates a Lodge with the inherent power of sustaining itself and capable of government by any Grand Lodge in whose jurisdiction it may be located, without change of the charter; thus in Maine the old Lodges are still working under the charters granted to them by the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts. The other idea of a charter was that, while it creates the Lodge, it is the necessary connecting link between the Lodge and the Grand Lodge *which grants it*, and that a Grand Lodge can govern only such Lodges *as hold charters from it*. The logical result of the latter doctrine is, that with the dissolution of a Grand Lodge all the charters issued by it become void; while under the former, the Lodges would continue to exist, and, if three or more in number, might organize a new Grand Lodge.

On June 4, 1798, the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania received a petition for the charter of a Lodge at Charlestown, Virginia. Of course it declined to grant it at that time, but directed the Grand Secretary to write, in relation to it, to the Grand Lodge of Virginia. That Grand Lodge declined to give its consent; thereupon the petitioners requested that the charter be granted for a Lodge in Mingo Town, in the Northwestern Territory, now Ohio, and the petition was granted, and a charter issued, dated March 4, 1799. But under a rule, then supposed to exist, that a Lodge might meet within five miles of the place in which it was located, it actually met for about two years in Charlestown; after that a dissension arose, many of the members demitted and the Lodge became so demoralized that it ceased to meet, and on April 7, 1806, its charter was vacated by vote of the Grand Lodge. Afterwards five members and nine other Masons petitioned to have the charter restored and the Lodge located at Steubenville, Ohio, which was represented to be only three miles from Old Mingo Town; the petition was referred to a committee, which seems to have failed to report and the charter was not restored. Thus, while this Lodge was located in Ohio by its charter, it never worked in that jurisdiction.

On September 8, 1791, the Grand Lodge of New Jersey chartered a Lodge in Hamilton County, "in the Territory northwest of the river Ohio," by the name of Nova Cesarea Lodge. For some unexplained reason, the charter was not received till December, 1794, and then the Master had moved away and the Senior Warden declined to act; thereupon the members chose new officers, who were installed by a Past Master. These proceedings were communicated under date of March 15, 1795, to the Grand Lodge, which, on July 1, 1795, confirmed them. Nothing further was heard from the Lodge till 1801, when a letter dated December 8, was received, excusing the non-payment of Grand Lodge dues. On December 10, 1805, the Grand Lodge received the charter with a letter from the late Master stating that the Lodge was dissolved, and the charter surrendered; the Grand Lodge accepted the charter and ordered it deposited in the archives. At the session, November 19, 1807, a petition dated a year before was received by the Grand Lodge asking for a restoration of the charter, which was refused. On May 9, 1810, a petition was made by twenty old members of the Lodge for the restoration of the charter, alleging, among other things, that the surrender of the charter was illegal, no previous notice of the proposition to surrender it having been given. The Grand Lodge found that the surrender was illegally made, but as a Grand Lodge had been formed in Ohio, it could not restore the charter, and could only commend the petitioners to the favorable consideration of that Grand Lodge for redress.

The Grand Lodge of Connecticut, October 19, 1803, granted charters for Erie Lodge at Warren, in Trumbull County, and New England Lodge at Worthington, Ohio, both to be in force for "one year after the formation of a Grand Lodge in the State of Ohio." The Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania chartered, June 24, 1805, Lodge of Amity at Zanesville, Ohio, with Lewis Cass as Master. This Lodge surrendered its charter to the Grand Lodge of Ohio, when organized, but in 1810 the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania requested the Lodge to surrender it; the Grand Lodge of Ohio directed the Grand Secretary to write to the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania in relation to it, but the result was that the charter was returned, December 29, 1813. The Grand Lodge of Massachusetts chartered Scioto Lodge, at Chillicothe, in 1805. The Grand Lodge of Kentucky chartered Cincinnati Lodge, at Cincinnati, March 19, 1806. In a petition to the Grand Lodge of New Jersey, it was alleged that the charter members of this Lodge were the same persons who

illegally surrendered the charter of Nova Cesarea Lodge, and that the new Lodge had obtained and were holding the properties of the old Lodge. Doubt has been expressed whether the old Lodge was not really in existence at the time of the formation of the Grand Lodge of Ohio, but at that time the charter had been actually surrendered and the surrender accepted by the Grand Lodge, and the existence of the Lodge thus terminated.

Pursuant to previous notice, representatives from American Union, Erie, New England, Scioto, Cincinnati, and Amity Lodges, being all the Lodges in the State, met at Chillicothe, January 4, 1808. Upon examining the credentials, those of the representatives of New England Lodge were rejected, and that Lodge was not allowed representation in the convention. After debate, on motion of Lewis Cass, it was unanimously voted "That it is expedient to form a Grand Lodge." A few regulations were adopted. The Lodges were directed to settle their dues with their respective Grand Lodges, and at the first session of the Grand Lodge (fixed for January 2, 1809) they should produce their charters, by-laws, and receipts for Grand Lodge dues; the charters were to be surrendered to the Grand Lodge, to be disposed of as it might direct, and new ones issued in their stead. Grand Officers were elected, and a record of the proceedings made and signed by the representatives of the five Lodges, including American Union Lodge. The convention held four sessions, on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Saturday evenings; in the reprint of the Proceedings the dates are erroneously given.

On the date fixed the Grand Lodge met; the Grand Master being absent on account of ill-health, the Deputy opened the Grand Lodge and presided. But only four Lodges were represented. New England Lodge had been excluded from the Convention and did not appear in the Grand Lodge; American Union Lodge was not represented, as then conjectured for accidental reasons, but probably by design and for some reason never explained. The representatives from the four Lodges produced their credentials, their Charters and By-laws; the Senior Warden elect of American Union Lodge was present but without credentials; a committee was appointed to determine what steps it was necessary to take and the Grand Lodge adjourned until the next day.

At the adjourned session, the committee reported the facts, and stated that it was doubted whether only four Lodges could form a Grand Lodge, and suggested that if that question should be decided in the negative, the Senior Warden elect of American Union Lodge should be admitted to represent that Lodge. The report was laid on the table. On motion of Lewis Cass, resolutions were adopted for the appointment of a committee to examine whether the Grand Lodge could transact the necessary business with representation from four Lodges only, and report their opinion to the Grand Lodge with their reasons; and if they should be of opinion that the Grand Lodge could not proceed, to inquire into what measures could be adopted by the Grand Lodge "in the novel and difficult situation in which it is placed."

The next day, Cass, as Chairman of the Committee, reported a Circular Letter to be sent out to the Grand Lodges, and that it was "expedient to proceed to the installation of this Grand Lodge." The committee reported that according to the precedents and laws of the Institution "the rule, requiring a representation of five Lodges to be present at the establishment of a Grand Lodge, is a municipal regulation adopted for its propriety, and not a fundamental principle of our Order." It stated further that the ancient regulations were that "a Grand Lodge should be composed of its officers, and

the officers and representatives of the subordinate Lodges, without requiring any particular number;" and that the modern regulations (those adopted by the "Ancients") "require that a representation from five Lodges should be present." The report was agreed to; the credentials of the representatives of the four Lodges declared satisfactory and their representatives took their seats. A committee was appointed to prepare a constitution and the Grand Lodge adjourned till the evening of the next day.

The committee, the next evening, reported recommending the temporary adoption of the constitution of the Grand Lodge of Kentucky, and the report was adopted. The "Lodge in the third degree of Masonry was then closed and a Past Master Masons' Lodge was opened;" the Deputy Grand Master elect was introduced and installed; and a Master Masons' Lodge opened, and the subordinate officers installed by the Deputy Grand Master.

Thus, on January 5, 1809, the Grand Lodge of Ohio was organized. The Grand Master-elect declined serving on account of old age and failing health. Under the constitution which had been adopted an election of Grand Officers was necessary. Accordingly they were elected and installed; Lewis Cass was elected Deputy Grand Master, and William Skinner, Senior Warden-elect of American Union Lodge, was elected Senior Grand Warden; the latter, being a Royal Arch Mason, was recognized as a Past Master. A code of By-Laws was adopted. The work of each degree was exemplified, "considered and agreed to." At the next Annual Communication, New England Lodge was represented, and its representatives admitted with the others; there is no intimation of any change in its situation or condition since it had been excluded from the convention. Lewis Cass was elected Grand Master (1810) and served three years. New Lodges were chartered in quick succession and the institution grew rapidly. The Grand Lodge, at a special session in 1810, recommended that the Lodge confer the Past Master's degree only on actual Masters of Lodges, and refrain from conferring "any of the higher degrees of Masonry" until the Grand Lodge should "determine on the propriety of such a procedure."

In 1812, the matter of Nova Cesarea Lodge was presented to the Grand Lodge. Cincinnati Lodge was directed to withdraw its old charter from the custody of the Grand Lodge of Ohio, and return it with its dues to the Grand Lodge of Kentucky, and then inform the Grand Lodge of New Jersey of this action and request the return of the original charter, promising to pay all dues. And it was further voted that the name of the Lodge should be Nova Cesarea, and it should be entitled to a new charter upon complying with these directions, and not otherwise. In 1813, it was decided substantially that the two Lodges should be consolidated and receive a new charter under the name of Nova Cesarea Harmony Lodge No. 2, and it appearing that both Lodges had paid up their dues and returned their charters to the Grand Lodges which had granted them, and that the members of both were desirous of uniting in one Lodge, it was voted that a charter be issued accordingly.

In 1813, resolutions of grief for the loss, and affection for the memory, of Benoni Pierce, "who died nobly while fighting bravely the battles of his country," were adopted and fifty dollars were sent to his widow with a letter of condolence.

There was considerable delay in issuing the new charters, and for some time both the old and new Lodges worked under dispensation, but were all allowed representation in the Grand Lodge. In 1815, it was unanimously voted that the Grand Lodge has "the

Masonic right of replacing an expelled brother in his former standing as a member of our Fraternity." Two separate attempts, one in 1814 and one in 1815, were made to adopt the law of territorial jurisdiction for subordinate Lodges, but they were both defeated by an almost unanimous vote.

When the Grand Lodge was organized, it changed the rule requiring the presence of the representatives of *five* Lodges to make a quorum, and provided that the representatives of a *majority* of the Lodges should be required. In 1817, before it had concluded its business, the Grand Lodge found itself without a quorum; the Grand Master, however, installed the Grand Officers and then closed the Grand Lodge. At the next session the original provision was restored, except that "fifteen" was substituted for "five;" this rule in its turn came near preventing a session of the Grand Lodge in Anti-Masonic times, for at one session less than fifteen Lodges were represented.

In 1823, the distinction between suspension from Masonic rights and deprivation of membership was recognized by the Grand Lodge by ordering the entry on the record that the return of the suspension of certain brethren "originated in mistake; that they are still *in good standing as Masons*, having only forfeited their membership in said Lodge." In 1830, the system of paying mileage and *per diem* to representatives was adopted. In 1839, Grand Master William J. Reese introduced the custom of making an official report; it was brief that year, but in 1840 he delivered an elaborate address. The Grand Lodge endorsed his action by adopting a resolution making it the duty of the Grand Master to make an official report annually immediately after the appointment of the committees.

While but few references are made to the Anti-Masonic excitement, its effect is plainly to be traced in the record. The representation began to fall off, and went down in 1837 to *thirteen* Lodges, when there were over *one hundred* on the roll. In 1831, twenty-five Lodges were reported delinquent in representation and returns. In 1834, Scioto Lodge was revived, the Grand Lodge declaring that its course in suspending work was excusable, "inasmuch as that course was considered the best to allay the excitement then existing against Masonry." In 1837, a "Grand Visitant" was appointed to visit the dormant Lodges; he was able to visit but a few; part of these he reorganized, and of others he took the charters. In 1838, Lodges began to resume quite rapidly; but still in 1842, after many had been revived, *forty-six* Lodges within the State were reported as "having ceased to exist, without any known hopes of resuscitation." After 1842, the Lodges increased rapidly in number by the reorganization of dormant ones and the creation of new ones.

In 1850, there were 171 Lodges (including those Under Dispensation), with a membership of 6,148. In 1860, 295 Lodges, with a membership of 14,000. In 1870, over 400 Lodges, with a membership of over 24,000. And in 1887, 488 Lodges, with a membership of 33,856.

This Grand Lodge, if not the first to reprint its early Proceedings, was preceded by the Grand Lodge of California by only a few weeks; in both States the work was in progress at the same time.

The Proceedings contain decisions in relation to Masonic law, polity and usage too numerous to be detailed in a general history of this character. In recent years this Grand Lodge has promulgated the doctrine that it has the rightful power to determine *for the members of its obedience* what Masonry is, and to prohibit them from practising *as*

Masonry any system or ceremonies which it has not recognized. It has enumerated the bodies which it had previously recognized as Masonic, and has declined to extend recognition to any others. And it has forbidden the members of its obedience to become members of any bodies *claiming to be Masonic and to perform Masonic rites*, other than those which it has recognized. In this respect, it has taken the same position as the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts.

District of Columbia.

It should be remembered, in reading the history of this Grand Lodge, that the District of Columbia in 1789 was composed of territory, a part of which was ceded by Maryland and a part by Virginia; and that, in 1846, the Virginia portion (lying southwesterly of the Potomac River) was retroceded, and again became a part of the State of Virginia.

When the District was originally formed, one Lodge was in existence in Alexandria. It was originally chartered by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, January 3, 1783. After the formation of the Grand Lodge of Virginia it surrendered its Pennsylvania warrant and received a charter from the Grand Lodge of Virginia, April 28, 1788. In 1789 it asked the latter Grand Lodge to return its old charter, but it was decided that it was "improper to comply" with the request. December 12, 1804, in response to a petition to change its name to Alexandria Washington Lodge, the Grand Lodge voted that, upon the deposit of its charter in the archives of the Grand Lodge, a new charter should be issued by the new name, without fee; but at the next session (1805) the Lodge petitioned for a change of name without change of charter, as in the one which they held, *George Washington was named as Master;* the Grand Lodge complied, directing that an authenticated copy of the resolution changing the name be attached to the charter. This Lodge did not take part in the formation of the Grand Lodge of the District of Columbia.

The Grand Lodge of Maryland chartered a Lodge at Georgetown, April 21, 1789. Many of its members moved to Port Tobacco; and the Lodge gave them a dispensation to open a branch Lodge, which, however, was soon superseded by a charter, and the old Lodge ceased meeting about May, 1794.

This Grand Lodge also chartered Columbia Lodge at Georgetown, October 22, 1795; it soon became extinct, and as the record from November 7, 1795, to December 12, 1796, still exists, that period may well be presumed to cover the existence of the Lodge.

It also chartered Federal Lodge at Washington, September 12, 1793; Columbia Lodge at Washington, November 8, 1802; Washington Naval Lodge at Washington, May 14, 1805; and Potomac Lodge at Georgetown, November 10, 1806.

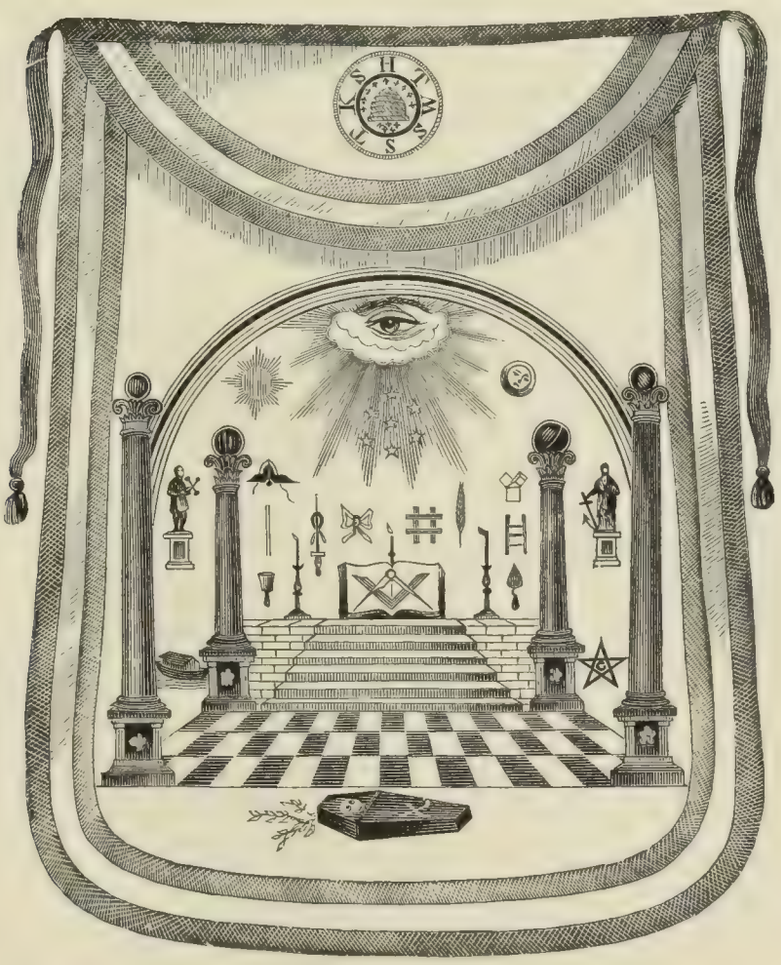
The Grand Lodge of Virginia chartered Brooke Lodge (afterwards called Alexandria Brooke Lodge) at Alexandria, November 29, 1796, and the charter was issued, December 1, 1796.

The Representatives of five Lodges (all in the District, except Alexandria Washington Lodge) met in Convention, December 11, 1810; they voted that it was right and expedient to form a Grand Lodge for the District of Columbia, and issued a call for a convention to meet January 8, 1811, for that purpose. The convention met, the same five Lodges being represented; it voted to form a Grand Lodge, elected Grand Officers, and appointed a committee to draft a constitution; it met again the next day and



Medallion of Brothers Washington and Lafayette.

FROM THE ORIGINAL BY THE MARCHIONESS DE BRIENNE, 1788.



Brother George Washington's Masonic Apron.

WROUGHT BY, AND PRESENTED TO HIM BY THE MARCHIONESS LAFAYETTE IN 1784.

adjourned to February 19, 1811, when the Grand Lodge was organized by the installation of the Grand Master and the other Grand Officers.

Notice was given to Alexandria Washington Lodge and a circular sent out to the other Grand Lodges, affirming the right and expediency of forming the Grand Lodge. Alexandria Lodge replied that it was not willing to leave the Grand Lodge of Virginia. On May 6, 1811, the proceedings were laid before the Grand Lodge of Maryland, which voted that the Lodges be permitted to retain their warrants, and upon paying their Grand Lodge dues the Grand Lodge should be recognized and "admitted into correspondence accordingly." The Grand Lodge of Virginia decided that "the Lodges in the District of Columbia which have formed themselves into a Grand Lodge, have exercised none other than an indubitable right, which the usages of Masonry have sanctioned from time immemorial," and voted to recognize the Grand Lodge and invite fraternal correspondence with it; but it also voted that the request of Brooke Lodge, "to retain the charter granted by this Grand Lodge for its original establishment, notwithstanding its separation from our jurisdiction, is unreasonable and cannot be granted." This was in accordance with the theory of a charter held by the Grand Lodge of Virginia, probably derived from Dermott through his Ahiman Rezon. Other Grand Lodges recognized the new Grand Lodge immediately: but the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania seems to have failed to receive the circular issued, for in 1815 it notified the Grand Lodge that it could not correspond with a Grand Lodge until it received official evidence of its regular organization.

Alexandria Washington Lodge remained, apparently by common consent, under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Virginia.

The Grand Lodge, from its organization, went on prosperously in discharging its functions. The small extent of its territory enabled it to hold frequent meetings, which were often attended by distinguished Masons from all over the country. In the first ten years of its existence it chartered two additional Lodges, and by 1825 it had added two more.

On September 18, 1793, the corner-stone of the Capitol was laid with Masonic ceremonies by President Washington. None of the Lodges which organized the Grand Lodge of the District of Columbia had then been constituted. The Grand Lodge, in the early years of its existence, was frequently called upon to lay the corner-stone of churches and other public edifices. It laid the corner stone of the New Capitol, July 4, 1851, and one of the most recent of its public acts was the dedication of the Washington Monument.

From 1820 to 1823 it gave much attention to the project of forming a National Grand Lodge. Its circulars were distinguished for the power of the arguments adduced in favor of the plan, and the ability with which the objections to it were combatted, but its efforts were of no avail; the Grand Lodges have never been willing to submit their affairs to the control of the entire craft of the country, as it would be exercised through such an organization.

The anti-Masonic excitement reached this jurisdiction, and caused a falling off of its Lodges and its membership. At first the effect was not very perceptible, but in 1829 it had become marked. The Grand Lodge had published its Proceedings up to that year, but from 1829 to 1844 none were published.

When, in 1846, the territory southwesterly of the Potomac was retroceded to Virginia, both Grand Lodges assumed, as a matter of course, that that territory at once returned

under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Virginia. So firmly had the doctrine that Masonic jurisdiction is bounded by State lines become settled, that when the civil government ceded a part of the territory over which the Grand Lodges respectively had jurisdiction, both of them held that their own Lodges in the ceded territory had the "indubitable right" to form a Grand Lodge for themselves. If the Grand Lodge of the District of Columbia had objected to the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Virginia over Alexandria Lodge, the latter Grand Lodge would undoubtedly have ceased to exercise it; as it was, the former Grand Lodge maintained one Lodge and chartered another in the Virginia part of the District, but allowed Alexandria Lodge to remain under its former allegiance. After 1846 the Grand Lodge of the District of Columbia exercised no authority in the retroceded territory, but the Grand Lodge of Virginia resumed jurisdiction.

About the same time (1846) the Institution had substantially recovered from the effect of political anti-Masonry and had begun to prosper in this jurisdiction. It has gone on growing steadily, and now the Grand Lodge has twenty-one subordinate Lodges with a membership of 3,200.

Louisiana.

This jurisdiction is fortunate in having its early history written with the greatest care and accuracy by the late James B. Scot, who had access to original records and documents. Its history is complicated and of a unique character. Its Masonry came from different sources and was far from homogeneous; the differences in the work, polity, laws and usages of the Lodges hailing under the different authorities caused dissensions and schisms that were not fully composed and healed until the middle of the present century.

On April 28, 1793, Laurent Sigur, a French Refugee residing at New Orleans, called together twelve other Masons, among them five E. Apprentices, nearly all refugees from San Domingo. After examination and inquiry into the *status* of those present, it was agreed to petition the Grand Lodge of South Carolina for a charter; the names of five others were added to the petition, making eighteen in all, not more than four, and probably not more than two, being of English descent. Sigur held a patent of the grade of Rose Croix from a Lodge in Nancy, France, and acting upon his supposed authority by virtue of this patent, without waiting for the charter from South Carolina, he organized the Lodge, under the name Parfaite Union, May 19, 1793. It elected officers and received petitions from two candidates, who were initiated at the next meeting, held on the 9th of June. It continued to work as a Lodge until the charter arrived; the Lodge was constituted, March 30, 1794. Its records and archives were destroyed on the 8th of December following. Its new record commenced January 6, 1795, when, with commendable prudence, a committee was appointed to ascertain and report upon the work and proceedings of the Lodge from its origin. The report was made, extended upon the record and signed by all the members present; so that, as the records since have been preserved, we have a substantially full record of all the proceedings of this Lodge.

In 1794, several Brethren of the French Rite determined to apply to the Grand Orient of France for a charter; but that body having suspended its labors on account of the political troubles in France, application was made to the Provincial Grand Lodge at Marseilles, which granted a provisional charter under which the Lodge was constituted

December 27, 1798, by the name of Polar Star Lodge. In 1803 the Grand Orient resumed labor and granted a charter to this Lodge, under which it was reconstituted November 11, 1804.

Several members of Candor Lodge at Charleston, South Carolina, had, in 1800, removed to New Orleans, and the Lodge had become extinct. They applied to the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania for a charter, and one was granted, May 8, 1801, to Candor Lodge. It is probable that the Lodge was not organized, as its charter was surrendered March 1, 1802.

On the same day (March 1, 1802) the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania granted a charter for Charity Lodge, apparently to the petitioners for Candor Lodge and others, but for some reason there was a delay in the constitution of the Lodge till May 13, 1804.

Down to about 1803 the work of Masonry was pursued under difficulties. Louisiana was under the rule of Spain, and its laws, both civil and ecclesiastical, prohibited the meetings of the craft, so that the members of Perfect Union Lodge were compelled to surrender the rooms in which they met, and meet in secrecy at the houses of the members, and finally to suspend meeting. However, after two months they got the permission of the Governor, and thereafter met regularly without apparent interruption, although evidently the time and place of their meetings were concealed from all except the craft. Spain ceded Louisiana to France, October 1, 1800, but still remained in possession while the negotiations were pending which resulted in the purchase of Louisiana by the United States, and France gained possession only in season to make the transfer to the United States, which took place December 20, 1803. While Masonry had no longer cause to fear hostile laws, the transfer of Louisiana to the United States, and the management of the officials immediately afterwards, created an antagonism between the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin races that permeated society in all its relations, and seriously affected the condition and growth of Masonry in the State.

After the French reconquered San Domingo in 1802, many of the refugees at New Orleans returned to their old homes; but their stay was short. The revolution was again successful, and before the close of 1803 the whites had again been expelled from the Island; many, who had before fled to New Orleans, returned, others coming with them. There had been at Port au Prince in San Domingo a Lodge, "La Réunion Désirée," established by the Grand Orient of France in 1783. Its members were among those who had fled when the insurrection broke out, had returned when it was partially suppressed, had fled again in 1803, and had come to New Orleans. February 15, 1806, they held a meeting and a Lodge was opened by the old officers. They concluded to resume their labors in New Orleans, until they could return to their old homes, and to that end to request the Grand Orient to grant them a charter and legalize their work until it should be received. Their request was granted, February 17, 1806, but the charter was not received till July 20, 1807. The Lodge worked the French or Modern Rite until November 27, 1808, when it became dormant, and was never resuscitated. But some of its members had petitioned the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania and received from it a charter, granted September 15, 1808, for a Lodge under the same name. It was formally dissolved March 23, 1812, and notice given to the other New Orleans Lodges.

But Louisiana was not left entirely to foreign immigrants; enterprising people from the North settled there. Among them were Masons who obtained from the Grand Lodge of New York, September 2, 1807, a charter for Louisiana Lodge, No. 1, with the cele-

brated Edward Livingston as its first Master. This was the first Lodge in New Orleans that worked in the English language. It was represented in the first convention, called in 1812 to consider the expediency of forming a Grand Lodge; but at a meeting called soon afterwards to consider the matter, it voted that it was "inexpedient at present to join in such a measure." Its records have not been preserved, and it is not mentioned in the printed record of the Grand Lodge of New York after it was chartered, except in lists of Lodges chartered by that Grand Lodge, so that its history cannot be traced; but Scot says it became extinct in 1815.

Many of the French, whom the revolution finally drove from San Domingo, settled in Cuba. When Napoleon invaded Spain and placed his brother on the throne, an order was issued by the Spanish officials in Cuba, expelling the French and confiscating their property, and was rigorously executed. The exiles selected New Orleans as their new home, and arrived there in such numbers as embarrassed the residents in supplying their wants. Among these refugees were members of Concord Lodge, chartered in San Domingo, May 4, 1801, by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania; its charter and records were destroyed during the insurrection, and on arriving in Cuba, the members obtained a charter from the Pennsylvania Provincial Grand Lodge of St. Domingo, under which they resumed labor at Santiago, August 6, 1805, and continued it till December 27, 1807. Another Lodge (Réunion des Cœurs) had been constituted by the Grand Orient of France, October 2, 1788; this Lodge was also reorganized at Santiago, November 18, 1805, and worked till May 22, 1808. Arriving at New Orleans, the officers of these Lodges determined to "set up their columns" there; but knowing that they could not do so under their old charters, they united in obtaining one from the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, granted October 7, 1810, for Concord Lodge, which was constituted, and its officers installed according to the York Rite, January 27, 1811, by a Deputy specially appointed for the purpose.

On the same day, October 7, 1810, other Masons, chiefly refugees, obtained a charter from the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania for Perseverance Lodge, which was duly constituted according to the York Rite, December 23, 1810.

This Grand Lodge also granted, November 19, 1810, to petitioners chiefly from the Northern States, a charter for Harmony Lodge, which worked and kept its records in English. Up to 1811 the race antagonism had not affected the relations of the Masons, which had been of an intimate and fraternal character; but in that year difficulties arose, whose origin is not known, but which produced the following year a schism between the American and Latin Masons. It prevented the two English-working Lodges from giving in their adhesion to the Grand Lodge, and caused their extinction, although Harmony Lodge was active in 1820, but had become extinct before 1826.

Polar Star Lodge continued to work the French Rite till 1810, when it was notified by one of the Lodges holding under the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania that that Grand Lodge had instructed its Lodges in New Orleans to hold no Masonic communication with Lodges of the French Rite and to admit no French Rite Masons as visitors. In consequence, some of its members applied to the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania for a charter, which was granted June 2, 1811; the Lodge was constituted October 20, 1811, under the same name, and the old Lodge "adjourned indefinitely."

In 1811, a number of San Domingo Masons, lately arrived from Jamaica, obtained from the Grand Consistory of Jamaica a charter for a Lodge of the Scotch Rite, issued

June 22, 1811. It existed for only a few months; its first meeting was held December 12, 1811, and its last May 27, 1812. It consolidated with Concord Lodge by "one general affiliation of all its members," and ceased to exist.

So far as can be ascertained, these twelve Lodges were all that had been established in New Orleans up to 1812. Of these, five had gone out of existence, leaving seven active. Louisiana was admitted to the Union April 30, 1812, under an Act of Congress passed on the eighth of the same month. A movement for the formation of a Grand Lodge was at once commenced. Perfect Union Lodge took the initiative. A convention was held April 18, 1812, at which all the Lodges were represented. A second meeting was held May 16th; Charity Lodge was not represented and Louisiana Lodge had then withdrawn, and Harmony Lodge followed its example immediately after this meeting. In accordance with a vote of this convention, a summons was issued for a Grand Convention to meet June 13, 1812, to determine the question of forming a Grand Lodge. The representatives of the five French-speaking Lodges met, organized and voted to proceed, on the 20th of June, to elect Grand Officers and form a Grand Lodge for the State. Accordingly they met, elected and installed the Grand Master, and organized the Grand Lodge June 20, 1812. Subsequent communications were held, at which a constitution was adopted and other necessary business transacted. The constitution asserted for the Grand Lodge full and exclusive jurisdiction in the State. Circulars were sent out to the other Grand Lodges, which speedily recognized the new Grand Lodge, except that Pennsylvania hesitated on account of representations made by Harmony Lodge; but upon receiving a full statement of the proceedings, recognition was accorded.

The Grand Lodge granted nine charters before 1819, but only three of them were for Lodges in the State. The Grand Orient of France established a Lodge in New Orleans, April 21, 1818, but all intercourse with it was forbidden. The Grand Lodge of Kentucky, on August 27, 1817, chartered a Lodge at St. Francisville—a fact of which the Grand Lodge of Louisiana had no knowledge; it made returns till 1827, but in 1828 transferred its allegiance to the latter Grand Lodge, and took a charter from it. The Grand Lodge of Virginia, having received a petition "signed by sundry respectable brethren, residing in the city of New Orleans," granted a charter, December 14, 1814, for Washington Lodge in that city, with Joshua Lewis, Master; Martin Gordon, Senior Warden; and Lewis Heerman, Junior Warden. Scot refers to this Lodge, but had not ascertained the names of any parties connected with it; and as he found no mention of it whatever in any records or publications in the city, he concludes that it was never organized. As it never made any returns to the Grand Lodge of Virginia after it was chartered, his conclusion is probably correct; the printed record of the Grand Lodge of Virginia shows satisfactorily that when it chartered this Lodge it had not received notice of the formation of the Grand Lodge of Louisiana.

In 1819, one English-speaking Lodge had become extinct, and the other had grown slowly, if at all. On the other hand, the French-speaking Lodges had grown by initiations and also the affiliation of French immigrants, who came fully imbued with the doctrine of the Grand Orient system, and eager for the high degrees. Some of the members of two of the Lodges affiliated with the prohibited Grand Orient Lodge, dual membership being allowed. The old Polar Star Lodge reorganized under its old Grand Orient charter and opened correspondence with the Grand Orient, its members still, however, retaining their membership in the new Lodge. This movement was the more

important because a Past Grand Master of the Grand Lodge, who had been the special Deputy of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, became Senior Warden of the reorganized Lodge; on March 5, 1820, it received from the Grand Orient a charter authorizing it to cumulate the French and the Scotch Rites; it then granted to the members of the *new* Polar Star Lodge the right to affiliate with this Scotch-French Lodge, and they eagerly embraced it and joined it in great numbers; but while meeting regularly and affiliating members (only those of the new Polar Star Lodge, however,) it did no work for over ten years; but on October 23, 1831, it began to work regularly.

A charter was granted by the Grand Lodge, December 24, 1820, to members of the prohibited Grand Orient Lodge for a Lodge of the same name as that Lodge. Charity Lodge, in 1821, became extinct, probably for causes growing out of the questions of Rites.

The French Rite had now become so popular that its adherents in the city, at a special meeting of the Grand Lodge held November 16, 1821, were able to procure the adoption of a resolution recognizing the three Rites as regular, and authorizing mutual visitations among the York, Scotch and French Lodges. Immediately a new Lodge was chartered by the Grand Orient, and was constituted March 15, 1823, a deputation from the Grand Lodge being present by invitation. Although the constitution of the Grand Lodge claimed exclusive jurisdiction in the State, and in effect prohibited the maintenance of any Lodge not under the authority of the Grand Lodge, there were now in New Orleans three Lodges working under the Grand Orient of France. There were seven Lodges in the country, all of which worked the York Rite; but by the provision making Past Masters members of the Grand Lodge and the practise of the country Lodges to appoint proxies in the city, the Grand Lodge was under the control of the city Lodges, and they were determined to work the French Rite; they then went one step further and made Past Wardens, serving as such before 1823, permanent members of the Grand Lodge. As already stated, too, Charity Lodge had become extinct, and if Harmony Lodge had not also ceased, it had not given in its adhesion to the Grand Lodge.

So matters stood when Lafayette visited New Orleans and was received by the Grand Lodge, April 14, 1825. Of course the enthusiasm, both among the American and the French Masons, was unbounded; the reception was imposing and magnificent in all its details. For the first time members of Harmony Lodge attended the Grand Lodge. The old Lodge was apparently extinct, but its members began to consider the question of reorganizing, and after some delay a charter was obtained from the Grand Lodge and the Lodge constituted March 4, 1826. In 1824, Lafayette Lodge had been chartered, and later, in 1826, Numantia (composed chiefly of Spaniards). In 1827 a resolution was passed by the Grand Lodge against unaffiliates, and this caused very many of the York Rite Masons to affiliate with Harmony Lodge, and others to obtain a charter from the Grand Lodge for Louisiana Lodge, granted June 28, 1828. Thus the organization of two English-speaking Lodges was the almost direct result of Gen. Lafayette's visit.

It was then the custom for the Lodges to meet on St. John's Days and send deputations to visit the other Lodges in the city. When, on June 24, 1828, the deputation of one of the Grand Orient Lodges applied for admission to Harmony Lodge it was surprised by a refusal, accompanied by the declaration that Harmony Lodge recognized only York Rite Masons, and considered the Lodge sending the deputation an irregular body. Complaint was made to the Grand Lodge, which, however, contented itself with sending

to Harmony Lodge a copy of the resolution recognizing the regularity of all three Rites. In March, 1829, the twin of the Grand Orient Lodge, which was refused admission to Harmony Lodge, surrendered its charter. About the same time another of the Grand Orient Lodges made an arrangement with one of the Lodges hailing under the Grand Lodge, by which all the members of each became members of both. The French Lodges determined to force the fight. So on December 27, 1829, all three sent deputations to Harmony Lodge, which were refused admission on the ground that it recognized only York Rite Lodges. Louisiana Lodge did the same thing, but got frightened immediately after, apologized to the French Lodges, and changed its record, so that it appears from that, that it received the deputations. Again complaint was made to the Grand Lodge, but the matter was postponed to the next meeting and never after called up.

In 1831, to increase the complications, the Grand Consistory, which for some years had been inactive, revived, and chartered two Lodges of the Scotch Rite. The adherents to the French Rite looked upon the formation of these as tending to strengthen their position, and looked forward to the next session of the Grand Lodge with confidence in their success. It met July 2, 1831, and resolutions were introduced aimed directly at Harmony Lodge, but the Grand Master refused to put the question, and, some confusion arising, he closed the Grand Lodge "with a stroke of the gavel." Within two weeks Harmony Lodge receded from its position, averring that its opposition to the Grand Orient Lodges was not because they worked the French Rite, but because they owed allegiance to a foreign Masonic Power. At the next session of the Grand Lodge, Harmony Lodge fully surrendered, and the Grand Lodge formally recognized the three French Rite and three Scotch Rite Lodges, amid great enthusisam, and the Feast of St. John was celebrated with great pomp and rejoicing in all the Lodges.

The next movement was the adoption of a code of General Regulations which entirely subverted the Grand Lodge system of government. The control of the Grand Lodge was in fact in the Past Masters resident in New Orleans; all other Past Masters were excluded, although there were but six Lodges in the city while there were fourteen in the country. Even the representatives of Lodges had no vote on questions before the Grand Lodge, or in the election of Grand Officers. The powers of the Grand Master were so limited that he was merely a presiding officer. Three "Symbolic Chambers," one for the York Rite, one for the Scotch Rite, and one for the French Rite, were created, and to them the government of the craft was attempted to be transferred; the "Regulations" were in direct conflict with the Constitution, but that fact was overlooked or deemed of no consequence.

The Symbolic "Chambers" (each consisting of fifteen members) arrogated to themselves all the power, and the Grand Lodge and Grand Master became mere ciphers. This system was short-lived, for in 1836 another code was adopted, no copy of which has been preserved, as apparently the Grand Lodge had neither money nor credit enough to have it printed. A "Council of Rites" was a part of the new system, but what its powers were cannot be ascertained.

During all this time the real power was the self-styled Grand Consistory. The members of the Symbolic Chambers were active members of it and controlled everything in its interest. But when they had obtained full control, they deemed themselves so secure that they did not read the signs of the times. The sessions of the Grand Lodge were poorly attended, and occasionally were not held for want of a quorum. Harmony

Lodge, and another Lodge working the York Rite in French, surrendered their charters.

On October 27, 1839, a body calling itself a Supreme Council, created itself. It was at once recognized by the Grand Consistory, the Grand Lodge and Grand Chapter, and they appointed a joint committee to determine the honors to be paid to its officers when visiting their subordinates. This was offensive to the York Rite Lodges, but they could do nothing. It was soon followed by other acts, which raised a storm that ultimately swept out of existence all distinctions among Symbolic Masons and relegated the higher degrees to their proper position.

In the latter part of 1841 the Grand Chapter undertook to expel two members of Louisiana Lodge *from all their Masonic rights;* and about the same time the Grand Consistory, in like manner, expelled Perez Snell, also a member of that Lodge. Notice of these expulsions was given to the Grand Lodge, which meekly received it and ordered the Grand Secretary to notify the Lodges. Louisiana Lodge resented this proceeding and elected Snell, Master. The Grand Lodge sent a communication to the Lodge which its Tyler refused to receive. Committees appointed to visit the Lodge, found it closed. It was then summoned before the Grand Lodge to show cause why its charter should not be vacated. Snell appeared and protested against the action of the Grand Lodge as unconstitutional. Thereupon he was expelled, and on April 2, 1842, the charter was arrested and the majority of the members expelled. The Lodge denounced the action of the "reputed" Grand Lodge as unconstitutional and subversive of Ancient York Masonry, absolved itself from its allegiance and took measures to secure the co-operation of the country Lodges in organizing "a regular Grand Lodge of free and accepted Ancient York Masons." But the country Lodges could not then be roused and the plan failed. Still, Louisiana Lodge continued to work till February 7, 1843.

The only English-speaking Lodge in the city now remaining was Poinsett Lodge, chartered January 21, 1837, and then located just outside of the city proper. In 1840 it moved into the city and occupied the same hall as Louisiana Lodge. The number of English-speaking Masons had increased, but owing largely to the confused and uncertain condition of the Grand Lodge, they remained unaffiliated. To these, the members of Louisiana Lodge rehearsed their grievances, and denounced the Grand Lodge as illegal, because it was not a York Rite Grand Lodge. In 1844, a new Code was adopted, from which some of the objectionable clauses in the old Code had been excluded. Still a "Council of Rites" was provided for. It declared that no other Masonic Power could organize a Lodge of any Rite in the State. In consequence of an attack by the Catholic organ in the city, kept alive only so long as it was noticed, processions in the city were forbidden. While this Code was a great improvement upon the two previous ones, still it was seized upon by the discontents as proof that the Grand Lodge was not a body of the York Rite.

A representative of those opposed to the Grand Lodge visited the Grand Lodge of Mississippi, and made such an impression that that body felt it to be its duty to investigate and ascertain whether the Grand Lodge of Louisiana continued to be a Grand Lodge of the York Rite; and thereupon it appointed a committee to visit New Orleans, inquire into the matter and report. Scott severely criticizes this action. But that a Grand Lodge, when it has reason to believe that another Grand Lodge has made such innovations in Masonry as to take from it the Masonic character, has the right to inquire into

the matter, is too well settled to be open to debate. Whether the facts and information in its possession are such as to warrant such an inquiry is a delicate question, and one which the Grand Lodge must decide for itself at the peril of giving to the other just cause of complaint. The committee did not unite in a report and the matter went over to the annual session in January, 1847, and then the Grand Lodge of Mississippi granted dispensations for two Lodges in Louisiana, and during the recess the Grand Master granted five others. At the session in 1848, charters were granted to these seven Lodges. Their representatives met March 8, 1848, and in a regular manner organized the "Louisiana Grand Lodge." This, at first, obtained recognition from no Grand Lodge except Mississippi; but it grew rapidly and within two years created eighteen Lodges.

In the meantime, the Grand Lodge of Louisiana took the usual course. It appealed to other Grand Lodges to sustain it; cut off Masonic intercourse with Mississippi; declared the Lodges formed under the authority of that Grand Lodge to be clandestine, and expelled the Masons taking part in them or visiting them. A part of the English-speaking Masons sustained the Grand Lodge. The other Grand Lodges did not agree in the course to be pursued. New York censured Mississippi and declared the Lodges established by it to be clandestine. This did not move the Grand Lodge of Mississippi, but it claimed the right to judge for itself and it probably had a better knowledge of the facts. But the success of the new Grand Lodge evidently alarmed the Grand Lodge of Louisiana, especially as a very able circular published by the Mississippi Lodges, designed as a reply to the action of the Grand Lodge of New York, was producing a marked effect. The Grand Lodges of Missouri and Florida, while deprecating the action of Mississippi, withdrew recognition from the old Grand Lodge; Vermont recognized the new one; Maine urged the old Grand Lodge to recede from its position, so that a union of the two might be formed, giving notice in effect that, if this was not done, it would be necessary to recognize the new Grand Lodge. This action was the more significant because the Grand Lodges of Alabama, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Georgia, New Hampshire and South Carolina, acting before the later documents were received, had followed the lead of New York. The old Grand Lodge published documents defending its course, but it was not able to make out a full defence to the satisfaction of the other Grand Lodges, for nearly all disapproved of the cumulation of Rites. As this was the greatest real cause of complaint by the other party, its abolition would open the way to reconciliation and speedy union. During 1849 the situation was discussed by each party and jointly by representatives of both, and in January, 1850, active measures looking to a union were commenced. The edicts of non-intercourse were suspended. The resolution expelling the members of the first Mississippi Lodges, was "rescinded and annulled;" articles of union were proposed and adopted by the old Grand Lodge, in which it was provided that no Lodge should be constituted "under any other title than that of Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons." The negotiations came near being broken off by the new Grand Lodge's insisting upon excluding the Scotch and French Rites entirely, but after submitting the matter to its subordinate Lodges, it waived the point and ratified the articles. On March 4, 1850, the new Grand Lodge was merged in the old one; a new constitution was proposed, and almost unanimously adopted at a Convention held in June following. The adoption of this constitution settled the questions which had divided the craft. Since then the only differences have been in the mode of working in the

different Lodges; in essentials, there has been uniformity, but in details the Lodges have followed their old methods.

But while the differences in Symbolic Masonry were thus fully healed, peace and harmony did not yet prevail. The so-called Supreme Council, claiming that the Grand Lodge had renounced jurisdiction over all Lodges excepting those of the York Rite, "resumed" its authority over "all symbolic Lodges of the Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of the Scotch Rite." The notorious James Foulhouze was then at the head of this body; through his instigation, three of the Lodges working in the French and Scotch Rites now returned their charters to the Grand Lodge and went under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Council; a fourth Lodge surrendered its charter; but his tyrannical course and absurd pretensions led to discontent, and he and some of his more intense adherents soon withdrew. The remaining members came to the conclusion that the body was irregular and gave in their adhesion to the Charleston Supreme Council, and the New Orleans Council was dissolved, February 17, 1855. As the former body had no jurisdiction over the symbolic degrees, "the seceding Lodges renewing their allegiance to the Grand Lodge, Symbolic Masonry once more became a unit in Louisiana."

But there was another disturbance. On October 7, 1856, Foulhouze and two others formed a spurious Supreme Council and commenced making Masons at sight and conferring all the degrees of the Scotch Rite. Early in 1857 he persuaded two of the Lodges to revolt a second time and come under the jurisdiction of his Supreme Council; but the Grand Lodge was now well established, and pursued so vigorous a course that within less than two years the Lodges petitioned the Grand Lodge to be retained on its register. They succeeded, but with much difficulty, in obtaining a favorable response, and in granting it the Grand Lodge refused to recognize their work during the rebellion, or allow it to be healed, but required the parties to gain admission by petition and ballot as if they were profane.

In 1858, the Grand Lodge adopted a decree in relation to the work, that there must be uniformity *in all the means of recognition*, and *in the ties which bind us together as Masons*. This was entirely satisfactory, and on this basis the harmony of the jurisdiction has ever since remained unbroken.

Foulhouze had been created a thirty-third by the Grand Orient of France. On that body's learning that he had formed a spurious Supreme Council, it ordered him to dissolve it. On his refusal, it expelled him. The clandestine Lodges which he had formed disappeared after a decision of the civil court against him in an attempt to hold the properties of one of the old Lodges, and his Council became dormant. In 1867, an attempt was made to revive it by another party and it secured the recognition of the Grand Orient of France, and two other European Grand Orients, on account of its opening its doors to all comers without regard to race or "previous condition." The Grand Orient of France was ostracized by all the American Grand Lodges; the recognition did the revived body little good, and it soon disappeared from the cognizance of the Masonic world, and probably became absolutely extinct.

This conflict of the Rites has existed in no other jurisdiction; but the question involved has recently been again discussed among the Masons of the United States, and directly opposite opinions are held in relation to it.

This Grand Lodge, comparatively soon after its reorganization, undertook the erection of a Masonic Temple, and thereby incurred an indebtedness which has borne some-

what heavily upon it, and which has tended to prevent the growth which was otherwise probable. While the debt has been greatly reduced, it has not yet been extinguished. The civil war also was a severe check to its prosperity. It has been distinguished for the ability of its Grand Masters and its Reports on Foreign Correspondence. It has one hundred and four Lodges on its roll, with a membership of about 4000. Three of the original five Lodges are still active; and there are several names on the present roll which figured in the exciting scenes of the first fifty years' history of the Grand Lodge. Bro. John Q. A. Fellows has recently published a history of Perfect Union Lodge, which heads the list and has always exerted a powerful influence in the Grand Lodge. Its history really includes that of several other Lodges, which have either consolidated with it or have become extinct and the members affiliated with it or some of the Lodges which became merged in it. Its original members were largely from Perfect Union Lodge, at Charleston, South Carolina. The members of "Réunion des Cœurs," chartered by the Grand Orient of France; of Concorde No. 88, of Pennsylvania; and of Bienfaisance, founded by the Grand Consistory of Jamaica, nearly all went into Concorde No. 117 of Pennsylvania, which became Concorde No. 3 of Louisiana, and in 1878 was consolidated with Perfect Union Lodge; Orus Lodge, chartered in 1863, was merged in it in 1879. The first Louisiana Lodge went almost bodily into Harmony No. 122, and that, in its turn, went into Harmony No. 26, and that with Louisiana No. 32, went into Poinsett; from the latter Marion No. 4, sprang, and from that and Orient No. 173, Marion No. 68 originated; and that, in 1886, was consolidated with Perfect Union Lodge; and finally Dudley Lodge No. 47, was merged in it, November 28, 1887. This Lodge originally worked in French, but of late years has worked in English. One, at least, of the old Lodges has continued to work the French Rite, and in French. In 1874, during the session of the Grand Encampment at New Orleans, one of them, in compliment to the guests of the Masons of the city, worked in English (but according to the French Rite) for the first time in its history. Masons from almost every State in the Union were present and were deeply interested in the ceremonies, which many of them witnessed for the first time. They found the essentials precisely as they exist in the York Rite, and instead of seeing in the mode of working anything inconsistent with Masonic regularity, they found in it a striking proof of the Universality of Freemasonry.

Tennessee.

The Grand Lodge of North Carolina granted charters for Lodges in Tennessee, as follows: to St. Tammany Lodge at Nashville, December 17, 1796, whose name was changed to Harmony, November 30, 1800; to Tennessee Lodge at Knoxville, November 30, 1800, with the Governor of the State as Master; to Greeneville Lodge at Greeneville, December 11, 1801; to Newport Lodge at Gallatin, December 9, 1808; to Overton Lodge at Rogersville, November 21, 1807; to Hiram Lodge at Franklin, December 11, 1809; and to Western Star Lodge at Port Royal, November 21, 1812. The Grand Lodge, on December 11, 1803 (then and until 1813 styling itself the "Grand Lodge of North Carolina and Tennessee"), recommended to the Tennessee Lodges to give particular attention to the establishment of a fund in each Lodge to answer calls of charity and provide for payment of dues to the Grand Lodge, some of them having been remiss in this, owing, it had been suggested, "to a want of proper care in establishing such a fund." Harmony Lodge continuing to be remiss, its charter was vacated December 9, 1808.

The Grand Lodge of Kentucky granted a charter for Philanthropic Lodge, in Davidson County, September 18, 1805. As already stated, the Grand Lodge of North Carolina and Tennessee claimed that this was an invasion of its jurisdiction, and after considerable correspondence between the two, the charter was withdrawn.

Conventions preliminary to the formation of a Grand Lodge were held during the two years previous to the organization of the Grand Lodge, and their proceedings were published; but as few copies, if more than one, are extant, and as only a very imperfect abstract of a part of them is found in the reprint of the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge, a somewhat detailed statement in relation to them will be given.

Pursuant to a resolution of Hiram Lodge, acceded to by others, a convention was held at Knoxville, December 2, 1811, "for the purpose of establishing a Grand Lodge in said State." Tennessee Lodge, Greeneville Lodge, Overton Lodge, King Solomon Lodge and Hiram Lodge were represented. After organizing, the Convention adjourned to the next day, when the same Lodges, and Newport Lodge in addition, were represented; these were all the Lodges then existing in the State. Three resolutions were adopted; that the number of Lodges and state of society required the formation of a Grand Lodge in that State; that for the purpose of constituting a Grand Lodge, the Past Masters, Masters and Wardens of the different Lodges, or delegates appointed by the Lodges, "being Masters of the craft," should meet in Knoxville, on the second Monday of August, 1812, for the purpose of organizing the Grand Lodge of Tennessee; and that all Masons of the obedience of the Grand Lodge, resident in the State, should be admitted to the convention for the purpose of giving assistance, although they might not be entitled to a vote. The convention then adjourned to the next day.

It met December 4, 1811, pursuant to adjournment, the same Lodges being represented. A resolution was adopted that a committee be appointed to draft an address to the Grand Lodge "soliciting their assent to the establishment of a Grand Lodge"; and to draft a letter to Robert Williams (who had represented the Tennessee Lodges in the Grand Lodge) requesting him to lay the address and the proceedings of the Convention before the Grand Lodge, "and in all things relative thereto to give us his aid and assistance, so far as he may deem it correct"; and the committee was appointed. There is no mention of an adjournment in the printed record, but the next proceedings are dated December 5, 1811.

The address and the letter were drawn up, presented to the convention and approved. In the letter to Williams, they represented that "propriety, as well as necessity" required the organization of a Grand Lodge; in the address, they said that it was required by the state of society, the number of Lodges and the interest of the craft, but that they were "not willing to take so important a step without the approbation of the Mother Lodge," and they solicited the friendly assistance and advice of the parent Grand Lodge. The address was signed by all the members of the convention, (representing all the Lodges) as well as by the President and Secretary. It was further ordered that the address and proceedings be sent under cover to Williams, that a copy of the proceedings be sent to all the Lodges in the State, and that the originals be delivered to the delegation from Tennessee Lodge with a request that they be deposited in its archives for safe keeping. The convention then adjourned to August 10, 1812.

The convention met according to adjournment; only three Lodges were represented. As the Grand Lodge had not met since the adjournment of the convention, of course

it had not acted upon the address; it adjourned to the next day, when the answer of the Grand Master was received and read. In consequence, the convention adjourned without day, to await the action of the Grand Lodge.

At its next session (November 21, 1812) the matter was laid before the Grand Lodge, and on the 5th of December a report was made that the prayer of the petitioners be granted, "under the firm expectation that all arrearages due from each of said Lodges would be paid." There was a long delay in communicating this result to the petitioners, for it was not till September 30, 1813, that the Grand Master sent a letter to Tennessee Lodge in Knoxville, directing that the Lodge be summoned for the purpose of taking a letter from the Post Office, directed to Stephen Brooks, Chairman of the Convention, containing "the Great Charter constituting the Grand Lodge of the State of Tennessee," and also to notify the Lodges (including the two chartered since the convention first met) to meet in Knoxville, December 27, 1813, to form a Grand Lodge. He also named Brethren, who were empowered to "install the Grand Lodge"; and suggested that it might be well to open the letter as well as to notify Brooks, and advised that it would be well to procure the attendance of a chaplain at the installation of the Grand Lodge.

While, at the utmost, all the effect of the "Great Charter" was to give permission to the Lodges to form a Grand Lodge and withdraw formally the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of North Carolina over Tennessee, it purported to give authority to form a Grand Lodge, to invest such Grand Lodge with its powers and to impose upon it the performance of certain duties. Of course, when the Grand Lodge of Tennessee was formed, it was possessed of sovereign power in its jurisdiction, not by *grant*, but by *right*, and became the peer of the Grand Lodge of North Carolina.

The notice was given as Grand Master Williams directed, and the representatives of the eight Lodges then existing in Tennessee met at Knoxville, December 27, 1813, elected and installed a Grand Master and other Grand Officers. "The Grand Lodge was then opened on the third degree of Masonry, in due and solemn form." A Constitution and Code of By-Laws were adopted. The former was signed by the Grand Officers and by all the representatives of the Lodges, *as such;* while the latter was signed by the Grand Officers and Members *individually*.

The constitution made no provision for a quorum; made Past Masters "of regular Lodges, while members of a Lodge under its jurisdiction," members of the Grand Lodge; none but similar Past Masters could be elected to office in the Grand Lodge, except in case of emergency; installation by proxy was allowed, but the proxy must have held the same office, or such office as would have filled the chair in the absence of the Grand Master; quarterly communications of the Grand Lodge were to be held; the Grand Master appointed the Deputy, whose office ceased when the Grand Master, for any cause, vacated his office; charters could be granted to not less than five Master Masons; and every original member of the Grand Lodge was made a life member, "he paying his dues as prescribed by the laws of this Grand Lodge." The By-Laws provided that every member of the Grand Lodge should pay annually five dollars to the general fund, which payment was required to be made at the Annual Communication in October.

At the first Quarterly Communication of the Grand Lodge (April 4, 1814) the Grand Wardens were the only Grand Officers present. The only members were one representative from No. 6, and two from No. 8. "There not being a sufficient number of members to organize the Lodge," six Past Masters, members of Cumberland Lodge, No. 8, were in-

vited to "assist in opening the Lodge and setting the craft to work." The Grand Lodge was then opened "on the third or Sublime Degree of Masonry"; the "Great Charter," the Proceedings of the Convention, the Constitution and the By-Laws were read and unanimously approved. The several petitions of the six Past Masters were received "and on motion were unanimously elected." A dispensation, granted to Cumberland Lodge by the Grand Master, was approved.

As Past Masters were members of the Grand Lodge under the constitution, the reason for electing the six as above stated is not apparent. The same thing was done at the other meetings during that year and occasionally afterwards. Among those thus elected was Wilkins Tannehill, afterwards Grand Secretary, Grand Master and the editor of the "Portfolio," and of a Monitor which passed through several editions; possibly they were only Chapter Past Masters, as in 1823, a resolution was adopted that no one, thereafter admitted a member of the Grand Lodge, should have a vote therein unless he was a Past Master and member of a *Tennessee* Lodge.

A part of the Lodges continued to work under their old charters, but some of them obtained dispensations from the Grand Master; the question as to the proper course came before the Grand Lodge at its session in July, 1814. Some held that by the formation of the Grand Lodge their charters were "dissolved," and, therefore, that they could not work until they received a dispensation or charter from the new Grand Lodge. Others held that their charters were not "dissolved," but that the Lodges were merely transferred from one jurisdiction to the other. The Grand Lodge did not decide the question, but passed a vote authorizing those which had taken a dispensation to work under that, and those which had not taken one, to work under their old charter until new charters should be issued; and, in the meantime, that all were entitled to representation. While the position of those who held that their old charters were still in force seems to be correct, from the nature of a charter, the more general usage follows the other doctrine, and the Grand Lodge afterwards practically adopted the latter view.

It being found that very few attended the Quarterly Communications, in 1819 the constitution was amended and thereafter only annual sessions were held.

A resolution was adopted that no Lodge should confer the degree of Past Master, except upon one elected to the chair, or as preparatory for a higher degree, and in the latter case only by dispensation from the Grand Master. The regulation requiring each member of the Grand Lodge to pay five dollars a year as Grand Lodge dues, was amended so that each member and visitor was required to pay fifty cents for each meeting of the Grand Lodge which he attended.

New Lodges were chartered not only in the State but also in Alabama and Missouri, and later in other States. Tennessee Lodge was not represented after the organization, and soon became extinct. Through a misunderstanding and failure to receive communications from the Grand Secretary, Overton Lodge worked under its old charter till 1819, when, upon application and explanation, a new charter was granted, to be issued when the dues were paid; but in 1820, the dues were remitted and the charter issued. Newport Lodge, No. 4, made no returns after the organization of the Grand Lodge; it became dormant soon after and was stricken from the roll of Lodges in 1822.

In 1816, the "acknowledged right" of all regular Lodges to "make Masons in the higher degrees" was affirmed, and Cumberland Chapter in Nashville was authorized to confer the chapter degrees under the sanction of the Grand Lodge.

The records of the Grand Lodge were somewhat imperfectly kept, documents being in whole or in part omitted, which purport to be recorded.

In 1822, Andrew Jackson was unanimously elected Grand Master and was re-elected the next year. He was evidently absent from the jurisdiction much of the time, as the Deputy acted for him, although he presided in Grand Lodge during a part of three sessions, as well as at an extra session to exemplify the work and adopt a method to secure uniformity therein.

In 1823, the question of organizing a National Grand Lodge was considered, and it was deemed "unnecessary and unadvisable."

In 1825, Gen. Lafayette visited Nashville. He was elected an Honorary Member of the Grand Lodge and was formally received therein at a meeting called for that purpose, being introduced by Gen. Jackson. The Grand Master welcomed him and he replied, saying (among other things) that he had been long a member of the Order, having been initiated, young as he was, even before he entered the service of our country in the Revolutionary War. An oration was delivered by William G. Hunt, then Junior Grand Warden, after which a banquet followed.

In the same year, the Grand Lodge, *open as such*, laid the corner-stone of a Masonic Hall. In 1827, the right of objection after ballot was affirmed; and a report of a Committee that a Master of a Lodge, as soon as he is installed, becomes entitled to a seat in the Grand Lodge, as a member, was rejected, the effect of the decision being that he must have served one term and his successor have been installed in his place, before he becomes a Past Master.

Gen. Sam Houston presented a memorial to the Grand Lodge in 1826, in relation to the action of two Lodges in convention concerning him. The Grand Lodge decided to entertain the memorial and had a hearing; as a result he was exonerated from blame. Several members protested against the action of the Grand Lodge, which refused to allow two of the reasons to be received, but directed that the protest, after those two reasons had been stricken out, be received and recorded.

The next year Gen. Houston appealed from the decision of his Lodge in suspending him. The Grand Lodge reversed the finding of the Lodge on one charge, but sustained the charge against him for fighting a duel with a Brother Mason. The committee reported that there were many extenuating circumstances—"a sufficiency, perhaps, for the justification of Bro. Houston among *men*"—but not for his justification as a *Mason*, and the sentence of the Lodge was confirmed. At the same time the charter of the Lodge was suspended for a year. There had been an intense excitement on political matters at Nashville. It had caused personal altercation, crimination and recrimination. Masons forgot their Masonic character or willfully disregarded it. The Lodge failed to act in season to prevent the spread of the evil, and when it did act, "it evinced an uncalled for and censurable haste in condemnation and acquittal;" but it was believed that the excitement would shortly be allayed and that sober reason would return; and in that belief the Grand Lodge suspended the charter for a year without prejudice to the standing of the members, instead of revoking it. The result justified the wisdom of its course.

The anti-Masonic excitement, probably combined with undue liberality in granting charters, not only checked the growth of the Institution, but caused the extinction of Lodges and a decrease in the membership. From 1828 to 1837, the work fell off, at first slowly and afterwards rapidly, but in 1837, in the active Lodges, it had begun to increase.

In 1838, after strenuous efforts had been made to revive dormant Lodges, about *twenty-five* were stricken from the roll and *twelve* more put on probation; at that time the Lodges numbered up to eighty-nine, but several had been extinct for some years, and several had joined in the organization of Grand Lodges in other States, so that there were now only about *twenty* Lodges making returns and paying dues.

In 1839, Ex-President and Past Grand Master, Andrew Jackson, was in the city during the session of the Grand Lodge. A committee in its behalf tendered him an invitation to attend its session; he "cheerfully accepted" the invitation, visited the Grand Lodge and "presided over its deliberations until adjournment." When his death was announced, it was stated, in the earnest tribute paid to his memory, that, during the worst days of the anti-Masonic excitement, when he was a candidate for President, and then President, he boldly avowed his connection with the Fraternity and his attachment to its principles, and thus gave his influence to stay the storm of religious bigotry and political demagoguery that then beat against the Institution, and that to the latest years of his life, in spite of age and infirmity, "he was still to be found in our councils."

The question in relation to the effect of expulsion by a Chapter or Encampment (Commandery) was discussed and considered during three sessions of the Grand Lodge; some (among them P. G. Master Tannehill) held that such expulsion excluded him from the Lodge also, but finally the opposite conclusion was adopted.

In 1842, a revised constitution was adopted by the Grand Lodge and submitted to the Lodges, but the Lodges failed to act upon it during the year. It was adopted again in 1843 by the Grand Lodge and was again submitted to the Lodges, with a like result. The same thing was done in 1844, with the same result. It was again adopted by the Grand Lodge in 1845 and submitted to the Lodges. The Grand Master sent out "an earnest appeal" to the Lodges to act upon it, and in his visitations brought the matter to the attention of the craft, but he was obliged to report that a sufficient number had not acted upon it. He held that the Grand Lodge had the power to *require* the Lodges to act in some way, as otherwise "there would be an end of all government." The Grand Lodge adopted a resolution requiring the Lodges to act upon it, and in 1847 it was announced that forty-three Lodges had approved it, four had voted against it, and fifteen had failed to act, and as two-thirds of the "working Lodges" had voted for it, it had been adopted. Thus it took five years to secure action upon the constitution, and even then, Lodges on the roll whose charters had not been revoked were disregarded in the count, and only what were termed "working Lodges" reckoned. A Grand Lodge which has no power, *in and of itself,* to amend its constitution cannot be considered a Sovereign Grand Lodge. The Grand Master's statement that if it could not compel the Lodges to act, "there would be an end to all government," may be true, but his inference from it was not justified, as the Lodges are free to act and a refusal to act was merely negative action. The provision that amendments to the constitution must be submitted to the Lodges and approved by two-thirds of them, was undoubtedly suggested by the similar provision in the constitution of the United States. The Grand Lodge of North Carolina was organized in 1787, while the constitution just framed by the Convention was pending before the Legislatures of the States for approval and ratification. The attention of the members of the convention which organized the Grand Lodge of North Carolina was thus specially directed to that, and they very naturally concluded that a good *civil* constitution was a model for a good *Masonic* constitution; the provision in the constitution of the

United States was intended to limit the power of the General Government, and in the Masonic constitution its effect was of course the same. Up to that time, Grand Lodges were the supreme power and source of authority. The effect of this provision was to limit the power of the Grand Lodge, and, in action upon fundamental law, to require the concurrence of both, the Grand Lodge, however, having the sole power of originating it. The Grand Lodge of Tennessee naturally copied this provision from the constitution of "the Mother Grand Lodge." Before the evil of it was seen, this Grand Lodge had transmitted it to other Grand Lodges organized by Lodges chartered by it. Subsequently, however, it repealed this provision, and now it amends its constitution by a vote of two-thirds of the Lodges represented in Grand Lodge when action is taken. Most Grand Lodges require a two-thirds vote, allowing each Lodge three votes, and each member in his own right one vote.

In the constitution adopted in 1847 the provision requiring five Lodges to make a quorum was introduced, and afterwards amended by increasing the number to ten; it also gave Past Grand Officers and Past Masters one vote each, instead of one vote collectively as before. The Deputy Grand Master became an elective officer, and succeeded the Grand Master in case of his death, instead of vacating his office as under the old constitution.

The Grand Lodge, for two decades after the anti-Masonic excitement abated, increased the number of its Lodges, and they increased their membership; many afterwards prominent appeared in the Grand Lodge; among them Emerson Etheridge, John S. Dashiell, Charles A. Fuller and Archibald Yell (killed at Buena Vista). In 1840, twenty-one Lodges made returns showing 839 members; in 1847, sixty-four Lodges with 2,456 members ; in 1860, two hundred and eighteen Lodges with 11,102 members. The military operations of the Civil War caused a suspension of work in very many of the Lodges, and the Grand Lodge itself did not meet in 1861 or 1862, and did not publish its Proceedings till 1865. But after the war there was a very rapid growth, so that in 1871 there were three hundred and twenty-nine chartered Lodges with a membership of 19,401; the membership afterwards reached 20,000, but as a result of the business depression, and for other causes not fully apparent, Lodges began to become dormant and die out, and consequently the membership decreased, so that in 1880 its four hundred and eleven Lodges showed a membership of but 16,217; and in 1888, it had three hundred and eighty-six Lodges with a membership of 14,092.

Indiana.

The Grand Lodge of Kentucky granted a dispensation, August 31, 1808, for Vincennes Lodge, at Vincennes, Indiana (then a Territory), and a charter, August 31, 1809: and charters for Madison Union Lodge at Madison, August 31, 1815; for Blazing Star Lodge at Charlestown, August 27, 1816; and for Salem Lodge at Salem, Lawrenceburg at Lawrenceburg, and Pisgah Lodge at Corydon, August 26, 1817. And in the recess after that session of the Grand Lodge, in the latter part of 1817, dispensations were granted for Switzerland Lodge at Vevay and Rising Sun Lodge at Rising Sun.

The Grand Master of Ohio, in the recess between the sessions in 1816 and 1817, granted a dispensation for Brookville Harmony Lodge, at Brookville; and on August 4, 1817, the Grand Lodge extended the dispensation till the next session, when a charter

was granted, December 15, 1818; the Lodge made returns and was represented in the Annual Communication in December, 1819.

Representatives from all these Lodges met at Corydon December 3, 1817, and voted, seven Lodges to two, that "It is expedient and advisable that a Grand Lodge should be at this time formed in the State of Indiana." Upon a resolution that the Lodges represented send delegates to meet at Madison on the second Tuesday of January then next, to form a Grand Lodge, and that a communication to that effect be sent to the rest of the Lodges in the State not represented in the convention, the vote stood five to four, although one of the Lodges, voting in the negative on the former vote, voted in the affirmative. The Lodges U. D. were allowed the same vote as chartered Lodges, and the last resolution was adopted by the votes of two chartered Lodges and three Lodges U. D. against the votes of four chartered Lodges. An address to the Grand Lodges of Kentucky and Ohio was adopted, in which it was assumed that five Lodges had the right to form a Grand Lodge, and the suggestion was made that it was unnecessary to refer to the precedents. The proceedings were signed by the representatives of all the Lodges. The vote to notify unrepresented Lodges was probably adopted as a matter of precaution, as there were no other Lodges in the State.

The convention met accordingly, January 12, 1818. In the afternoon two chartered Lodges and two U. D. were represented; in the evening representatives from all the other Lodges were also present. By formal vote the chartered Lodges separated from the Lodges U. D., and proceeded to form a Grand Lodge. Grand Officers *pro tem.* were appointed, as well as a committee to examine attendant visiting brethren, and the meeting was adjourned till the next morning. The "Grand Lodge convened pursuant to adjournment and was opened on the third degree; Grand Officers were elected, and all the Brethren who were not Past Masters having retired, the Masters' Lodge was closed, and the Grand Lodge was opened in the Past Master's degree"; the Grand Master and the Deputy Grand Master were installed and "received the customary salutations and congratulations." The Past Masters' Lodge was closed and a Masters' Lodge opened; the Grand Wardens and other Grand Officers were then installed and took their seats. This completed the organization of the Grand Lodge, which ranks from January 13, 1818.

The representatives of all the chartered Lodges produced their charters and surrendered them and prayed for charters from the new Grand Lodge. A committee was appointed to draft a Code of By-Laws. The next day a resolution was offered that the Brethren representing Lodges U. D. be permitted to take part in the deliberations until otherwise ordered. It was amended by limiting the privilege "to right of debating" without the right of voting; it was then referred to a committee, upon whose report it was voted that the resolution was "unnecessary and inexpedient." In the afternoon the Grand Lodge marched in procession to a church and listened to an address by the Grand Chaplain. In the evening the Code of By-Laws (nearly a transcript of the Kentucky Code) was adopted. Past Masters were made members of the Grand Lodge with one vote "collectively."

The Grand Lodge met on the 15th and delivered the new charters, but the representatives of the Lodge at Salem surrendered their old warrant, and declined to take a new one. Webb's Monitor was adopted for the government of the Grand Lodge and its use recommended to the Lodges. The Virginia idea of a "Book of Constitutions," with a Code of By-Laws, had been adopted by the Grand Lodge of Kentucky and now,

in its turn, by the Grand Lodge of Indiana. The Junior Grand Warden was a member of the Lodge which had surrendered its charter, and, on that account, was held to have forfeited his seat in the Grand Lodge; his successor was elected and installed in the Grand Lodge opened on the Past Masters' degree. This decision was perhaps the natural conclusion from the prevalent idea of the nature of a charter, but would now be sustained by few Grand Lodges.

Why representatives of Lodges U. D. were denied the courtesy of participating in the deliberations, or why they did not surrender their dispensations and receive charters, does not appear; the representatives of two of them remained in attendance. At the Annual Communication in September following, the one whose representative did not remain in attendance was chartered, and on the next day a dispensation was granted to the other Kentucky Lodge U. D.; apparently the Grand Lodge held that it could not interfere with Lodges under dispensations granted by other Grand Lodges. A proposition to amend the constitution, by providing that no one should be eligible to the office of Grand Master or Deputy Grand Master until he had taken the Past Master's degree, was rejected. The Grand Master and Deputy were installed in a Past Masters' Lodge, and the other officers in a Masters' Lodge; except that once a Junior Grand Warden was also installed in a Past Masters' Lodge. As this course was pursued when the Grand Master was re-elected, the inference is that the conferring of the Past Master's degree was held to be a necessary part of every installation of a Grand Master, Deputy, or Master of a Lodge; in one instance it is stated that all but "Past Grand Masters" retired, but this was evidently a clerical error.

In 1819, it was suggested that there was a Lodge at Brookville working under the Grand Lodge of Ohio, and a committee was appointed to correspond with that Grand Lodge in reference to it; the committee made no report and no correspondence was presented, but in 1820 the Lodge asked for, and received, a charter from the Grand Lodge of Indiana. Subsequently, however, the committee reported that, owing to an unusual press of business, they had not attended to the duty. It appearing that Brookville Lodge had paid some ninety dollars to the Grand Lodge of Ohio since the organization of the Grand Lodge of Indiana, the latter made a claim on the former for the amount. The reply was that Brookville Lodge had remained "under the protection" of the Grand Lodge of Ohio and had not, during the time for which it had paid dues, given in its adhesion to the Grand Lodge of Indiana, and, therefore, the latter was not entitled to the dues; the Grand Lodge of Indiana acceded to this view and withdrew its claim. Nothing was said as to the illegality of the course of Ohio in chartering the Lodge, and the presumption is, that it was agreed that when the Lodge was chartered the Grand Lodge of Ohio had not been informed of the organization of the Grand Lodge of Indiana; and still the Brother, who represented the Lodge in the Convention, and was present in the Grand Lodge after it was organized, represented the Lodge subsequently in the Grand Lodge of Ohio.

This Grand Lodge from its organization went on growing steadily for ten years, when it had thirty-eight Lodges on its roll. The anti-Masonic war at first affected it but little, but it ceased creating new Lodges and soon the old Lodges began to get delinquent; then they stopped work and in a short time they ceased to meet. The Grand Lodge had scarcely a quorum at its sessions. Two of its Grand Treasurers failed to pay over the money in their hands, and, before a settlement could be obtained, died insolvent.

The lowest point seemed to have been reached in 1835, and between that time and 1840 four new Lodges were chartered, but only *twelve* of the *thirty-eight* Lodges remained on the roll. After that time the representation increased; some of the old Lodges were revived; new ones were formed in place of others; so that when in 1845 Philip Mason retired from the Grand Mastership after ten years of faithful and zealous service during the darkest days of the Grand Lodge, a large proportion of the old Lodges were again at work, with new ones enough added to make fifty Lodges on the roll. In 1860, the number of Lodges had increased to two hundred and sixty-three with a membership of 9,727.

With the wonderful growth of the State, Masonry grew. All seemed so prosperous that the Grand Lodge determined to erect a Masonic Temple. A site was purchased and the enterprise consummated at the expense of a heavy debt. The revenue from it fell far below what had been anticipated. In 1874, the Grand Lodge borrowed $75,000, with interest at nine per cent., and in addition it had a floating debt; in 1880, the situation was serious; taxation, which had not only checked the growth of the Institution but caused a falling off, had produced barely enough to pay the interest. Then the Grand Lodge commenced more efficient measures; to reduce the expenses, it omitted annual sessions in 1881, 1883, 1885, and 1887; the finances were managed with consummate ability, and in 1886 the glad announcement was made that the Grand Lodge was free from debt. The reduction of taxation and other causes stopped the downward march, and in 1888 four hundred and sixty seven Lodges show a membership of 23,015, an increase for the first time in many years.

Mississippi.

The Grand Lodge of Kentucky chartered Harmony Lodge, at Natchez, October 16, 1801. It surrendered its charter, September 2, 1814; the Grand Lodge accepted the surrender of the charter and resolved that the jewels and other properties of the Lodge became, by the surrender of the charter, the property of the Grand Lodge; and certain of the late members of the Lodge were directed to hold its effects subject to the order of the Grand Lodge. The reasons for the surrender are not stated, but indications, quite certain in their character, point to internal troubles; five members were expelled in 1811, and there had been several rejections, and the return does not show any work; the last previous return (in 1811) showed a large amount of work. The Grand Lodge granted a dispensation, August 31, 1815, to a part of the old members, for a new Lodge by the same name, and on August 27, 1816, granted a charter.

The Grand Master of Tennessee granted a dispensation for Jackson Lodge, at Natchez, August 13, 1816; and on October 8, 1816, a charter was granted to it by the name of Andrew Jackson Lodge, and William D. King was installed as its Master in the Grand Lodge. At the next annual session a communication was received from the Lodge relative to the suspension of King for three months. There is reason for the belief that when the original Harmony Lodge surrendered its charter, there were two parties, and one of them took a new charter from Kentucky and the other obtained a charter from Tennessee for Andrew Jackson Lodge. On October 16, 1817, a charter was also granted by the Grand Lodge of Tennessee for Washington Lodge at Fort Gibson, in pursuance of a dispensation granted by the Grand Master during the recess.

Pursuant to resolutions of Harmony Lodge, concurred in unanimously by the two

other Lodges, the Masters and Wardens of Harmony, Andrew Jackson and Washington Lodges met in convention at Natchez, July 27, 1818, eleven Past Masters being also present and acting, voted unanimously to form a Grand Lodge, and at once elected and installed the Grand Master and other Grand Officers. The Grand Lodge being thus organized, a committee was appointed to draft a constitution and a circular address to be sent out to the other Grand Lodges; the committee not being ready to report the next day, the convention adjourned to the 25th of August, when it met and unanimously adopted a constitution which was signed by the members present. The Lodges surrendered their charters and took new ones, the Grand Lodge voting that the officers already elected and installed should hold office for the term for which they were originally elected.

The constitution follows in part that of Kentucky and in part that of Tennessee. While a less number (apparently the ritual number) could open the Grand Lodge, the representatives of three Lodges were required in order to enable it to "proceed to business." It was composed of the Grand Officers, Past Grand Officers, Past Masters by election, Past Masters by degree and the officers or representatives of Lodges; but, it says, "no brother shall hereafter become a member of the Grand Lodge, until after petitioning and a unanimous ballot in his favor." The construction of this clause is doubtful; in terms, it applies to every future member; but it scarcely could have been intended to apply to the representatives of Lodges, whether officers or proxies. Practically it was applied to Past Masters, except that it was decided that a Brother elected and installed Grand Treasurer, did not become a member of the Grand Lodge until he had been unanimously elected, although when elected Grand Treasurer he was a Past Master and representative of his Lodge. The probable solution is that the word "member" meant "permanent member"; this is strengthened by the fact that the permanent members were required to pay dues, and, at first if not afterwards, could terminate the membership by taking a demit, which was granted by vote of the Grand Lodge, precisely as a subordinate Lodge would do it. This system was continued till 1842, when the constitution was amended so as to make the Grand Lodge consist of the Grand Officers, Past Grand Officers, Past Masters of Lodges (by election), and Masters and Wardens of the Lodges, or the legal representatives of Lodges; this apparently deprived Chapter Past Masters, who had been elected members of the Grand Lodge, of their membership, although the question does not appear to have been made.

In 1823, John A. Quitman entered the Grand Lodge as the Junior Warden of Harmony Lodge. He was appointed Grand Marshal, and coming thereafter as the Master of Harmony Lodge, he was elected to other Grand Offices till 1826, when he was elected Grand Master; he held the position by successive elections till 1838. Elected in his absence in 1840, he declined serving, but in 1845 and 1846 he was again elected and served. For over twenty-five years he was active in the Grand Lodge and did very much to mould the administration of Masonic affairs. He took one position, in which at the time he was sustained by his Grand Lodge, which was not tenable. In the first year of his Grand Mastership he granted dispensations for Lodges in Louisiana and maintained his right to do so; the Lodges, however, surrendered these dispensations and took charters from the Grand Lodge of their State. A few years later the Grand Lodge decided that its former action was erroneous.

A little later William P. Mellen, and later still George H. Gray, became active mem-

bers of the Grand Lodge, and gave it a high reputation among all the Grand Lodges in the country. The reports of Mellen, while Grand Secretary, were characterized by a high degree of ability and an extensive knowledge of the history and jurisprudence of the Institution.

In 1829, Grand Master Quitman said that the whirlwind of prejudice then raging in the North was known only as a rumor in his jurisdiction, and "must spend itself long before it can reach our happy clime." But he was wrong; its effects were seen in 1832, when six of the sixteen Lodges failed to make returns. In 1833, when the Grand Lodge opened but two chartered Lodges were represented, and only four during the session. New Lodges were created, it is true, but old ones became extinct. At least one half disappeared from the roll. But in 1837 a reaction took place, and rapid growth followed. In 1840 there were twenty-six active Lodges. In 1850 they had increased to nearly one hundred. In 1860 there were two hundred and thirty-eight Lodges with a membership of about 10,000; the Civil War prevented the meeting of the Grand Lodge in 1862, and until 1868 the membership fell off; then it began to increase, and in 1870 it had reached 11,000. It continued to increase until the business depression came on, and then began to retrograde, and in 1880 had fallen to about 9,300. The returns for 1887 show two hundred and fifty-nine Lodges with a membership of 7,253.

The depression in business does not account for this large and long-continued falling off in the membership. It is believed that the multiplication, within a few years, of societies imitating Masonry in some things, but maintaining a system of obligatory benefits as a consideration for obligatory dues, aided by the popular rage for societies having life, health or accident-insurance features, have so occupied the ground, that Masonry, with its system of charity and relief, has been passed by as not affording benefits of a pecuniary character. It is said that in Mississippi, Masonry has suffered from this cause more than in any other jurisdiction. However, the losses in the later years have been smaller; in 1887 the net loss was only 26, and there is reason for believing that the lowest point has been reached, and that growth has already commenced.

Maine.

Jeremy Gridley, Provincial Grand Master of the (old) Grand Lodge of England for Massachusetts, granted a "constitution" for a Lodge at Falmouth, now Portland, to Alexander Ross, March 20, 1762; but on account of pressure of business and ill-health, Ross never "congregated the Lodge." He died November 24, 1768, and upon petition of eleven resident Masons, John Rowe, the successor of Gridley, granted a new charter with William Tyng as Master, March 30, 1769. The first meeting was held May 8, 1769.

In Massachusetts Grand Lodge, June 5, 1778, the memorial of William Chaloner, George Stillman, Jonathan Lowden, James Avery and Jonas Farnsworth, "praying for a charter of new erection," was presented, but the petitioners had leave to withdraw because the petition was not "supported by a sufficient number of signers." It was presented again September 4, 1778, and a charter was granted for Warren Lodge at Machias, dated September 10, 1778.

Lincoln Lodge at Wiscasset was chartered June 1, 1792, by the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts after the union of the two Grand Lodges.

Thus in this State, the oldest Lodge was created under the authority of the Grand

Lodge of England, the second by Massachusetts Grand Lodge (created by the Grand Lodge of Scotland), and the third by these two authorities united.

Maine remained a part of Massachusetts until 1820, and up to that time the Grand Lodge of that Commonwealth exercised exclusive jurisdiction in the "District of Maine."

The Institution grew steadily, and the number of Lodges increased to thirty-one in 1819. The chartering of a second Lodge in Portland, in 1806, for a brief period disturbed the harmony and led to the adoption of the rule by the Grand Lodge, that petitioners for a new Lodge must ask the recommendation of the nearest Lodge. The contest between the "Ancients" and the "Moderns" did not reach Maine. As early as 1772, Portland Lodge voted that, in order to establish harmony in this Lodge, for the future the Lodge be opened one evening in the Modern form, and the next evening in the Ancient form, until the Lodge should otherwise order; but "the makings" were to be "as usual in this Lodge;" one who received the degrees in Warren Lodge, in 1785, became a member of Portland Lodge in 1796.

In 1819, it was settled that at an early day Maine would be admitted to the Union as a State. On the 13th of August of that year Portland Lodge caused a Circular, prepared by that distinguished jurist, Simon Greenleaf, to be issued to the Lodges, proposing to hold a Convention, October 14, 1819, to consider the expediency, in effect, of forming a Grand Lodge for the new State. The circular assumed, as a matter of course, that in case Maine was separated from Massachusetts, her Masons had the right to form a Grand Lodge. As a reason, it stated that "If the *political* tie which connects the two great divisions of the State is to be severed, there appears to be a fitness, independent of other considerations, that the *Masonic* connection should at the same time be dissolved."

In response to the circular, delegates from twenty-five Lodges met and voted unanimously that the good of Masonry would be greatly promoted by constituting a Grand Lodge in Maine. A committee was then appointed to consider the method of doing this "in the manner most consistent with our duty to the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts and best calculated to promote the prosperity of the craft." The next day a delegate was reported present from another Lodge, and as the proceedings were signed by representatives from three others, they must have been present, although not so reported; in all, twenty-nine of the thirty-one Lodges were represented. The committee reported four resolutions and a memorial to the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts. The latter was drawn by Greenleaf; it referred in detail to the action of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts and the position taken by it in relation to Grand Lodge jurisdiction; it states as the reason, "as every Mason owes allegiance to the civil authority under which he lives, as well as submission to the Grand Lodge, if the members of the latter were not amenable to the same laws with himself, a most injurious opposition might arise between his duties as a citizen and as a Mason." "Impressed with these considerations" the Lodges, through their delegates, requested that their connection with the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts might be dissolved, and that the Grand Lodge would take the necessary measures looking to that end, and allow the new Grand Lodge its just share of the funds and other property.

The Grand Lodge met the question in the same spirit that the Masons of Maine had manifested. The committee, to which the matter was referred, recite the action of the convention and add that Eastern Lodge (one of the two which was not represented) had sent a communication endorsing the action of the other Lodges, and repeat with empha-

sis the doctrine of the Grand Lodge in relation to the formation of Grand Lodges in independent States. They reported resolutions giving the approval of the Grand Lodge to the movement, declaring the new Grand Lodge when formed entitled to one thousand dollars as the foundation of a Charity Fund, and transferring all sums in the hands of the Maine Deputies or due from the Maine Lodges, to the Grand Lodge of Maine to be used as it might see fit. The report and resolutions were unanimously adopted.

The convention met, heard the report of the committee which had presented the memorial to the Grand Lodge, and empowered it, when the State should be admitted to the Union, to take the necessary steps to form a Grand Lodge and adjourned to May 31, 1820. It met according to adjournment, heard the final report of the committee, which had called a meeting of the Masters and Wardens or proxies of the Lodges to meet the next day, accepted the report and dissolved.

On June 1, 1820, the Masters, Wardens and proxies of twenty-four Lodges met, chose a chairman and secretary and proceeded, by unanimous vote, to the organization of the Grand Lodge of Maine by the choice of Grand Officers. William King, Governor of the State, was elected Grand Master; various matters of detail were attended to, and the 24th of June was fixed for the installation of the Grand Officers. The Grand Lodge of Massachusetts was invited to assist in the services, and the Grand Lodge of New Hampshire was invited to attend. Before the time fixed for the installation arrived several communications were held and one charter granted.

By a misunderstanding, the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts was prevented from attending on June 24, 1820, but the Grand Lodge of New Hampshire was present. Twenty Lodges were represented and about three hundred visitors participated in the ceremonies. The Grand Lodge of New Hampshire was received in "ample and ancient form." The records and official documents to show the regular organization of the Grand Lodge were produced, and submitted to the Grand Master of New Hampshire for his examination. He approved them and signified his readiness, with the aid of his Grand Lodge, to install the Grand Officers. Accordingly a procession was formed and marched to Rev. Mr. Payson's meeting house. The Grand Master of New Hampshire assumed the East; the President of Bowdoin College made the introductory prayer; John H. Sheppard delivered an elaborate oration. Upon the conclusion of the oration, the Grand Master of New Hampshire installed the Grand Master of Maine in the usual manner, and the latter installed the other Grand Officers; thanks were tendered to the visitors and congratulations expressed by them. The usual proclamation was made. The benediction was pronounced, and thereupon the brethren returned to the hall, where a banquet was served.

The Grand Lodge entered at once upon the duties with which it was charged. It recalled none of the charters under which the Lodges were working. It directed the Grand Secretary to obtain a list of the Past Masters in the State and the dates of the several charters. It held that the Lodges existed by virtue of their original charters; and if they surrendered those charters they ceased to exist. If new charters were issued, they must be issued to individuals and the Lodges constituted under them before they became effective; at most a second charter could only be a charter of *confirmation;* and as such a charter should be issued only when the former charter was lost, it was improper, as well as unnecessary, to issue one while the Lodge was in possession of the charter by which it was created.

The proceedings in organizing this Grand Lodge are given somewhat at length, because the number and age of the Lodges participating in it were then, and have since been, without a parallel in the United States; because they were directed by Simon Greenleaf, one of our ablest jurists and a learned Freemason, with the advantage of a knowledge of the precedents and the assistance of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts; and because it is the first instance in Masonic History in which one Grand Lodge "consecrated" another and installed its officers. The course, too, of the Mother Grand Lodge was then unprecedented, and stands in sharp contrast with the course of those which exacted from the Lodges their dues up to the very date of the organization of their Grand Lodge. The effect of the proceedings and the public services was said to have been very beneficial to the craft and to the community.

One Lodge, the one most recently chartered, was not represented in any of the meetings held for the organization of the Grand Lodge, but at the first session in 1821 its representatives appeared and took their seats as a matter of course.

The Grand Lodge was at once incorporated by a special charter. Trustees of the Charity Fund were elected, and the $1,000 paid by the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts placed under their control; small additions were made to it annually and it now amounts to $22,500 at the par value of the stocks, and yields an income of $1,500, which is annually appropriated to the relief of indigent Masons, widows and orphans. In this connection a question arose immediately after the organization of the Grand Lodge, which was earnestly debated and maturely considered; it was proposed to aid in the circulation of the Bible "without note or comment," on the ground that Masonic funds are not "necessarily limited to the relief of bodily suffering, but are lawfully applicable to other purposes of beneficence," and among those purposes were enumerated the free distribution of the Bible, the education of the children of indigent Masons and the "assistance of pious Masons who may have gone as instructors among the heathen." But the Grand Lodge decided that, while most earnestly approving efforts to distribute the Bible as proposed, the funds could not be used for the purpose, because they were "held to supply the temporal wants" of the needy.

Gov. King's term of office expired in January, 1822, and Simon Greenleaf succeeded him and held the office for two years; during his term of office he constituted Harmony Lodge and installed its officers in public. In his valedictory he was able to state that the complicated acts, incident to the formation of the Grand Lodge under the circumstances in which the Lodges of Maine were placed, had been successfully and harmoniously performed; that the Charity Fund had been doubled; that the system of administering the affairs of the craft was, in the highest degree, successful; that the Lodges had increased to forty-four, with a membership of 1,586. Greenleaf ably served the Grand Lodge until his removal from the State. The Proceedings contain many reports written by him, of great ability, and showing an intimate acquaintance with the History of Masonry and a full appreciation of its fundamental principles; indeed they may still be read, and studied as a correct exposition of the principles which were involved in the discussion. One sentence from his valedictory deserves to be repeated in every Lodge in the world;

"In the distribution of Masonic funds we should never lose sight of the great principle that they are the property of the whole fraternity, and are to be expended in deeds of beneficence and charity."

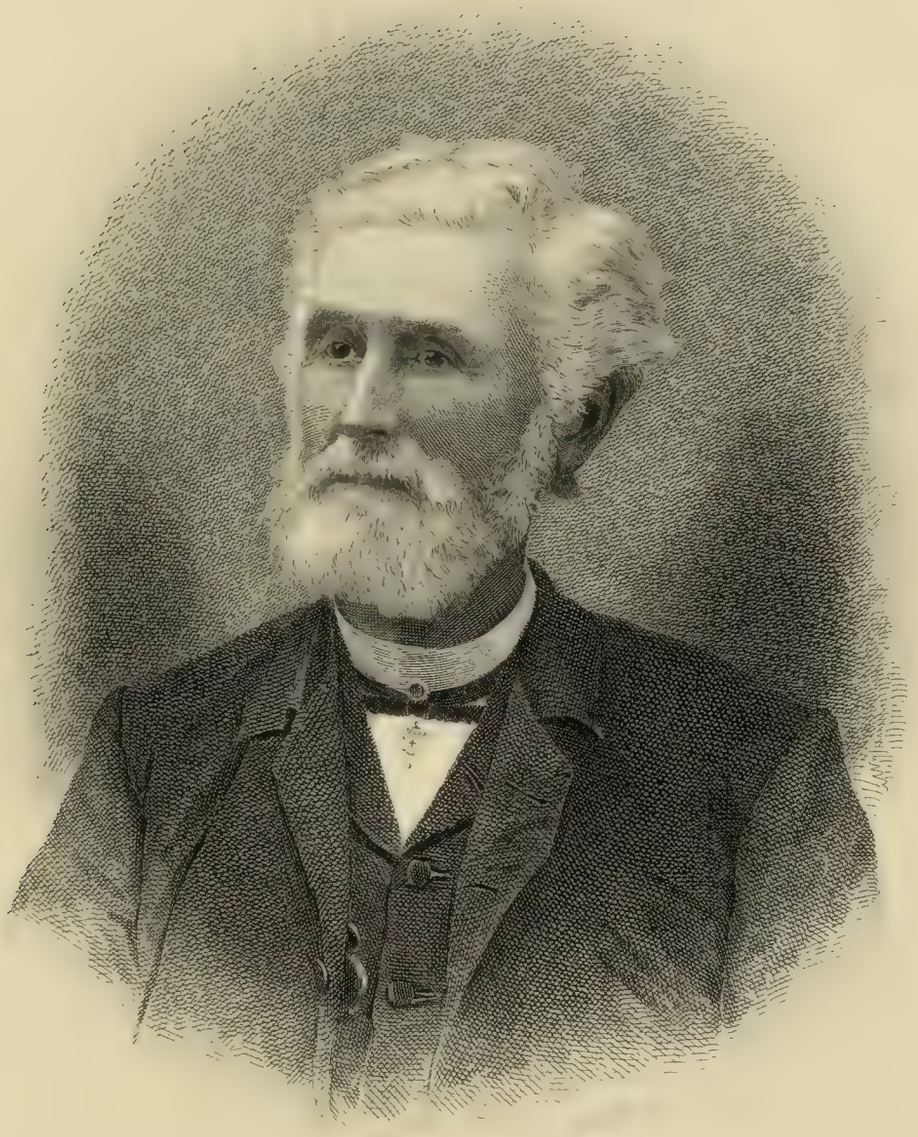
In an unanswerable report against the expediency of a General Grand Lodge, he touched upon one point that is exciting great interest at the present time, and as it was written when there was nothing to warp his judgment, it should have all the more weight. He said:

"The introduction of false degrees into Masonry is an innovation which we believe this Grand Lodge will always resolutely resist. Should it ever be found within our jurisdiction, it would doubtless receive prompt attention from the immediate guardian of the Temple and timely suppression by the Grand Lodge at its next ensuing communication. We see no reason why other Grand Lodges should not be considered equally vigilant to discern approaching danger and prompt to meet and avert it."

Able men succeeded him as Grand Master, and Masonry continued to enjoy prosperity and growth until the Anti-Masonic storm burst upon the Institution; and nowhere was the assault upon it more fierce or bitter than in Maine. Fortunately there was no law requiring any particular number of Lodges "to make a quorum" in the Grand Lodge, and none declaring charters forfeited for failure to meet or to make returns; the delinquencies of Lodges had been so few that the Grand Lodge could deal with each case, as it arose, without any express law upon the subject. It was determined that the craft should not increase the excitement by opposition, but "quietly let the tempest take its course and fear not its consequences." Almost all the Lodges ceased meeting as well as work, but their affairs were kept in such shape that work could be resumed when the time came. The Grand Lodge quietly held its annual sessions, but the number of Lodges decreased each year until 1837, when only one Lodge was represented—the first Lodge chartered by the Grand Lodge of Maine. The tide then began to turn, and yet in 1842, so far as the record discloses, not a single Lodge was represented. In 1843, a convention was held, and it was decided that the time anticipated, when the policy of "letting the tempest take its course" was adopted, had arrived, and a circular was issued advising the Lodges to be represented in the Grand Lodge at its next session; some Lodges had surrendered their charters, but most of them had retained them and kept them securely. Under the law, officers of Lodges held over until their successors had been chosen and installed; so that when the circular was received, the brethren "gathered up their working tools" and *met* "upon the square." In many cases, the Lodge met at the time fixed for its regular communication and opened precisely as if it had met the month before, instead of having taken a Rip Van Winkle sleep of ten or twenty years. The transition from the record, on one page, of a meeting in 1828, to the record, on the next page, of a meeting in 1843, without a word of explanation, is decidedly abrupt.

At the annual communication in 1844, the representatives of sixteen Lodges were present, as well as those of two Lodges which had surrendered their charters and of one Lodge whose charter had been revoked. Some charters were restored and a duplicate ordered to be issued in one case in which the charter had been burned. St. John's Day (June 25) was celebrated publicly, with an address by John H. Sheppard, who had delivered the oration at the organization of the Grand Lodge.

Then commenced a growth, more or less rapid, that has continued ever since. Every charter which had been surrendered was restored to former members of the Lodge. Every dormant Lodge was revived, so that for many years there was not a vacant number on the roll of Lodges; and such has been the stability of the Lodges that there were in 1888 only four vacant numbers out of 191 on the roll, Nos. 59, 120 and 136 having sur-



Courteously & fraternally
H. L. Chamberlain
Silas Alden. 33°

P.·. G.·. C.·. Gen.·. of the G.·. C.·. of K.·. T.·. of Maine, Hon.·. Mem.·.
Sup.·. Council.·. 33° A.·. A.·. S.·. Rite Nor.·. Juris.·. U. S. A.

rendered their charters recently, and the charter of No. 90 having been revoked for unmasonic conduct. No old number has been given to a new Lodge, but each Lodge now has the same number it originally had, and each Lodge is numbered according to the date of its charter. For nearly thirty years there have not been ten cases, in all, of failure by Lodges to make their returns before the session of the Grand Lodge, if not within the time fixed.

The average membership of the Lodges is very large; in 1888, the 187 Lodges returned a membership of 20,370—an average of 109 to a Lodge. The Grand Lodge pays *per diem* and mileage to one representative from each Lodge, sufficient to divide the expense, holding that it is for the benefit of the *whole craft* to have every Lodge represented, and so the larger part of the expense is borne by the whole craft; and yet the Grand Lodge dues are small, there being but few jurisdictions in which they are less.

Almost all the Lodges have Charity Funds held by Trustees, incorporated distinct from the Lodge and yet elected by the Lodge; the income is paid over to the Lodge and disposed of by it.

From the time of Greenleaf this Grand Lodge has made "Reports on Foreign Correspondence" a special feature; and has also, following the example set by him, given great consideration to Masonic Jurisprudence. It has had the service, on the Committee on Foreign Correspondence, of two Chairmen for forty-one years—seventeen by Bro. Cyril Pearl and twenty four by the present Chairman—each having prepared the entire report for each year that he served.

Missouri.

In the early days, when the only settlements in what is now the great State of Missouri were trading-posts, some of the French merchants, who were in the habit of visiting Philadelphia annually on business, were made Masons in the Lodge L'Amenité, chartered in 1797. In 1807, people from other nationalities had settled there, among whom were many Masons, and on July 17, 1807, the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania granted a charter for Louisiana Lodge at St. Genevieve (now in Missouri), with Dr. Aaron Elliott as Master, and Andrew Henry and George Bullitt (who had been made Masons in Western Star Lodge in Kaskaskia, Illinois) as Wardens. It was duly constituted November 14, 1807, and included in its membership many of the merchants prominent, a few years later, in St. Louis. The Lodge declined, probably on account of the lead St. Louis soon gained, and in 1824 its charter was vacated by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania for nonpayment of dues; it was probably dormant some years before. October 8, 1825, the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania communicated to the Grand Lodge of Missouri, that members of the Lodge had petitioned that Grand Lodge to be revived for the special purpose of closing up its affairs, and desired to know the feelings of the latter in regard to granting their request; the Grand Lodge gave permission for the revival of the Lodge for the sole purpose specified.

The Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania also granted a charter for St. Louis Lodge, at St. Louis, September 15, 1808. The list gives no further information concerning it; and when O'Sullivan wrote in 1852, he had been "unable to procure the least information" concerning it, and it is not known how long it existed. It certainly had disappeared a few years later than 1808, and it is doubtful if it was ever organized.

The Grand Lodge of Tennessee chartered Missouri Lodge at St. Louis, October 8,

1816, the dispensation for which had been issued, October 3, 1815; Joachim Lodge at Herculaneum, and St. Charles Lodge at St. Charles, October 6, 1819. Dispensations had been granted by the Grand Lodge to the former January 4, 1819, and to the latter July 5, 1819.

The Grand Lodge of Indiana granted a dispensation for Unity Lodge at Jackson, December 21, 1820, which, at the time of the organization of the Grand Lodge of Missouri, had not been chartered; the Lodge petitioned the Grand Lodge, October 1, 1821, praying that a charter might be granted, so soon as they should produce a recommendation from the Grand Lodge of Indiana, and the Grand Lodge authorized the Grand Master to issue the charter. The Grand Lodge of Indiana gave the recommendation, and at the next session report was made that the charter had been issued, and the action was confirmed by the Grand Lodge.

Missouri Lodge, of which Edward Bates was Master and Thomas H. Benton a member, issued an invitation to the other two chartered Lodges to meet and consider the propriety of forming a Grand Lodge in the State. In pursuance thereof the delegates of Missouri, Joachim and St. Charles Lodges met February 22, 1821, organized and adopted resolutions, that it was "expedient and necessary to the interest of the craft that a Grand Lodge should be established in this State, to be invested with all the powers and privileges usually enjoyed by Grand Lodges heretofore established;" that a committee be appointed to draft a constitution to be sent out to the Lodges; that the Lodges be requested to act upon it, and that if a majority of them should ratify it, the officers of such Lodges, by themselves or their proxies, properly appointed, "and all Past Masters usually admitted to seats in Grand Lodges," should meet April 23, 1821, to organize the Grand Lodge.

It will be perceived that the right to form a Grand Lodge was so fully taken for granted that nothing was said about that, or about asking any permission from any authority; that this right could be exercised by a majority of the Lodges; and that the Grand Lodge was to be formed by the Masters and Wardens of Lodges "by themselves or their proxies duly appointed," and the Past Masters "usually admitted to seats in Grand Lodges." In Maine, whose laws came from Anderson instead of Dermott, the same construction of Masonic law was followed the year before, except that proxies (to serve only in case the officers were not present) were appointed by the Lodges and not by the officers, and Past Masters were not considered members of the Grand Lodge.

The constitution proposed was substantially a copy of that of the Grand Lodge of Tennessee; no provision was made concerning a quorum, and the constitution could be amended only by submitting the proposed amendment to the Lodges.

A "Convocation," as proposed, opened as a Lodge on the third degree, and adjourned to the next day. Then there being present the officers of three Lodges and several Past Masters, Grand Officers were elected. The constitution had been read and it was assumed that it had been adopted, but no formal action was taken in relation to it, not even to record that it had been adopted by a majority of the Lodges.

The "convocation" adjourned to May 4, 1821, when the "solemn ceremony of consecration and installation" of the Grand Lodge was performed *in public,* in "the Baptist church," "in conformity with the ancient landmarks and customs of the fraternity." The proceedings of the convention and the constitution were read, and the next day a code of By-Laws (copied from those of Tennessee) was adopted. The Lodges were not required to surrender their old charters, but it was ordered that when they did surrender

them, new charters should be issued, or if the surrender was made in vacation, that the Grand Master should issue a dispensation to be in force until the next session of the Grand Lodge, and no longer. St. Charles Lodge, desiring to change its name to Hiram Lodge, surrendered its charter, but declined to work under the temporary dispensation of the Grand Master; the matter was brought before the Grand Lodge, which ordered a new charter to issue, and decided that as it was an existing Lodge it was entitled to be represented in the Grand Lodge. No mention is made of the issue of new charters to the other two Lodges, but it was stated in 1828 that Missouri Lodge did surrender its old charter and take a new one. Joachim Lodge became dormant in 1823, and its charter was revoked, April 7, 1825. Hiram Lodge surrendered its charter, April 4, 1826.

The Grand Lodge commenced issuing charters at once, quite a number being for Lodges in Illinois. In one instance, one of the petitioners had been struck from the roll of a Lodge for a breach of the By-Laws, and the Grand Lodge voted that the petition should not be granted, "until he is restored in said Lodge." In another case, the Grand Master granted a dispensation for a Lodge, which was formally constituted under it, upon the understanding that it was a charter; the Grand Lodge confirmed it as a charter and recognized the Lodge as duly constituted.

Some of the Lodges expelled or suspended Apprentices and Fellow Crafts for non-payment of dues, but the Grand Lodge decided that such action was illegal, as only Master Masons could be members of Lodges or vote therein. An attempt was made to recognize Chapter Past Masters as members of the Grand Lodge, as had been done in other Grand Lodges; but although a committee, composed of able men, reported to that effect, the Grand Lodge rejected its report and decided adversely to the claim.

When the Grand Lodge was formed, Missouri Lodge was indebted to the Grand Lodge of Tennessee and neglected to make payment. In 1828, the Grand Lodge of Missouri was informed that the Grand Lodge of Tennessee had formally suspended that Lodge. The former decided that the suspension was without effect. The decision was based upon the fact that the Lodge had surrendered the Tennessee charter, and had "passed under the jurisdiction of another Grand Lodge." While the "change of charters" is mentioned, the fact that the Lodge was under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Missouri was really (and properly) the real ground of the decision. It was held that the claim of the Grand Lodge of Tennessee was upon the Grand Lodge of Missouri to see that the dues were paid, and not upon its subordinate; and accordingly it directed Missouri Lodge to pay the amount.

Several of the Lodges surrendered or lost their charters before the anti-masonic excitement commenced; but other Lodges were affected by that. Missouri Lodge, of which the Grand Master was then a member, surrendered its charter, October 5, 1833, on the motion of Edward Bates, then its Master as well as Past Grand Master of the Grand Lodge. This must have been a severe blow to the craft, but many of them rallied unflinchingly to the support of the Grand Lodge. One new charter was granted. The place of meeting was changed to Columbia; but the contest for life was a close one. The Grand Lodge did not meet in 1835, and the enemies of Masonry exulted in its downfall, several clergymen in St. Louis being especially bitter. But in 1836, the Grand Lodge met, with a representation of four of the six Lodges then known to exist; three Lodges were delinquent in returns and further time was given to them, and a charter was granted to "brethren residing at and near the City of St. Louis" for St. Louis Lodge. In 1837,

the Grand Lodge met with representatives from five Lodges, and many visiting Brethren; new charters were granted and work actively commenced. From this time forward prosperity attended it.

In 1840 it had eleven subordinates (including some in Illinois), all of which made returns; four additional Lodges were chartered, and one charter was revoked. In 1888 these had increased to *five hundred and thirty-seven Lodges*, with a membership of 26,169.

Alabama.

On August 29, 1811, while Alabama was yet a part of Mississippi Territory, the Grand Lodge of Kentucky granted a dispensation for Madison Lodge, No. 21, in Madison County. On August 28, 1812, a charter was granted to this Lodge, locating it at Huntsville, and was issued the same day, and the Master was installed in Grand Lodge. When the Territory was divided and Mississippi admitted into the Union in 1817, the Grand Lodge of Mississippi had not been organized, so that it never claimed jurisdiction outside of that State, and this Lodge remained under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Kentucky until the Grand Lodge of Alabama was formed.

The Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Tennessee granted dispensations for Lodges in Alabama, as follows: Alabama Lodge, No. 21, at Huntsville, April 6, 1818; Washington Lodge, at Hazel Green in 1818; Rising Virtue Lodge at Tuskaloosa, in 1819; Halo Lodge at Cahawba, April 4, 1820; Moulton Lodge at Moulton, May 4, 1820; Franklin Lodge at Russellville, October 3, 1820; Tuscumbia Lodge at Courtland, March 3, 1821; and Farrar Lodge at Elyton, March 5, 1821. Charters were granted to Alabama and Washington Lodges, October 6, 1818; to Rising Virtue Lodge, October 5, 1819; and to Moulton, October 3, 1820, and the next day the Master was installed in Grand Lodge. At the annual communication in October, 1821, the Grand Master reported that Halo Lodge had surrendered its dispensation without working under it. He was authorized to issue a charter to Tuscumbia Lodge in vacation, and in 1822 he reported that he had done so. He further reported in 1822, that Franklin Lodge at Russellville had returned its dispensation and declined to take a charter; and that Farrar Lodge had surrendered its dispensation to the Grand Lodge of Alabama and taken a charter from that body; the Grand Secretary reported that three of the Lodges had joined the Grand Lodge of Alabama, but he had heard nothing from Washington, Rising Virtue and Moulton Lodges; and Washington and Moulton Lodges were carried on the roll for several years. Tuscumbia Lodge failed to get upon the roll of the Grand Lodge; it apparently continued to work, but it made no returns and no notice was taken of it till 1826, when a letter was received from its Secretary; even then it was at first mistaken for Moulton Lodge; the Grand Secretary was directed to ascertain the amount due from it, and it was voted that, upon payment, it might withdraw from the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge. Nothing further was heard from it till 1831, when an agent was appointed to receive its books and property for the Grand Lodge, collect the dues, pay its debts, and close up its affairs, "the said Lodge having forfeited its charter." In 1827 its Master appeared in the Grand Lodge of Alabama and proposed that the Lodge should come under that Grand Lodge, and it was voted that the proposition be acceded to, upon the production of a full discharge from the Grand Lodge of Tennessee. But evidently the discharge was never produced. Washington Lodge also continued under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Tennessee, made returns and was represented; but it became largely in arrears to the

Grand Lodge and surrendered its charter December 2, 1829. At the session of the Grand Lodge in December, 1830, an agent was appointed to settle its affairs and another Lodge was empowered to take jurisdiction of any charges (presumably for non-payment of dues) which he might prefer against any of its late members, precisely as the Lodge might have done if it had continued to exist; in fact, the agent was instructed that, if the late officers of the Lodge should not pay the arrearages, a summons should be issued to all indebted to the Lodge to come forward and pay, or appear before the other Lodge and show cause why they should not pay or "be proceeded against agreeably to ancient usage." One appeal came up and was sustained. No report seems to have been made afterwards, and it is probable that the anti-masonic excitement stopped the proceedings. The Grand Lodge of Tennessee chartered a Lodge at Athens in that State, but in some of the lists it is described as of Athens, Alabama.

Application was made to the Grand Lodge of South Carolina, at its session in 1819, for a dispensation or a charter for a Lodge at Claiborne, Alabama, and a charter was granted for Claiborne Lodge, No. 51, but afterwards called Alabama Lodge.

The Grand Lodge of Louisiana chartered Friendship Lodge, No. 6, at Mobile, September 4, 1813; Eureka Lodge, No. 16, at Blakely in 1819; and Mobile Lodge, No. 22, at Mobile, in 1823 or 1824. The first soon became extinct. Eureka was borne on the printed list in 1824 and 1825. Mobile was on the list in 1824, but was then dropped; it was chartered after the formation of the Grand Lodge of Alabama, which had chartered, December 11, 1821, a Lodge by the same name at the same place, but whose charter was declared forfeited December 7, 1829; the causes which led to the existence of these two Lodges at the same time and place, and of the same name, but hailing under different Grand Lodges, cannot be gathered from the printed records.

It would seem that the petitioners to the Grand Master of Tennessee for a dispensation for Halo Lodge changed their minds, and returned the dispensation, which he granted, without organizing under it, and took another from the Grand Lodge of Georgia; for when the convention was held, representatives purporting to represent "Halo Lodge, No. 21, under the Grand Lodge of Georgia" signed the Constitution then adopted. Some time in 1820 a dispensation was granted by the Grand Master of Georgia for Halo Lodge at Cahawba, Alabama, and a charter was granted by the Grand Lodge, January 24, 1821. The Grand Master of Georgia also granted, May 27, 1821, a dispensation for Marion Lodge at Suggsville, Alabama. There is no further mention of this Lodge on the Georgia record; but at the session of the Grand Lodge of Alabama in December following, a petition from the members of Marion Lodge "with their proceedings" was presented and "referred to a select committee," upon whose favorable report a charter was granted to Marion Lodge, at Suggsville. This was the Georgia Lodge, but the shortness of the time (two weeks), between the date of its dispensation and the meeting of the Convention renders it quite certain it had not been organized under its dispensation when the Grand Lodge of Alabama was formed.

St. Stephen's Lodge, at St. Stephens, hailing under the Grand Lodge of North Carolina, took part in the convention that organized the Grand Lodge. On December 14, 1816, the Grand Lodge of North Carolina voted that a charter be issued to Friendship Lodge at St. Stephens (M. T.), "acting under a dispensation from the Grand Master of this Lodge" upon the Lodge's making an additional return. This must have been St. Stephens Lodge, but whether it had received a charter or was still U. D. does not appear. It is

not mentioned in 1819 nor afterwards in the Georgia lists, and it is extremely doubtful if it *legally* existed.

A convention to organize a Grand Lodge was held at Cahawba, June 1, 1821, and was in session five days. Several conflicting statements have been made as to the number of Lodges represented, arising undoubtedly from failing to notice that in the later days of the session Lodges were represented which were not represented on the first day. The published Proceedings show that on the first day *seven* Lodges were represented, but by a clerical error, Madison Lodge No. 21 is named a second time in place of Alabama No. 21. In the forenoon of the second day the Committee reported but *six* Lodges represented. In the afternoon *two* others were added. Russellville Lodge is not reported as represented, but its representative signed the constitution and was among those reported present on the last day; so that on that day (June 15) *nine* Lodges out of the *eleven* in the State were represented.

The constitution, dated June 14, 1821, was published by itself; it was signed by the Grand Officers and the Representatives of nine Lodges, viz.: Madison Lodge, Alabama Lodge at Huntsville, Alabama Lodge at Claiborne, Rising Virtue Lodge, Halo Lodge, Moulton Lodge, Russellville Lodge, U. D., Farrar Lodge, U. D., and St. Stephen's Lodge.

As already stated, there were two Lodges in the extreme northern part of the State, Washington and Tuscumbia, chartered by the Grand Lodge of Tennessee, which neither took part in the organization of the Grand Lodge nor gave in their adhesion to it. In 1825 the existence of these two Lodges came to the knowledge of the Grand Lodge of Alabama, and it declared that their maintenance in its territory by the Grand Lodge of Tennessee was "contrary to the law and constitutions of Masonry," and appointed a committee to correspond with the Grand Lodge of Tennessee in relation to the matter; but no reference to it is found in the proceedings of the latter or the subsequent proceedings of the former, and the subject was probably dropped. Tuscumbia Lodge had really been working without reporting to any Grand Lodge, and soon after became extinct, and Washington Lodge ultimately surrendered its charter.

Some of the Lodges which took part in the organization of the Grand Lodge soon disappeared from the roll. The name of Madison Lodge was changed to Helion; the name of Alabama Lodge at Huntsville was changed to Bethesda, and soon after it was consolidated with Helion Lodge; Russellville Lodge returned its dispensation to the Grand Lodge of Tennessee, and apparently took a new charter, which, however, was declared forfeited in 1823; and in 1824 a new Lodge was chartered in place of it and with the same number. St. Stephen's Lodge is not mentioned after the organization of the Grand Lodge, and it probably was never organized under a new charter.

While Lodges created by the Grand Lodges of North Carolina and Tennessee took part in the organization of the Grand Lodge, it did not, in its constitution, limit its power as they did, but reserved to itself the power to amend its constitution, and moreover expressly declared that "The Supreme Masonic authority in the State of Alabama shall exist in this Grand Lodge." It provided for three Deputy Grand Masters.

Lodges were chartered at every session of the Grand Lodge, and in 1825 the Lodges numbered up to twenty-four, and there were twenty-two on the roll, one of which was in Florida. But the severe provisions of the constitution in relation to the forfeiture of charters, and the anti-masonic excitement, combined to destroy many Lodges, so that, in the list of thirty-one chartered Lodges in 1829, the charters of eleven had been forfeited

or surrendered and two other Lodges had disappeared from the roll and the dispensations of two U. D. were allowed to expire without taking charters. The decline continued. In 1831 the time of holding the session of the Grand Lodge was changed to January, so there was no session in 1832. At the time fixed for the session in 1833, the representatives of only six Lodges were present, and the Grand Lodge could not be opened for want of a quorum; but on the third day one more Lodge was represented, and the Grand Lodge was opened; but even then neither the Grand Master nor any one of the Deputies was present; Grand Officers were elected, but the Grand Master and several others were not present. The next year (1834) also the Grand Lodge waited till the third day for a quorum, when eight Lodges were represented, and afterwards one other; but the Grand Secretary was the only Grand Officer present. The time for the annual session was changed back to December, Grand Officers were elected, and it is stated in the record that they were installed, but the Grand Master was not reported present, and it must be that several, who were absent, were installed by proxy; two charters were granted and two declared forfeited; no sessions were held in December, 1834, or in December, 1835. There were then twelve Lodges on the roll, with 296 members. No sessions were held in December 1834 or 1835. Had it not been for the introduction into the Masonic code of the rule relating to a quorum, borrowed from the law of bodies whose constitution and polity are in direct conflict with the "original plan of Masonry," this Grand Lodge would not have found itself powerless to preserve its own existence.

On December 6, 1836, the day fixed by the constitution for the meeting of the Grand Lodge, the representatives of six Lodges were present, and with them the Grand Master and Grand Secretary; while the fact is not noticed, the former had never been present in Grand Lodge since he was elected, and if he had ever been installed, it must have been by proxy; as the number of Lodges still was twelve, so far as any action of the Grand Lodge was concerned, there was not a quorum present; but after waiting in vain three days for the appearance of other representatives, they declared that the Grand Lodge had become extinct, and formally reorganized the Grand Lodge by the adoption of a constitution and the election and installation of Grand Officers; all dispensations were continued, two charters granted, and Lodges, whose charters had been forfeited, were authorized to be reinstated on proper application.

From that time forward for many years the Grand Lodge enjoyed a prosperous growth. There was one drawback; the constitution contained the iron rule that failure by a Lodge to be represented in Grand Lodge for two successive years forfeited the charter. There was no notice to show cause; the Grand Lodge did not even have the power to waive the forfeiture; if the failure to be represented one year was repeated the next year, no matter what was the cause, the Lodge ceased to exist; the Grand Lodge paid no part of the expenses of representation; the Lodges in remote parts of the State, from which the travelling facilities were poor and expensive, must once in two years be at a great expense or lose their charters. *Self-executing* laws, which impose penalties, are utterly abhorrent to Masonic principles; but such a law was in force in this Grand Lodge, and the consequence was that Lodges, which a little attention might have saved, were lost from the roll every year. However, in twenty years from its reorganization, the Grand Lodge had over 200 Lodges, with a membership of about 8,000. In 1860 it had 236 Lodges, with a membership of 8,093. Then came the terrible check of the civil war; at first, as in all jurisdictions, candidates swarmed at the outer door, and then reaction fol-

lowed. The Grand Lodge met annually, but did not publish its Proceedings till 1864. Many charters were forfeited, but in 1865 the membership was 9,467; several charters were restored, and in 1866 the membership was 10,904, but the next year, by the failure of Lodges to make returns, it went down to 9,707. For the next three years it gained, so that in 1870 it was 10,985, the highest point it ever reached. Then it commenced to run down, probably owing largely to business depression, and decreased till 1877, when it was 7,829; then a reaction for a brief time set in and it reached 8,677 in 1879; but then it steadily, and some years rapidly, decreased till 1886, when it was 6,724. In 1887, out of 454 Lodges which had been on its roll, it had 291 remaining, 255 of which returned 7,305 members.

Florida.

The Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, July 8, 1783, received a "memorial from the Brethren of St. Andrew's Lodge No. 1, late of West Florida, now of Charlestown, South Carolina, with sundry papers relative thereto." The origin of this Lodge is unknown. It had not been chartered by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, as has been suggested, because the charter granted upon that memorial was sent to the Master of another Lodge, to be delivered "provided that the Master and members of said Lodge are found to be of the Ancient and Honorable Fraternity and accept to be under this jurisdiction." A charter was granted in 1768 by the Grand Lodge of Scotland for a Lodge in East Florida, of which there is now no trace; the name of the Lodge above mentioned indicates a Scottish origin, and the most plausible solution is, that it was the Scottish Lodge of 1768.

In lists of Lodges published in 1804 and subsequent years, is No. 30, chartered by the Grand Lodge of South Carolina (Ancient) at St. Augustine, East Florida; this Lodge (Mackey says) became "extinct in consequence of a decree of the King of Spain." The same Grand Lodge also chartered No. 56, at Pensacola, but at what date is not known. This Lodge also became extinct. The Grand Lodge of South Carolina, on June 30, 1820, chartered Floridian Virtues Lodge at St. Augustine in place of No. 30, but it had become extinct in 1827. The same Grand Lodge revived, June 29, 1821, No. 56, at Pensacola, under the name of Good Intention Lodge No. 17, but it had a very short existence, as it was marked "Extinct" in 1825. The same Grand Lodge, January 3, 1824, granted a charter to several members of No. 28, formerly members of No. 30, by the name of La Esperanza Lodge, No. 47, at St. Augustine. It was considered as a revival of No. 30, and the jewels of that Lodge, which had been loaned to No. 28, were given, or "restored," as it was termed, to the "revived" Lodge. As in 1827 this Lodge was marked "Suspended" and was not heard from again, it is evident that the division of No. 28, and the chartering of a new Lodge, killed them both.

The Committee having charge of the Reprint of the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Florida, on the authority of Col. Gad Humphreys of St. Augustine, say that the first Lodge in East Florida was held under a warrant granted by the Grand Lodge of Georgia about the year 1806, to St. Fernando Lodge at St. Augustine; the loss of the early records of the Grand Lodge of Georgia prevents the verification of so much of this statement as may be true. That the Lodge spoken of was the first Lodge is not true, because South Carolina had one there as early as 1804, which was suppressed about 1811. On the roll of the Grand Lodge of Georgia, in 1818, was San Fernando Lodge, No. 28. No numbers were then vacant, and no Lodge of an earlier number was located in Florida; no Lodge

on the roll in 1803, 1804, 1807, 1808 or 1816, according to published lists purporting to be derived from official sources, was located in Florida. Judging from its number and the fact that it was not on the roll in 1816, this Lodge was chartered in 1817, and it is very certain that there was no earlier Georgia Lodge in Florida. The better opinion is that the Lodge referred to by Col. Humphrey and the Florida Committee was the South Carolina Lodge, No. 30; the loss of the early South Carolina records prevents giving the date of its charter, but it was on a list published in 1804.

The Grand Lodge of Alabama chartered Jackson Lodge at Tallahassee, December 19, 1825. It was suspended December 15, 1827, and its charter was declared forfeited December 8, 1829; but it was restored to good standing immediately on the payment of its arrearages of dues.

The Grand Lodge of Georgia chartered Washington Lodge, at Quincy, December 2, 1828, and Harmony Lodge at Marianna, December 8, 1829. They were not numbered with the Georgia Lodges, but were No. 1 and No. 2, Florida. The Committee on Reprint in Florida were unable to discover the origin of these Lodges, but supposed one came from Tennessee and the other from Georgia.

Representatives from these three Lodges met July 5, 1830, and determined that it was expedient, and that "according to precedent and authority, they have the right to establish a Grand Lodge for the Territory of Florida." A constitution was framed and adopted, and on July 6, 1830, the Grand Lodge was organized by the election and installation of the Grand Master and Grand Officers.

Previously to this, with a single exception, the Territories had waited until they were admitted as States before forming a Grand Lodge. One had been formed in Michigan Territory, but it had become extinct. The Grand Lodge of Florida is the first Grand Lodge now existing which was formed in a Territory. The first idea was that a Grand Lodge could be formed only in an independent, sovereign State; but as such States became subject to a General Government to a limited extent, the application of the doctrine to new States, situated precisely as the old ones were, could not well be denied. Then it was decided that the District of Columbia was such a political organization as was entitled to a Grand Lodge. It was then an easy step to hold that a Territory, organized under the laws of the United States, and an incipient State, was also entitled to a Grand Lodge; and in passing it may be remarked that subsequently the same rule was applied to the Provincial Dependencies of the British crown.

The Grand Lodge ordered that the old charters be returned to the Grand Secretary and by him forwarded to the several Grand Lodges from which they were obtained; and the Grand Master caused a letter to be addressed to each of those Grand Lodges, "informing them of the organization of the Grand Lodge of the Territory of Florida" and soliciting fraternal recognition and correspondence.

The anti-masonic excitement, and the unsettled condition of the country growing out of the hostility of the Indians, prevented the growth of the Institution. One charter was granted in 1831, but the Lodge was declared defunct in 1837. In 1835, dispensations were granted for two additional Lodges, but they were not chartered till 1837. In 1840 there were five chartered Lodges and three U. D.

In 1843 a communication was received from the Grand Lodge of Georgia, stating that the Grand Lodge of Florida had chartered Lodges in Georgia, and inquiring into the matter. The Grand Secretary had replied that there was only one Lodge that fell

within the scope of the inquiry; that the place where that was located when it was chartered was only twenty miles from Tallahassee, and the State line had not then been determined. In 1842 the Grand Master received the first information that the Lodge was working in Georgia. The Committee to which the matter was referred expressed no opinion upon the right of the Grand Lodge to maintain the Lodge in Georgia under the circumstances, but were fully satisfied of its impolicy, and the Grand Lodge voted to surrender its jurisdiction over the Lodge, whenever it should be received under that of the Grand Lodge of Georgia. In 1844 the representative of the Lodge announced that the Grand Lodge of Georgia had voted to endorse the warrant when presented; and in behalf of the Lodge he expressed regrets at severing its relations with the parent Grand Lodge; whereupon the Grand Lodge remitted the dues of the Lodge, declared that its number should never be assigned to another Lodge, and that its Masters and Wardens should be *ex officio* honorary members of the Grand Lodge. It acknowledged that the jurisdiction over the Lodge, on Masonic principles, properly attached to the Grand Lodge of Georgia, with whose course it expressed great satisfaction. The Lodge still exists and has now the same number (8) that it had when it was chartered by the Grand Lodge of Florida.

At an early day this Grand Lodge commenced the appointment of a Committee on Foreign Correspondence. The Report soon became almost the leading feature in the Proceedings. Up to 1859 very elaborate Reports were prepared, first by John P. Duval and then by Thomas Brown and Thomas Douglass, in which the discussion of Masonic principles, law and usages was so able and learned that no Masonic student of the present day can safely pass them by without full and careful examination.

In 1850, this Grand Lodge had chartered twenty-three Lodges and had eighteen on its roll; in 1860, thirty-four Lodges with 1,497 members; in 1870, the total membership was 1,710. In 1881, sixty-one Lodges had 2,157 members and nine Lodges had become extinct during the year. In 1888, the roll, headed by the three Lodges which formed the Grand Lodge, contained one hundred Lodges, ninety-six of which returned 2,949 members.

Texas.

Holland Lodge, the first Lodge in Texas, was opened at Brazoria, December 27, 1835, under a dispensation from the Grand Master of Louisiana. The war between Mexico and Texas was then imminent, if it had not actually commenced. This Lodge met but a few times, its last meeting having been in February, 1836; in March the town was captured by the Mexicans, and the dispensation, records, jewels and all other property of the Lodge were captured and undoubtedly destroyed. In the meantime a charter was issued, but the Lodge was not opened under it till October, 1837, and then at Houston. Charters were also issued by the Grand Lodge of Louisiana for Milam Lodge at Nacagdoches, and McFarland Lodge in St. Augustine, in January, 1837.

The principle in relation to the formation of Grand Lodges was now to receive an application, new, so far as this country was concerned. It had at first been applied to States and then to organized Territories in the United States; but now, the Texas Revolution having succeeded, it was to be applied to an independent Republic.

In compliance with an invitation from Holland Lodge, the representatives of Holland and Milam Lodges met at Houston, December 20, 1837. The convention appointed a

representative for McFarland Lodge in accordance with a verbal message from that Lodge authorizing it to do so.

The Convention voted that the delegates "consider it a matter of right and for the general benefit of the Order" that a Grand Lodge be formed in the Republic, and that all Master Masons present, members of regular Lodges, be constituted members of the Grand Lodge. It also elected members twelve others, who were apparently not present, and then proceeded to organize a Grand Lodge by the election of Grand Officers. Gen. Sam Houston was chairman of the convention, but was not elected to any office. The Constitution and General Regulations of the Grand Lodge of Louisiana were temporarily adopted and a committee appointed to draft a permanent code. The third Monday in April was fixed for the first meeting of the Grand Lodge, and the Convention adjourned *sine die.*

The Grand Lodge met April 10, 1838, and was opened in ample form. Other Grand Officers were appointed, and, the Committee on Constitution not being ready to report, the Grand Lodge was called off until the twenty-fourth; the committee then reported the Constitution of the Grand Lodge of Tennessee, and it was voted to adopt it, with such changes as might be necessary. It was referred back to the committee for the purpose of making the necessary alterations. After appointing committees the Grand Lodge called off till the seventh of May. It met, considered, discussed and amended the proposed constitution at several sessions until the tenth of May, when the constitution was unanimously adopted. The constitution, while based on that of Tennessee, differed in many important respects. It contained no quorum clause; each Lodge had three votes and all other members of the Grand Lodge one vote each; it reserved the power to the Grand Lodge to amend its own constitution, and Past Grand Officers below the Wardens did not become members by virtue of having held office in the Grand Lodge. Finally, on May 11, 1838, the Grand Lodge completed its organization by the installation of the Grand Master and other Grand Officers, which ceremony was performed by "Bro. Sam Houston, the President of the Convention, who was unanimously elected to install them according to the ancient usages of the Order."

The constitution did not provide that the original members of the Grand Lodge should remain permanent members, but it was afterwards decided that twenty-nine Brethren were received by the Convention as members of the Grand Lodge, "and that no subsequent action of the Grand Lodge can deprive them of membership;" two, however, were reported as having ceased to be members, one by resignation, and one by expulsion by his Lodge.

The Grand Lodge made a visitation to Holland Lodge, May 18, 1838. The Grand Master in his address to the Lodge affirmed the right to form a Grand Lodge and transfer the allegiance of the Lodges to the new Grand Lodge while working under their original charters; but he said it would be proper for the Lodges to surrender those charters and take new ones from the new Grand Lodge as soon as convenient. He claimed for the Grand Lodge exclusive jurisdiction over all Lodges in Texas.

Charters were immediately granted for Temple Lodge at Houston and St. John's Lodge at Brazoria; the statement in Mitchell's history that the former was chartered by the Grand Lodge of Louisiana, and the latter by the Grand Lodge of Mississippi, is erroneous. At the Annual Communication in November following, new charters were granted to all the Lodges.

The Grand Lodge attempted to exercise authority over the Chapter degrees, and authorized the organization of three Chapters under Lodge warrants; but as these were not recognized by the General Grand Chapter after the annexation of Texas to the Union, the Chapters were reorganized and the Grand Lodge abandoned jurisdiction over the degrees, greatly to the discontent of some of the older members.

When the Grand Lodge was organized, May 11, 1838, the members of its obedience were about 200; it grew rapidly, especially after the annexation of Texas to the United States. In 1860 it had chartered two hundred and fifty-two Lodges, twenty-eight of which had ceased to exist; thirteen of the others made no returns that year; and the two hundred and eleven making returns showed a total membership of 8,215. In 1870, the membership of the Lodges making returns was 11,502; in 1880, 17,055; and in 1887, it had chartered 650 Lodges, 475 of which are on the roll; 455 returned 20,417 members.

Arkansas.

There is a tradition that Freemasonry was cultivated at the Post of Arkansas about the time of the Revolution; but nothing beside tradition has been discovered. It has been published more than once that the Grand Lodge of Arkansas was organized in 1832; this was probably a clerical or typographical error at first, and the erroneous date was copied without question.

The Grand Lodge of Kentucky, November 29, 1819, granted a dispensation for Arkansas Lodge at the Post of Arkansas, and a charter was granted August 29, 1820, with Robert Johnson as Master; but it was surrendered August 28, 1822.

The Grand Master of Tennessee granted a dispensation for Washington Lodge in Fayetteville, December 24, 1835; and the dispensation was renewed November 12, 1836. A charter was granted October 3, 1837, and a set of jewels presented to the Lodge. The Grand Lodge of Tennessee also granted a dispensation to Clarksville Lodge, at Clarksville, October 5, 1838. A charter was granted October 12, 1839. The dispensation was granted before the Grand Lodge of Arkansas was organized, but the charter afterwards; it continued to work under the Grand Lodge of Tennessee till 1843, when it became No. 5 under the Grand Lodge of Arkansas; but it surrendered its charter in 1845.

The Grand Lodge of Louisiana granted charters, January 6, 1837, to Morning Star Lodge at the Post of Arkansas, and to Western Star Lodge at Little Rock; when the seat of government was moved to Little Rock, Morning Star Lodge surrendered its charter.

The Grand Master of Alabama granted a dispensation in 1838 for Mt. Horeb Lodge at Washington.

Representatives from Washington, Morning Star and Western Star Lodges and Mt. Horeb Lodge, U. D., met November 21, 1838, adopted a constitution, elected and installed the Grand Officers of the Grand Lodge of Arkansas. The Proceedings of the Grand Lodge for 1838, 1839 and 1840 were not printed and the record has been lost. Its progress was at first slow. In 1846 it had twelve Lodges, with a membership of about 600; after that it grew more rapidly. The Civil War demoralized the Institution pretty badly, and the consequent depression in business matters caused the loss of many Lodges, but in 1872 there were two hundred and fifty-two chartered Lodges and thirty-four U. D., with a membership of 9,831. In 1884, three hundred and thirty-six Lodges out of three hundred and seventy-two returned 10,361 members; and in 1887, three hundred and seventy-seven Lodges returned 11,153 members, and twenty Lodges failed to make returns.

Illinois.

The Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania granted a dispensation, September 24, 1805, for Western Star Lodge at Kaskaskia, Illinois (then Indian Territory), and it was organized and commenced work December 14, 1805. A charter was granted to it June 3, 1806, under which it was constituted September 13, 1806. It continued to work very actively until the end of the year 1822, when all trace of it is lost, except that detached papers have been found which show that it was in existence as late as 1829; Bro. Reynolds, the Historian of Masonry in Illinois, expressed the belief that a second volume of records commencing in December, 1822, was in existence.

The Grand Lodge of Kentucky granted a dispensation, September 1, 1815, and a charter, August 28, 1816, to Lawrence Lodge at Shawneetown.

Between July and October, 1819, the Grand Master of Tennessee granted a dispensation to Libanus Lodge at Edwardsville, and on October 5, 1819, the Grand Master was authorized to issue a charter, if, upon examination of their work, he should find it "in conformity with the precepts of Masonry," and the charter was issued the next day. On October 5, 1827, the committee reported that the charter of this Lodge (among others) "owing to negligence, inattention and disrespect paid to the resolutions of the Grand Lodge, as well as an indifference to the good of the craft," ought to be suspended, and the Grand Lodge so ordered; it also voted that it be cited to appear at the next session to show cause why the charter should not be forfeited. The Grand Lodge did not seem to have knowledge of the formation of the Grand Lodge of Illinois. At the next session the Lodge was reported as still delinquent, but no action was taken. The Grand Master of the same Grand Lodge issued a dispensation, June 28, 1820, for Temple Lodge, at Bellville. It made no return at the next session, and in 1821 he reported that the Lodge had surrendered the dispensation without working under it.

The Grand Lodge of Missouri created the following Lodges in Illinois: Olive Branch Lodge, at Alton, by dispensation, October 30, 1821; by charter, April 3, 1822; a brother joined in the first petition, whose name had been stricken from the roll by Missouri Lodge for non-payment of dues, and the Grand Lodge required his name to be struck from the petition and another substituted, before it would grant the dispensation: Vandalia Lodge, at Vandalia, by dispensation, April 2, 1822; by charter, October 8, 1822: Sangamon Lodge at Springfield, by dispensation, April 5, 1822; by charter, October 9, 1822: Union Lodge at Jonesboro, by dispensation June 4, 1822; by charter, October 24, 1822: and Eden Lodge at Covington, by dispensation, June 30, 1822; by charter, October 8, 1822.

Some time in March, 1822, the Grand Master of Indiana granted a dispensation for Albion Lodge at Albion. The petition was recommended by Vincennes Lodge March 2, 1822, and was forwarded to the Grand Master on the fifth, whose endorsement upon it leaves little doubt that a dispensation was granted March 12, 1822; the Lodge was organized April 13, 1822, and report made to the Grand Lodge October 8, 1822. On the next day the dispensation was continued; at the session on October 8, 1823, the dispensation was again continued. In the Proceedings for 1824 the Lodge is not mentioned, save in the table of work, from which it appears that it had 26 members and 14 initiates in 1822; 19 members and 2 initiates in 1823; and made no return in 1824.

Measures looking to the formation of a Grand Lodge in Illinois were commenced in

1820. The records, however, have been lost or destroyed, and if the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge were published, no full set has been preserved. When Reynolds published his History of Masonry in Illinois, he had a written copy, almost accidentally discovered, of the Proceedings of the Convention, and printed copies of the Proceedings of two sessions of the Grand Lodge. A copy of those at another session had been in the archives of the Grand Lodge of Kentucky, but had been destroyed; there was then, however, a copy in the archives of the Grand Lodge of Maine, but unfortunately Reynolds was not aware of it. The larger part of the edition of his History was also burned.

Libanus Lodge sent communications to other Lodges in the latter part of 1820 in relation to forming a Grand Lodge, but nothing came of it. The matter was discussed somewhat during the following year, and in September, 1822, Libanus Lodge again communicated with the other Lodges and the result was that a Convention met December 9, 1822, at Vandalia. Libanus, Western Star, Olive Branch, Albion, Eden, Union, Vandalia and Lawrence Lodges (all in the State, except Sangamon) were represented. A constitution was agreed upon and adopted, subject to ratification by a majority of the Lodges, and signed by the members. Grand Officers were then elected and the Grand Master was authorized, when it should appear that a majority of the Lodges had ratified the constitution, to call a meeting of the Grand Lodge.

The Grand Master called a meeting of the Grand Lodge December 1, 1823, when it was formally organized, and the Grand Master installed by the Deputy Grand Master of Missouri. The record has been lost, and if the Proceedings were ever published, no copy is now known to exist; the later proceedings indicate with certainty that a code of By-Laws was adopted, that the Lodges were required to take new charters, and that a charter was granted to Hiram Lodge, a new one. Albion Lodge had been working under dispensation, and some condition was required to be complied with before a charter issued. In 1824, the Grand Secretary reported that a charter had been issued to Albion Lodge, and it was voted that all Lodges which should not surrender their old charters and take new ones within six months should be stricken from the roll. Reports relating to the legal *status* of the Lodges were made and adopted, but unfortunately were not spread upon the records. A resolution was adopted that Lodges, as soon as they should pay their dues to the mother Grand Lodge and surrender their old charters, should have new ones on application to the Grand Master therefor. An appeal came up from Libanus Lodge, but the Grand Lodge voted that it could not entertain the appeal because the Lodge was working under the Grand Lodge of Tennessee. The Grand Lodge thus reversed the rule that prevailed in other jurisdictions. The Grand Lodge of Missouri shortly after revoked the charter of Sangamon Lodge for neglect to pay dues, but a little later, when the charter of one of its own Lodges was revoked by the Grand Lodge of Tennessee, it rightly decided that the latter had no jurisdiction over the Lodge, but must make its claim upon the Grand Lodge. But the Grand Lodge of Illinois yielded, and allowed the existence of Sangamon Lodge to be terminated by another authority. It did not, for some time, take jurisdiction over Western Star, Lawrence and Libanus Lodges, because they had not settled their dues and obtained the consent of their mother Grand Lodges. The rule elsewhere had been that the new Grand Lodge took jurisdiction over the Lodges, and then required them to settle their dues.

The Grand Lodge did not meet in December, 1825, as its By-Laws required, but held a session in January, 1826, in lieu of the annual session. It had, at the close of that

session, fifteen Lodges on its roll, four of which Reynolds said he could not locate, and all the information concerning them that he could procure was that "such Lodges did exist." This number included the three older Lodges, which had not yet been fully received under its jurisdiction, and Sangamon Lodge, whose charter had been revoked. Western Star Lodge did not succeed in severing its relations with the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania and being constituted under its Illinois charter till June 24, 1828. The Grand Lodge of Kentucky, when it was informed of the organization of the Grand Lodge of Illinois, of its own motion gracefully remitted the dues of its Illinois Lodges. Knowledge of the fact seems not to have reached the Lodge, for it became extinct, while the Grand Lodge was waiting for it to obtain a "full discharge" for those dues, and a new Lodge was chartered in its place. Libanus Lodge, though members of it frequently visited the Grand Lodge, disappeared without being placed on the roll of the Grand Lodge.

The Grand Lodge met December 3, 1826, and extended its session, by adjournment, to January 23, 1827; and its Proceedings were published. A bill for printing in 1824 was ordered to be paid. This indicates that the Proceedings of 1823 were printed. The charter of Albion Lodge was suspended and that of Vandalia Lodge surrendered. Two charters were granted, one to former members of Lawrence Lodge.

A case involving an important question of Masonic law was finally disposed of at this session. After the convention to form a Grand Lodge had been held, but before the Grand Lodge was organized, Vandalia Lodge tried one of its members and suspended him. He appealed, and of course the appeal was entered before the Grand Lodge of Missouri, which ordered the Lodge to send up the record to the *next session* of the Grand Lodge. Before that session was held, the Grand Lodge of Illinois was formed, and the Lodge had passed under its jurisdiction, and notice thereof been given to the Grand Lodge of Missouri. Upon legal principles, the Grand Lodge of Missouri should have transmitted the case to the Grand Lodge of Illinois. It did not, however, but proceeded to act upon the case. The records of the Lodge had been burned, but enough appeared to the Grand Lodge to satisfy it that an offence had been committed, and it "disapproved of the proceedings" of the Lodge and expelled the accused. At the next session he sent in a memorial requesting a re-hearing. The committee reported favorably, but the Grand Lodge refused to adopt the report. Then the Grand Lodge of Illinois applied at two different sessions to have a rehearing granted; but it was refused both times, although the committee reported favorably. At the next session the Grand Lodge of Illinois, recognizing his *status* as that of an expelled Mason, restored him. The Grand Lodge of Missouri criticized this action sharply and protested against it, and proposed to submit the question to the other Grand Lodges for their opinion, but as no further mention was made of the matter, it is presumed that nothing was done. As it all happened in Illinois, there can be no doubt that the Grand Lodge of that State, as soon as it was organized, obtained full jurisdiction in the premises. The only error which the Grand Lodge of Illinois made, was that it did not demand a transfer of the case for its own decision.

It is believed that the Grand Lodge met in 1827, but no record exists, and it is not known that its Proceedings were published. Whether it met or not, it soon became extinct, and all its subordinates followed its example. The laws relating to the forfeiture of charters enabled the Anti-Masonic crusade to blot out every Lodge in Illinois so effectually that no trace of any of them, after June 24, 1827, has been found, and when Masonry was re-established, not a single one of them was revived.

On October 13, 1835, a Lodge was opened at Quincy for the first time since the Lodges ceased work. Bodley Lodge was that evening organized under a dispensation from the Grand Lodge of Kentucky. It was chartered August 30, 1836. The same Grand Lodge chartered Equality Lodge at Equality, August 29, 1837; Ottawa Lodge at Ottawa, September 1, 1840, and issued a dispensation for Friendship Lodge at Dixon about November 1, 1840.

The Grand Lodge of Missouri granted charters in Illinois, to Franklin Lodge at Alton, October 5, 1837; Harmony Lodge at Jacksonville, October 2, 1838; Springfield Lodge at Springfield, October 8, 1839; Temperance Lodge at Vandalia and Far West Lodge at Galena, October 10, 1839; Mt. Moriah or Hillsboro Lodge at Hillsboro, and Clinton Lodge at Carlisle, October 8, 1840; and its Grand Master issued a dispensation to Columbus Lodge at Columbus, June 3, 1839, which was extended by the Grand Lodge, October 10, 1839. The Grand Lodge of Missouri in those days paid little regard to the law of exclusive jurisdiction, for after the formation of the Grand Lodge of Illinois and correspondence with it, it not only maintained Lodges in Illinois but also organized, chartered and constituted Lodges in that jurisdiction; it chartered St. Clair Lodge in Belleville and Marion Lodge at Salem in October, 1842.

A convocation of delegates from several Lodges in Illinois met at Jacksonville, January 20, 1840, voted that it was expedient to form a Grand Lodge, and appointed a committee to call a convention for that purpose. Agreeably to such call, a convention met at Jacksonville, April 6, 1840. Bodley, Equality, Harmony, Springfield and Far West Lodges and Columbus Lodge U. D. were represented. There were then two other chartered Lodges in the State, Franklin at Alton, which was not in good standing, having been summoned to show cause why its charter should not be revoked, and Temperance Lodge at Vandalia; there were also two Lodges, U. D., Ottawa at Ottawa, and Mt. Moriah at Hillsboro; whether, therefore, the Lodges U. D. are counted or not, a majority of the Lodges were represented.

The convention declared the right to establish a Grand Lodge, and proceeded to organize it; a constitution was adopted and Officers elected. The convention then adjourned to April 28, 1840, when the Grand Lodge was organized by the installation of the Grand Master (by proxy) and the other Grand Officers. Charters were granted to the six Lodges represented, including Columbus U. D.

The constitution adopted (as well as that of the old Grand Lodge), based on that of North Carolina as transmitted through Tennessee and Missouri, took from the Grand Lodge the power of amending its own constitution, and vested that power in the Lodges; but in 1841 the Grand Lodge completely reversed the provision by solemnly deciding that the provision meant the Lodges represented in the Grand Lodge and a vote taken therein, and at once proceeded to amend the constitution itself by a two-thirds vote of the Lodges represented. The construction thus given was soon after inserted in the constitution.

The first session was held in October, 1840. Four Lodges were represented and their total membership was only ninety-seven. There was some delay by the other Lodges in taking out new charters, probably in consequence of some dissatisfaction growing out of the location of the Grand Lodge at Jacksonville; the Grand Lodge of Kentucky disclaimed further jurisdiction over its Illinois Lodges, and Friendship Lodge (created after the organization of the Grand Lodge of Illinois, but before notice of it was received)

immediately took a charter. But Equality Lodge, though it had assisted in the formation of the Grand Lodge, did not take a charter from it till 1844, and Ottawa Lodge worked some five years without reporting to any Grand Lodge. The Grand Lodge of Missouri allowed its Lodges to take their own course, so that it was not till 1846 that the Grand Lodge of Illinois had actually exclusive jurisdiction in the State.

Its constitution provides that amendments to the constitution must lie over one year, be published and sent out to the Lodges, and then may be adopted by the Grand Lodge. In one case when an amendment came up for action, an amendment to the amendment was offered, but the Grand Master ruled it out of order, and his ruling was sustained by the Grand Lodge. The reason is that, by the terms of the constitution, the only matter the Grand Lodge can act upon is *the amendment proposed the year before and sent out to the Lodges.* This was the universal, as well as the evidently correct rule, but of late some attempts have been made to reverse it.

A dispensation was granted in 1842 for a Lodge at Nauvoo, the Mormon settlement. In five months, 286 candidates were initiated and nearly all passed and raised. The Grand Lodge appointed a committee to examine the work of the Lodge and reported favorably, whereupon the Grand Master, as authorized by the Grand Lodge, continued the dispensation and granted three others, two for Lodges at Nauvoo, and one for a Lodge at Keokuk. At the next session of the Grand Lodge, the records of these Lodges were withheld, and after examination, the Grand Lodge refused charters and withdrew the dispensations. The Nauvoo Lodges were composed mainly of Mormons, who continued to work in spite of the action of the Grand Lodge, and refused to deliver the dispensations to the committee appointed to demand them; at the next session of the Grand Lodge, these associations were declared to be clandestine, and all those hailing therefrom were suspended, and a circular to that effect was ordered to be sent to the other Grand Lodges and published in all Masonic Periodicals. The Keokuk Lodge, or certain members of it, sent in a petition to have their dispensation renewed, averring that they had not violated Masonic law to their knowledge. The Grand Lodge ordered an investigation during the recess, but it does not appear that any further action was taken.

After the session of 1849, the minutes of the proceedings of the Grand Lodge were destroyed by fire before they were copied for the printer, on account of which a special session was held in April, 1850, the minutes restored as far as possible and confirmed, and such other business transacted as was necessary to provide for the administration of the affairs of the Institution until the regular session in October following.

After 1846, the Grand Lodge grew very rapidly. The extent of its territorial jurisdiction was very great and the population of the State increased at a wonderful rate, many Masons from the East settling in it. The Grand Lodge granted charters at the rate of twenty, thirty, and even forty a year for a time. The growth has been a prosperous one, and in 1888, 681 Lodges out of 684 on the roll report 40,725 members—a number equaled by only one other Grand Lodge in the country.

Wisconsin.

The Grand Lodge of New York granted a charter, September 1, 1824, for Menominee Lodge, at Green Bay, then Michigan, now Wisconsin. The charter was issued December 3, 1824. The Lodge took part in the organization of the old Grand Lodge of Michigan,

and remained under its jurisdiction until it suspended work, after which this Lodge seems never to have been revived.

The Grand Lodge of Missouri granted charters to Mineral Point Lodge at Mineral Point, October 11, 1842, and to Melody Lodge at Plattville, October 12, 1843; and the Grand Lodge of Illinois granted a charter to Milwaukee Lodge at Milwaukee, October 2, 1843.

Representatives from these three Lodges (being all there then were in the Territory of Wisconsin) met in convention at Madison, December 18, 1843, and after declaring that it was "competent for that number of Lodges to emerge from a state of dependency" and (in effect) organize an independent Grand Lodge, proceeded to draft a constitution. The convention then adjourned; the Grand Lodge was at once opened, the constitution adopted, Grand Officers elected and installed (the Grand Master by proxy), a code of By-Laws adopted and other routine business transacted

The convention did not follow the example of Missouri and Illinois (whence these Lodges sprang), but reserved to the Grand Lodge the power of amending its constitution.

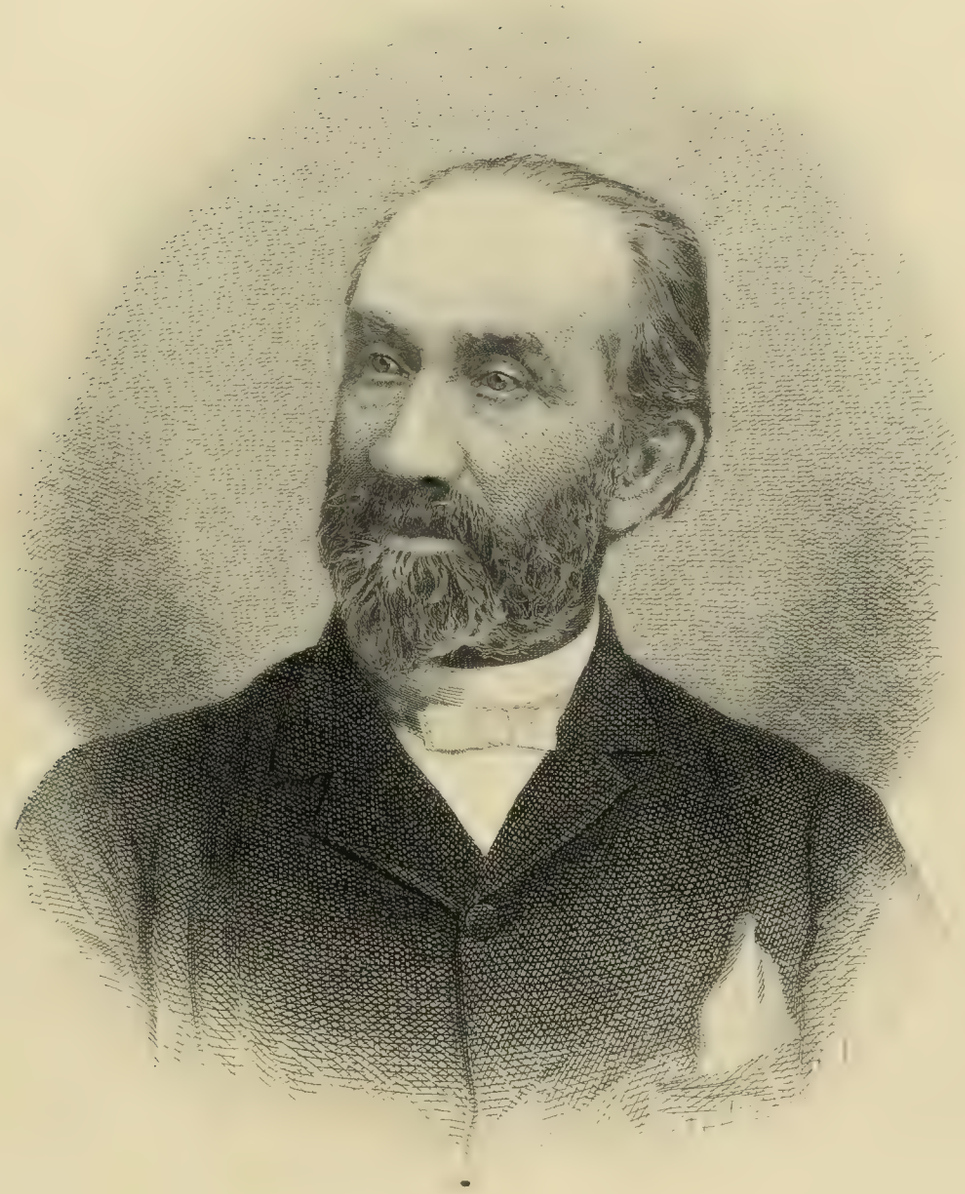
A special session was held January 17, 1844, at which the Lodges were numbered and charters granted to them. The Grand Master, who at the time of the organization of the Grand Lodge was confined to his house by illness, was present and presided.

The Proceedings of 1846 are distinguished for a very able Report on Correspondence, and also for an earnest discussion of a question of jurisdiction that had arisen with the Grand Lodge of Illinois. The Grand Master had granted a dispensation for a Lodge in Illinois, whose location made it desire to hold under the Grand Lodge of Wisconsin. The Grand Master of Illinois objected in a strong letter. The Deputy Grand Master replied at length and very earnestly; he took the ground that the location of the Lodge was in territory which, though within the limits of Illinois, was claimed by Wisconsin, and that the claim of the Grand Lodge of Illinois to exclusive jurisdiction was not tenable because the Grand Lodge of Missouri (the Mother Grand Lodge) had maintained Lodges in Illinois, long after the formation of the Grand Lodge. The Grand Master of Illinois replied that the boundaries of the State, fixed by the civil power, are conclusive till changed by the same authority; that his Grand Lodge asserted its right to exclusive jurisdiction over the entire limits of the State in its fullest sense, not only over Lodges formed after its organization but over each and every Lodge in existence at the time of such organization; that in the latter case it might not choose to insist upon its rights, and if it did not, it gave no authority for other Grand Lodges to invade its territory. The Lodge was not chartered, but directed to ask the consent of the Grand Lodge of Illinois to take a Wisconsin charter. But the Lodge chose to return the dispensation and take a charter from the Grand Lodge of Illinois. Another Lodge U. D. similarly situated did the same.

The Grand Lodge has grown steadily, distinguished by so able and conservative an administration of its affairs that few questions of general interest have arisen. In 1888 it had 209 Lodges with 13,151 members.

Iowa.

The Grand Lodge of Illinois chartered Rising Sun Lodge at Montrose, October 3, 1842, but suspended the charter, October 3, 1843, and never restored it. A dispensation was granted between those dates for a Lodge at Keokuk, but the Grand Lodge refused to



Edward A. Guilbert

Past Grand Master, Past Grand High Priest, Past Grand Commander of the State of Iowa.

grant a charter or continue the dispensation. It is understood that there was a large Mormon element in these Lodges.

The Grand Lodge of Missouri granted charters to Desmoines Lodge at Burlington, and Iowa Lodge at Bloomington, afterwards Muscatine, October 20, 1841; Dubuque Lodge at Dubuque, and Iowa City Lodge at Iowa City, October 10, 1843; and a dispensation to Clinton Lodge at Davenport, in the latter part of the same year.

On May 10, 1843, the delegates of three Lodges had a conference and concluded to ask each Lodge to send three representatives to the next session of the Grand Lodge of Missouri, who should there hold a meeting and fix the time and place for holding a convention for organizing the Grand Lodge of Iowa; as only two of the Lodges were then chartered, it was necessary to wait until that time before further progress could be made. This was done, and January 2, 1844, was fixed as the date of holding the convention. At that time, the Masters (one by proxy) of the four Missouri chartered Lodges, three Senior Wardens (one by proxy), two Junior Wardens, and three others "legally entitled to seats" but understood to have been proxies for the other Wardens, met in convention for the purpose designated. A delegate claiming to be proxy for the Wardens of Rising Sun Lodge, and delegates assuming to represent Keokuk Lodge, U. D., claimed seats in the Convention. While they did not so declare, the members had sufficient information in relation to the *status* of Rising Sun and Keokuk Lodges to cause them to refuse to allow the delegate from Rising Sun Lodge a seat in the Convention, and to prescribe such conditions that the Keokuk representatives could neither be admitted, nor subsequently obtain a charter, as it is evident it was their intention to do. The delegates from Clinton Lodge, U. D., were present, but although able to comply with the prescribed conditions, did not claim seats as such, perhaps by an understanding with the regular members.

The Convention adopted a constitution and code of By-Laws and elected Grand Officers, who were installed in public by a Deputy Grand Lodge of Missouri; and on January 8, 1844, the Grand Lodge was opened in ample form.

The constitution contained the "United States Constitution theory" adopted by North Carolina in 1789, and transmitted to Iowa, through Tennessee and Missouri. It may be said, that the provision that the constitution of the Grand Lodge can be amended only by vote of the subordinate Lodges was incorporated into the *original* constitutions of the Grand Lodge of North Carolina and the Grand Lodges descending from it, namely, Tennessee, Missouri, Illinois and Iowa, and no others organized previously to 1850. Some forty years after its organization the Grand Lodge of Georgia, or rather, it should be said, one of the Grand Lodges of Georgia, adopted it for a special purpose; and, at one time, the Grand Lodge of Alabama had the provision in its constitution; but all the older Grand Lodges have abandoned it, with the exception of Delaware, Ohio and Alabama. The Grand Lodge of Iowa found the same difficulty that the Grand Lodge of Tennessee found; the Lodges neglected to act.

This Grand Lodge has had one experience of a unique character. Bro. Theodore S. Parvin was a member of the convention that organized the Grand Lodge in 1844 and has been officially connected with it ever since, with the exception of a single year, and has been Grand Secretary for the whole time, except two years, during one of which he was Grand Master. At the very first session of the Grand Lodge he offered a resolution highly approving a Masonic Magazine and recommending it to the Lodges and the Brethren. Very soon after, he commenced the collection of a Grand Lodge Library and

has been so persistent and able in his efforts, that now his Grand Lodge possesses the largest and most valuable Masonic Library in the world; and no Mason has done more to induce the craft to read and study. In 1846, he submitted his first Report on Correspondence; and his Reports of that character, and as Grand Secretary and in other capacities, have made the Proceedings of his Grand Lodge almost invaluable to the Masonic student, and given his Grand Lodge a high reputation. He has made it a point to place the bound volumes of the Proceedings of his Grand Lodge in public libraries, especially those of a historical character.

The Grand Lodge commenced at once a rapid, but healthy growth; in 1850, the membership was about 500; in 1860, 4,671; in 1870, 12,548; in 1880, 18,209; and in 1888, 21,572.

Michigan.

George Harrison, Provincial Grand Master of New York, granted a charter, April 27, 1764, for a Lodge at Detroit, numbered 448 on the English Register, and "No. 1, of Detroit," which was named "Zion Lodge" by its members. From the fact that the Master was a Lieutenant in the 60th Regiment, it has been supposed that this was a Military Lodge; but the charter was not in the form of a military warrant and expressly located the Lodge at Detroit. The records have not been preserved, and the tradition is that they were burned in the fire which, in 1805, literally reduced the town to ashes; the charter, however, was preserved and is still in the archives of the Grand Lodge of New York. It cannot be ascertained how long the Lodge existed, but it probably became dormant, for on September 7, 1794, after that part of the Territory had passed under British domination, the "Ancient" Provincial Grand Master of Canada granted a warrant for a Lodge at Detroit, which was called Zion, No. 10; however, this warrant may have been taken in order to change the old Lodge into an "Ancient" Lodge, as well as to hail under British authority; this supposition has support in the fact that when the Territory was ceded back to the United States, application was made for a new warrant to the Grand Lodge of New York, and when it was received, the Lodge under the Canada warrant "was closed" * * "and stands closed forever by order of the W. Master and the Brethren." The new warrant was dated September 3, 1806, but the Lodge did not meet under it till July 6, 1807, a few days after the old Lodge closed. The New York record says:

"A petition from a number of Brethren, at Detroit, at present members of Zion's Lodge, No. 1, under a warrant from the Grand Lodge of Quebec, praying for a warrant from this Grand Lodge and surrendering their former warrant, was read and granted."

The warrant surrendered was the old warrant granted by Harrison and not the Canada warrant. The views upon which the Lodge was acting would require them to surrender that warrant to the source from which it was obtained, and it is not improbable that that disposition of it was made.

The Lodge continued to meet till September 12, 1812, when, in consequence of the capture of the city by the British, the charter and properties were placed in safe keeping and the Lodge adjourned to September 6, 1813. But the British domination was not then terminated, and it was not until October that Detroit was again under the American Flag. By the laws of the Grand Lodge of New York, the charter of the Lodge had been forfeited for failure to meet for one year.

Immediate measures were not taken to have the charter restored. On March 6, 1816, the charter was renewed, not as "No. 1 of Detroit" but as No. 62, on the roll of the Grand Lodge of New York. In 1819, however, when the Lodges were renumbered according to the dates of their original charters, this Lodge became No. 3; thus the Grand Lodge recognized it as the Lodge chartered in 1764.

Charters were held for three military Lodges by British troops while stationed in Michigan, but they disappeared when the troops left.

The Grand Lodge of New York granted warrants for other Lodges in Michigan: Detroit Lodge at Detroit, September 5, 1821; Oakland Lodge at Pontiac, March 7, 1822; Menominee Lodge at Green Bay (now in Wisconsin), September 1, 1824; and Munroe Lodge in Munroe, December 1, 1824.

On June 24, 1826, delegates from four of these Lodges (all except Oakland) met and adopted a Grand Lodge Constitution. It adjourned to July 31, 1826, when the Grand Officers were elected (Lewis Cass, Grand Master); it requested the Grand Lodge of New York to authorize some one to install the Grand Officers, and the reply was that the Grand Master elect, being a Past Grand Master, need not be installed and he was authorized to install the other Grand Officers; so on December 27, 1826, a special session was held and the organization of the Grand Lodge completed.

The records of the Grand Lodge were lost, and were not officially published; some of the proceedings have been collected from newspaper accounts and correspondence. Sessions were held in 1826 and 1827, and dispensations for several Lodges were issued. It is believed that the Grand Lodge met in 1828 and 1829; the evidence seems to be conclusive that it met in the latter year, and in consequence of the anti-masonic storm, which raged with intense fury in that Territory, the Grand Lodge, upon the advice of Grand Master Cass, adopted the policy of suspending active work (precisely as the Grand Lodge of Maine had done) and advised the Lodges to do the same. All acceded to this but one, the Lodge U. D. at Stoney Creek; and in this condition Masonry remained eleven years.

An attempt was made in 1841 to revive the Grand Lodge, but it was decided by the Baltimore Convention of 1842 and by the Grand Lodge of New York that the proceedings were not effective. Some of the grounds upon which those decisions were based are utterly untenable according to Masonic law, now well settled. Great stress was laid upon the provision of the constitution of the Grand Lodge of Michigan requiring annual elections, and it was held in effect that Masonic offices are like public offices, and therefore, when the term of the incumbent expires his functions cease (as is the case with public offices), whether a successor takes his place or not; but this position was in direct conflict with Masonic law and usage from time immemorial. "The King never dies" was the rule concerning Masonic office; in other words, the incumbent holds over until his successor has been elected and installed. The Master's duty is to see his successor installed and to deliver to him the charter of the Lodge; until he does that, he does not cease to be Master. If he dies, the Senior Warden succeeds to his powers and duties; if both die, the Junior Warden succeeds; if all three die, then, it is true, the power of the Grand Lodge must be invoked according to the rule in most jurisdictions, although under the old law, as long as there was a Past Master of the Lodge, he could summon it and preside in it. The same is true of a Grand Lodge; its officers, from the very nature of a Grand Lodge, hold over until their successors are chosen and installed. The same principle prevails as in relation to private corporations. Grand Lodges do not hold their

life by so feeble a tenure, that if the annual election fails to be held, they go out of existence or are without Grand Officers.

It was entirely competent for the Grand Lodge, as organized in 1829 (or in 1827 if the last election and installation then took place), to have met on the regular day in 1841, or to have been called together on any other day, by the Grand Master, or, if the office was vacant, by the one succeeding to that office under the Constitution, and proceed with its business precisely as if it had met every intervening year, *provided* that, when it met, the constitutional number of members was present; under the constitution of that Grand Lodge the representatives of three chartered Lodges were required in order to make a quorum—a provision unknown to the old law and copied from modern civil codes. If there were three Lodges, each of which could have called together seven members, the Master or a Warden being one of them, they could have been reorganized and represented in the Grand Lodge, and thus enabled it to proceed to business. Lodges do not die unless their charter is actually revoked by the Grand Lodge having jurisdiction, or is legally surrendered; of course, its members may become so reduced in number that it cannot meet. So if there were not three Lodges which could hold a legal meeting, then, indeed, the Grand Lodge became extinct, killed by a modern innovation.

Upon these principles, however, the attempted reorganization in 1841 was ineffectual. Three Lodges were represented, but two of them were not *chartered* Lodges; the innovation in the constitution, requiring three Lodges to be represented in order to transact any business, was fatal to the validity of these proceedings.

At the session in 1842 three of the old chartered Lodges were represented, and if the prior proceedings had then been disregarded, and the Grand Lodge had proceeded as if it was then meeting for the first time since 1827, it would have been relieved from its fetters, and could have gone on with its business; but such not being the case, the proceedings could not be sustained. The Grand Lodge, however, met in 1843 and 1844, hoping to secure recognition.

But these hopes not being realized, three of the old Lodges took new charters from the Grand Lodge of New York, and delegates from these and from St. Joseph Valley Lodge, chartered June 10, 1843, by the same Grand Lodge, met September 17, 1844, and went through the form of organizing a Grand Lodge. In November (the date not being given) the Grand Lodge, thus organized, met and Lewis Cass installed the Grand Master, who installed the other Grand Officers. On December 17, 1844, the old Grand Lodge met and, after transacting some formal business, voted that the Grand Lodge be closed and "forever dissolved." The Lodges had been ordered to report to the new Grand Lodge, and apparently they were received under its jurisdiction with the charters granted to them by the old Grand Lodge.

The new Grand Lodge started off with nine Lodges, but the number rapidly increased. It favored the project of a General Convention of Grand Lodges. The Baltimore Convention of 1843 adjourned to meet at Winchester in Virginia on May 11, 1846. This Grand Lodge sent a delegate, and he made a report of what happened. There were present delegates from Virginia, North Carolina, District of Columbia, Iowa and Michigan. On the second day a delegate from Missouri appeared; no others appearing on the third day, the Convention adjourned *sine die*. The Grand Lodge continued to favor a General Lodge "with limited powers," and in 1850 approved a constitution for such a Body proposed by the Grand Lodge of Rhode Island in 1849.

In 1848, this Grand Lodge had twenty-one Lodges, eighteen of which returned 579 members; in 1860, its total membership was 5,816; in 1871, 22,172; in 1881, 26,855; and in 1888, 28,823. It is the fifth in rank in point of numbers in the United States.

Grand Lodges More Recently Organized.

Since the beginning of the year 1850, seventeen Grand Lodges have been formed in the United States. In every case it has been assumed or expressly declared, that the proceeding was a matter *of inherent right*, and in no case, so far as the printed record discloses, has the consent of the parent Grand Lodges been sought.

California.—The representatives of California Lodge, chartered November 9, 1848, by the Grand Lodge of the District of Columbia; Connecticut Lodge, chartered January 31, 1849, by the Grand Lodge of Connecticut; and Western Star Lodge, chartered May 10, 1848, by the Grand Lodge of Missouri, met in convention April 17, 1850, and on April 19, 1850, completed the organization of the Grand Lodge of California. Representatives of New Jersey (afterwards Tehama) Lodge, under dispensation issued March 1, 1849 (New Jersey), and Benicia Lodge, U. D. (Louisiana), were present, but were not allowed to take part in the proceedings, in which, it was held, that only the representatives of *chartered* Lodges could legally participate. This Grand Lodge has grown rapidly, and is distinguished for its disbursements in charity, the promptness of its Lodges in making their returns and paying their dues, the ability which has characterized the administration of its affairs and the reports which it has published.

In 1860 the number of members of its Lodges was 5,055; in 1870, 9,528; in 1880, 12,513; and in 1887, 14,622, in two hundred and thirty-two Lodges.

Oregon.—In pursuance of notice given by direction of a conference of Masons, held August 16, 1851, the representatives (evidently Masters and Wardens) of Multonomah Lodge, organized September 11, 1848, under a charter from the Grand Lodge of Missouri; Willamette Lodge and Lafayette Lodge, both holding charters granted by the Grand Lodge of California, and dated respectively November 27, 1850 and May 9, 1851, met in convention, September 13, 1851, adopted a constitution and organized the Grand Lodge of Oregon, by the installation of the Grand Officers, September 15, 1851. The charters held by the Lodges were endorsed and returned to them. The charter of Multonomah Lodge was granted October 19, 1846—the first on the Pacific coast.

In 1860, the number of Lodges had increased to twenty-two, with a membership of 623; in 1870, the membership was 1,437; in 1880, 2,656; and in 1888, 3,499 in eighty Lodges.

Minnesota.—Masonry was introduced into Minnesota by the organization of St. Paul Lodge, at St. Paul, under a dispensation issued by the Grand Master of Ohio, August 8, 1849; at the next session of the Grand Lodge the dispensation was continued. The Lodge seems to have acted under this dispensation, without further action of the Grand Lodge, until May 27, 1852, when returns were made and the dispensation returned to the Grand Master of Ohio, with a request to dissolve its connection with that Grand Lodge, and, for greater convenience, to pass "as a subordinate already formed" under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Wisconsin. The papers were submitted to the Grand Lodge, and it voted that a charter be issued to the Lodge on payment of dues to May 27, 1852; at the next session of the Grand Lodge, the Grand Master reported that he had issued the charter, January 24, 1853; on January 8, 1856, this charter was surrendered to the Grand

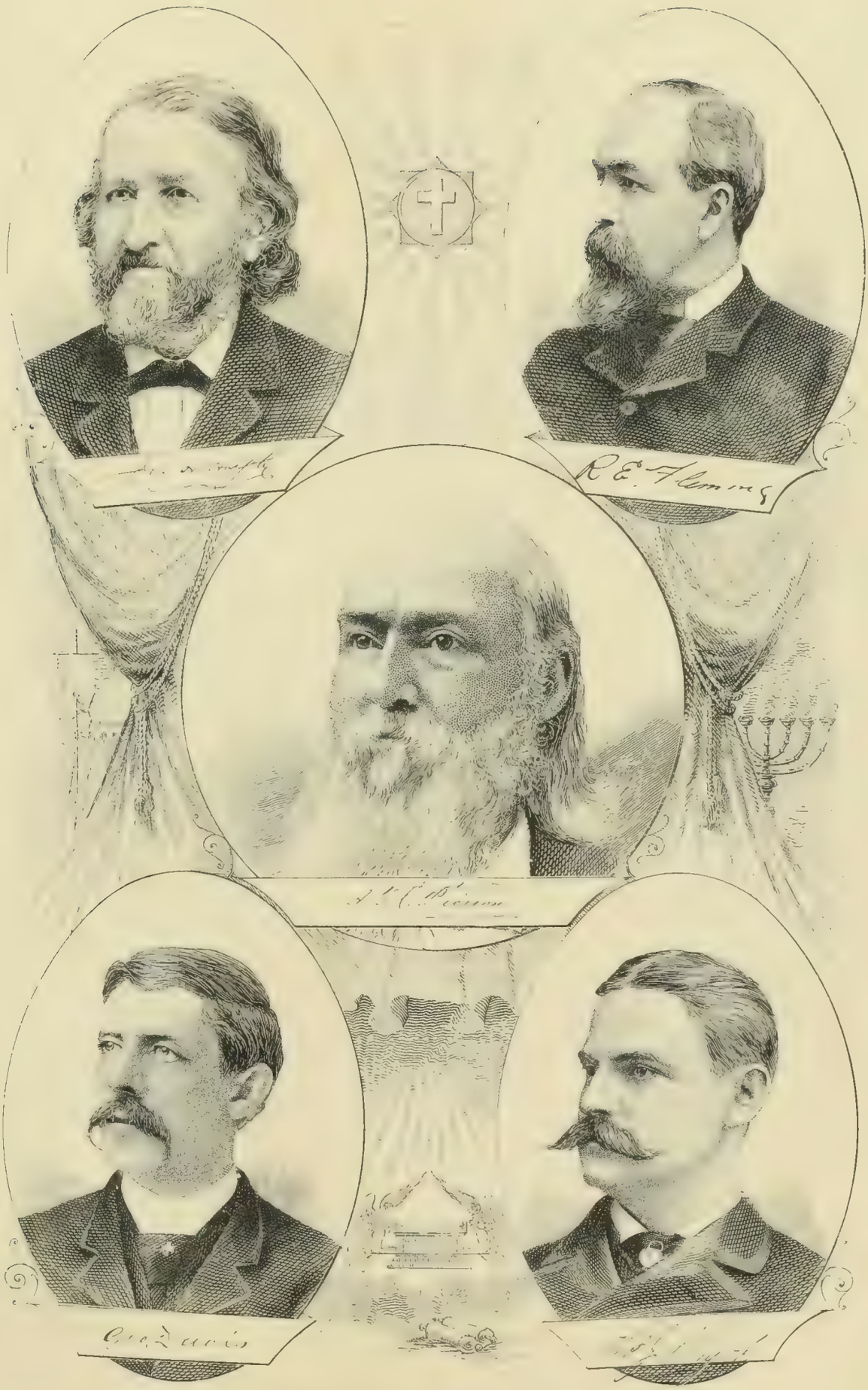
Lodge of Minnesota, and on January 10, 1856, a new charter was granted to members of the old Lodge, with the same name and number, and the effects of the old Lodge given to it. As the Lodges were numbered according to the dates of their several charters, this Lodge became No. 3. On October 12, 1850, the Grand Master of Wisconsin issued a dispensation for St. John's Lodge at Stillwater, and a charter was granted to it, June 9, 1852, by his Grand Lodge. In 1852, the Grand Master of Illinois issued a dispensation for Cataract Lodge at St. Anthony, and his Grand Lodge granted a charter to it October 5, 1852.

The W. Masters and Wardens of these Lodges (seven in person and two by proxy), with three Past Masters, met in Convention, February 23, 1853, in accordance with resolutions previously adopted by each Lodge, "to take such measures as were necessary in order to form a Grand Lodge." Those measures were taken, and the organization of the Grand Lodge completed, by the installation of the Grand Officers, February 24, 1853. The membership at this time was small, but it increased, at first slowly, but afterwards very rapidly, its growth corresponding with the growth of the State. In 1860 there were twenty-three Lodges, with a membership of about 800; in 1870, the membership was 4,588; in 1880, 7,136; and in 1888, 10,186, in one hundred and fifty-four Lodges.

The Grand Secretary, A. T. C. Pierson, was Secretary of the Convention which formed the Grand Lodge, Junior Grand Warden the next year, Deputy Grand Master the next year, then Grand Master eight years in succession, then Grand Secretary one year, then member of important Committees ten years, and then (from 1875) till now, Grand Secretary—a continuous service of more than thirty-six years.

Kansas.—In 1855, there were three Lodges in Kansas, all established under the authority of the Grand Lodge of Missouri. Dispensations were issued for Kansas Lodge at Wyandotte, August 4, 1854; Smithton Lodge at Smithfield, October 6, 1854; and Leavenworth Lodge at Leavenworth, December 30, 1854. A vote granting charters to the two former (with others) was adopted May 30, 1855, but afterwards on the same day the vote was reconsidered, and, so far as the printed record shows, the matter was left "hanging in mid air;" but the context indicates that the vote was amended and readopted. A charter was granted to Leavenworth Lodge, June 2, 1855. A convention was held November 14, 1855, but as only two Lodges were represented, it adjourned until December 27, 1855. At that time the Masters of Smithton and Leavenworth Lodges were present and they determined to organize a Grand Lodge, and send the proceedings to Kansas Lodge for approval and ratification. The convention adopted a constitution, and then with the aid of visitors opened "a Grand Lodge," approved the constitution adopted by the convention, elected Grand Officers and adjourned to March 17, 1856, when the Grand Lodge should be "fully organized." At that time the Masters and Wardens of the Lodges and one Past Master met, and "some doubts having arisen," proceeded to confirm the proceedings of the previous convention, and organize the Grand Lodge *de novo*. "A Grand Lodge of Kansas" was opened, the constitution adopted, and Grand Officers elected and installed. From this small beginning the Institution grew with a rapidity not exceeded in any other jurisdiction; in 1860, there were 438 members in thirty-two Lodges; in 1870, the membership was 3,761; in 1880, 8,425; and in 1888, 15,798, in three hundred and five Lodges.

Nebraska.—The first Lodge in this jurisdiction was held in a decidedly primitive hall, April 3, 1855. The Grand Lodge was organized September 23, 1857, by the Masters



PROMINENT FREEMASONS.

A. T. C. PIERSON, 33°, P .·. G .·. MASTER OF THE G .·. LODGE OF MINNESOTA.
JOSEPH HOUGH, 33°, G .·. SEC'Y OF THE G . LODGE OF NEW JERSEY. R. E. FLEMING, 33°, INS .· GEN .·. S .·. M .·. J .·.
FOR DAKOTA. GEORGE DAVIS, P .·. R .·. E .·. GRAND COMMANDER OF K .·. T .·. OF WEST VIRGINIA.
THOMAS J. SHYROCK, 33°, G .·. MASTER OF G .·. LODGE OF MARYLAND.

and Wardens of the three Lodges then existing in the Territory. Nebraska Lodge was organized under a dispensation granted by the Deputy Grand Master of Illinois in February, 1855, and was chartered by that Grand Lodge, October 3, 1855. Giddings (afterwards Western Star) Lodge was organized under the authority of the Grand Lodge of Missouri by dispensation dated May 30, 1855, and chartered May 28, 1856; and Capital Lodge was organized by dispensation from the Grand Master of Iowa issued January 9, 1857, and was chartered June 3, 1857. These Lodges could scarcely have had 100 members; in 1858, six Lodges had 140 members, and in 1860, 183; in 1870, the total membership was 1,056; in 1880, 3,469, and in 1888, 8,007, in one hundred and seventy-one Lodges.

Washington.—The first Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Washington was installed December 8, 1858. On the sixth the Master and Wardens (part in person, and part by their respective proxies) of the four Lodges in the Territory met in convention, and continued their labors from day to day until they completed the organization of the Grand Lodge. The four Lodges hailed under the Grand Lodge of Oregon; Olympia Lodge, at Olympia, organized under dispensation issued November 25, 1852, and chartered June 14, 1853; Steilacoom Lodge at Steilacoom, chartered June 14, 1854; Grand Mound Lodge at Grand Mound Prairie, chartered July 13, 1858; and Washington Lodge at Vancouver, chartered July 13, 1858. Their total membership scarcely exceeded one hundred, for the next year (when the first returns were made) seven Lodges returned only 158 members; in 1860, there were nine Lodges and 217 members; in 1871, 496 members; in 1880, 1,089; and in 1888, 2,103, in fifty Lodges.

Colorado.—On August 2, 1861, the Masters and Wardens, in person or by proxy, of Golden City Lodge, at Golden City, chartered by the Grand Lodge of Kansas, October 17, 1860, and Summit Lodge at Parkville, and Rocky Mountain Lodge, at Gold Hill, both chartered by the Grand Lodge of Nebraska, June 5, 1861, met in convention at Golden City, opened a Lodge of Master Masons, examined the charters of the Lodges represented, elected and installed Grand Officers and declared the Grand Lodge of Colorado "regularly organized." The Lodges were renumbered and apparently were allowed to continue to work under their original charters, without being required to take new ones. A constitution was adopted, which, while it declared that "Every Grand Lodge possesses the inherent right to form a constitution as the fundamental law of its Masonic action," and that "Every Grand Lodge is the true representative of all the fraternity in communication therewith, and is, in that behalf, an absolute and independent body, with supreme legislative authority," could be amended only by its own vote, the vote of two-thirds of the Lodges and its own subsequent vote, the Lodges having a veto power, by negative action or non-action. At the next session it was announced that since the formation of the Grand Lodge, and without knowledge of it, the Grand Lodge of Kansas had chartered Nevada Lodge in Colorado, October 15, 1867, which, however, had done no work under the charter; the Lodge was permitted to surrender that charter and receive a new one. The total membership in August, 1861, did not exceed 50; in 1870, it was 854; in 1880, 1,857; and in 1888, 4,344, in sixty-eight Lodges.

Nevada.—In 1863, an attempt was made to call a convention to form a Grand Lodge, but nothing came of it. In 1864, by the concurrent action of five Lodges, a convention was called to meet January 16, 1865. There were then eight Lodges in the State, all chartered by the Grand Lodge of California. Carson Lodge at Carson City, chartered May 15, 1862; Washoe Lodge at Washoe City, and Virginia City Lodge at Virginia City,

chartered May 14, 1863; Silver City (afterwards Amity) Lodge at Silver City, chartered May 15, 1863; Silver Star Lodge at Gold Hill, Esmeralda Lodge at Aurora and Escurial Lodge at Virginia, chartered October 13, 1864, and Lander Lodge at Austin, chartered October 14, 1864. The convention met accordingly, six Lodges being represented. The Committee on Credentials reported that "no one but actual present Masters and Wardens of Lodges should be entitled to vote in the convention." This was modified so as to admit the proxy of an absent Warden, and adopted. The convention further voted that "the officers of the Lodges present" were duly authorized and qualified to organize the Grand Lodge of Nevada. The next day another Lodge was represented; Lander Lodge alone did not participate in the convention. A constitution was adopted and Grand Officers were elected and installed January 17, 1865. The charters were endorsed for temporary use until new charters should be issued. The Lodges were required to make returns immediately as of the date of the organization of the Grand Lodge. Lander Lodge made returns with the rest, assuming that, as a matter of course, it was under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge. The eight Lodges returned 410 members. In 1870, the number of members was 977; in 1880, 1,426; and in 1887, 1,037.

West Virginia.—The separation of West Virginia from Virginia, and its admission to the Union as a State, are matters of history; but at the time it was not certain what the event would be. The Lodges had suffered severely on account of the war. In many cases it was impossible to hold meetings; in some instances, the charter and properties of the Lodge were lost or destroyed; all communication with the Grand Lodge of Virginia had been cut off for nearly three years. The consequence was that in the latter part of 1863 most of the Lodges had ceased working. But the actual scene of war was confined to the border, and as some degree of tranquillity began to prevail, the Masons were anxious to resume work. They sought advice and were told that they had the right to form a Grand Lodge and that apparently there was a necessity for such a step. Thereupon, in response to a circular, a convention was held December 28, 1863; but between the issuing of the call and the meeting of the convention, the tide of war again swept over much of the State, and delegates were prevented from attending. The convention, on this account, deemed it best to adjourn to February 22, 1864, when it again adjourned to June 24, 1864. It then met, eight of the thirteen working Lodges in the State being represented. Grand Officers were elected and a day fixed for their installation; but as the convention adjourned *sine die*, the Grand Officers decided that no further action could be had. It is difficult to understand the ground of this decision, as the same course had been taken in other cases, and the fixing of a day for the installation certainly implies an adjournment accordingly, although the convention adjourned without expressly adjourning to that day.

Thereupon a new convention was called and held April 12, 1865. The same Lodges were represented; Grand Officers were elected and the eleventh of May fixed for their installation, to which day the convention adjourned. On May 11, 1865, the convention met; the same Lodges and one other were represented. The Grand Officers were installed. The charters were ordered to be endorsed under the seal of the Grand Lodge, and allowed to be retained until new ones should be issued.

But the legality of the new Grand Lodge was denied by various Grand Lodges and especially by the Grand Lodge of Virginia. The objections were, that West Virginia was not a State; that, if it was, it was still under the exclusive Masonic jurisdiction of the

Grand Lodge of Virginia; that the Lodges had not returned their charters; and that they had not paid their dues, and it was claimed that their payment was a condition precedent to the legality of the Grand Lodge. The reply was that West Virginia was a State *de facto*, and that was all that Masons can consider; that it being an independent State, the Masons in it had a right to form a Grand Lodge, with exclusive jurisdiction therein; that the charters need not be returned; and that failure to pay the dues was a matter for subsequent adjustment. The matter was discussed by both Grand Lodges; but in 1868, the Grand Lodge of West Virginia sent commissioners to attend the communication of the Grand Lodge of Virginia, and to endeavor to arrange the matter. They were met in the most fraternal spirit. The right to form the Grand Lodge of West Virginia and the legality of its organization were conceded; the charters were formally surrendered, but at the request of the Lodges, were returned, and all Virginia Lodges in West Virginia were advised to surrender their charters to the Grand Lodge of that State, and take new ones from it. The dues were subsequently adjusted to the mutual satisfaction of the parties. The line between the States not having been definitely settled, the Lodges in the disputed territory were allowed to remain under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge chartering them; but subsequently the line was fixed, and each Grand Lodge ultimately had, and have since exercised, exclusive jurisdiction in the State in which it is located.

Of course, the few Grand Lodges, which had withheld recognition, at once accorded it, and the Grand Lodge entered upon a career of prosperity. In 1870, the total membership of its Lodges was 2,136; in 1880, 3,415, and in 1887, 3,721.

Montana.—The first Masonic meeting in this Territory was a voluntary assembly of Masons to bury a brother with Masonic rites. This led later to an application to the Grand Master of Nebraska for a dispensation, which was issued April 27, 1863, for a Lodge at Bannock, then in Dakota, but understood by the Grand Lodge to be in Idaho. The dispensation was renewed June 24, 1863, and its renewal authorized again June 24, 1864; but when it reached Bannock, the petitioners had become scattered and no Lodge was opened under it. Virginia City Lodge, at Virginia City, was chartered December 26, 1864, by the Grand Lodge of Kansas. Montana Lodge, at Virginia City, was created by a Colorado dispensation dated April 4, 1865, and Helena Lodge was organized August 17, 1865, by the same authority; charters were granted to both, November 7, 1865, by the Grand Lodge of Colorado.

The Masters and Wardens of these Lodges met in convention, January 24, 1866; a committee was appointed to report "as to the members present, who are, *ex officio*, members of the Grand Lodge," and "as to the proper action to be taken on the subject of Past Masters." The Committee made a partial report and was granted "further time to consider the question of the admission of Past Masters." It was then voted to form a Grand Lodge and the convention adjourned. Then "the officers of the three Lodges proceeded, in due form, to open a Grand Lodge." A constitution was then adopted and Grand Officers elected, who were installed January 26, 1866. On the same day charters were granted to the Lodges, which made returns of 105 members; in 1870, there were fourteen chartered Lodges and one U. D., with an aggregate membership of 542; in 1880, there were 762 members; and in 1888, 1,541 in thirty Lodges.

Idaho.—A portion of this Territory was originally included within the limits of Washington Territory, and remained so until after the Grand Lodge of Washington was

formed. When the Territory of Idaho had been established and a part of Washington included within its limits, the Grand Lodge of Oregon established a Lodge in that part. The Grand Lodge of Washington protested, claiming exclusive jurisdiction in the territory formerly belonging to Washington. The question was argued by the two Grand Lodges fully and earnestly, and became the subject of discussion throughout the country. The Grand Lodge of Washington conceded that when a Grand Lodge should be formed in Idaho, it would have exclusive jurisdiction in the disputed territory; but the general *consensus* of opinion was, that the same principle that would give the new Grand Lodge exclusive jurisdiction, took away the exclusive jurisdiction of Washington the moment the change in the boundary line was made by the civil authority. It was held, in effect, that inasmuch as Masonic law bounds territorial jurisdiction by the limits fixed by the civil law, changes in the limits of *civil* jurisdiction at once affect *Masonic* jurisdiction. The fundamental principle, that a Mason's civil allegiance and his Masonic allegiance shall be in harmony, inevitably leads to that conclusion.

The Grand Lodge of Idaho was organized December 17, 1867, there being then in the Territory four chartered Lodges and one Lodge U. D. Lodges, hailing under the Grand Lodge of Oregon, were organized as follows: Idaho Lodge at Idaho City, under dispensation issued July 7, 1863, and chartered June 22, 1864; Boise Lodge at Boise City, under dispensation issued April 1, 1864, and chartered June 20, 1865; Placer Lodge at Placerville, chartered June 20, 1865, without having worked under dispensation; and Owyhee Lodge, under dispensation issued June 21, 1866. Pioneer Lodge at Pioneer City was organized by the authority of the Grand Lodge of Washington under dispensation issued July 7, 1867, and chartered September 21, 1867. At the communication of the Grand Lodge of Oregon in June, 1867, a charter to Owyhee Lodge was denied, and it was continued under dispensation.

The Masters, Wardens and Past Masters of these Lodges, in person or by proxy, met in convention December 16, 1867, to form a Grand Lodge. No previous instance is remembered in which Past Masters were permitted to appear by proxy in the organization of a Grand Lodge. The Master of the Lodge U. D. was, by courtesy, "though a deviation from Masonic usage," admitted to a seat and allowed one vote in the preliminary proceedings. Grand Officers were elected, a constitution adopted, and the Grand Officers installed. The convention was then dissolved, and the Grand Lodge opened. The charters were ordered to be endorsed as authority for the Lodges until new ones should be issued, when the old charters should be surrendered to the Grand Secretary to be returned to the Grand Lodge which issued them; a charter was granted to Owyhee Lodge, and the Grand Lodge took jurisdiction of a petition for restoration by a member of that Lodge, suspended while it was working under the Grand Lodge of Oregon.

The total membership in 1868 was 225; in 1870, 288; in 1880, 386; and in 1888, 723, in nineteen Lodges.

Utah.—On February 4, 1866, the Grand Master of Nevada issued a dispensation for Mt. Moriah Lodge at Salt Lake City, under which the Lodge was organized the next day. Soon after, a question arose in relation to the treatment of Mormons, who claimed to be Masons, and it was submitted to the Grand Master. He, undoubtedly aware of the Illinois Mormon episode, for reply issued an edict forbidding the admission as visitors, and the affiliation as members, of Mormons claiming to be Masons, and the reception of petitions from Mormon candidates. The Lodge was deeply aggrieved and even indignant,

but submitted to the order of the Grand Master. A meeting was held, however, and a petition sent to the Grand Lodge to modify the edict, so that Mormons, not polygamists, would be excepted from its operation; also the dispensation was returned with a petition for a charter; but the Grand Lodge approved the edict of the Grand Master, declined to grant a charter, and continued the dispensation: the Lodge was "worse than sorrow-stricken;" but worked on, obedient to the edict, for another year. Then a petition for a charter was presented to the Grand Lodge, but accompanied with the statement that, unless they could have a charter unrestricted by the edict, they respectfully declined to take any: the Grand Lodge promptly accepted the surrender of the dispensation, and refused to grant a charter. They then presented a petition, reciting the circumstances, to the Grand Lodge of Montana at its session, October 8, 1867. That Grand Lodge declared that the assumption of the petitioners, that the Grand Lodge of Nevada did not possess the power to decide who are not proper persons to be admitted into its subordinate Lodges, was "subversive of the principles of Masonry," rejected the petition for a charter and referred the petitioners to the Grand Lodge of Nevada for a "redress of their alleged grievances," as that Grand Lodge was "abundantly qualified, as we believe they are disposed, to render justice in the premises." The petitioners then applied to the Grand Master of Kansas for a dispensation, which he issued November 25, 1867, and a charter was granted by the Grand Lodge, October 21, 1868.

The Masters and Wardens of Wasatch Lodge, chartered by the Grand Lodge of Montana October 7, 1867; Mount Moriah Lodge, chartered by the Grand Lodge of Kansas, October 21, 1868; and Argenta Lodge, chartered by the Grand Lodge of Colorado, September 26, 1871, all located at Salt Lake City, met in convention January 16, 1872, and on January 17, 1872, "regularly organized" the Grand Lodge of Utah. Wasatch Lodge had previously worked under dispensations dated October 22, 1866, and Argenta, under dispensation dated April 8, 1871. The Grand Lodge of Missouri chartered Rocky Mount Lodge, June 1, 1860, but it surrendered its charter the following year.

The convention met, organized, voted unanimously to form the Grand Lodge of Utah, examined and passed upon the credentials and then opened a Lodge of Master Masons; the Lodge proceeded to elect and install Grand Officers, and when the installation was completed, the Grand Lodge was declared regularly organized. It immediately entered upon the consideration and adoption of a Constitution, and the transaction of the other business necessary to complete its organization and to arrange for the regular working of its Lodges.

One important question arose in this Grand Lodge, in consequence of its peculiar surroundings. A member of one of its Lodges joined the Mormons, and for this cause, upon regular proceedings, he was expelled by his Lodge, and the expulsion confirmed by the Grand Lodge. The matter attracted the attention of the other Grand Lodges, and many of them, at the request of the Grand Lodge of Utah, took formal action in relation to it. It was objected against the expulsion, that Masonry never interferes with the religious views of any member of the Institution. This was admitted, but the expulsion was quite unanimously sustained on the ground that acts, in violation of Masonic or moral law, are not justified, nor the perpetrator thereof shielded from punishment, although such acts are in accordance with, and are enjoined by, his religious views. Freedom of conscience, to the extent of committing crime, is no more tolerated by *Masonic*, than by *civil* law.

The membership at the time of the organization was about 125; in 1880 (December), 398; and in 1888 (January), 462.

The Indian Territory.—The W. Masters and Wardens of Muskogee, Doaksville and Caddo Lodges met in convention, in person or by proxy, October 5, 1874, and voted to proceed to form a Grand Lodge for the Indian Territory. They adopted a constitution and regularly completed their labors, by the installation of the Grand Officers, October 6, 1874. The charters of the Lodges were endorsed and returned to them. These Lodges all hailed under the Grand Lodge of Arkansas. Muscogee (now Eufaula) Lodge received a dispensation in 1855, and was chartered November 7, 1855. It became dormant during the war and its charter was withdrawn November 6, 1867; early in 1874 it was revived by the Grand Master of Arkansas and was borne on the roll of that Grand Lodge for some two years and until it recognized the Grand Lodge of the Indian Territory. The dispensation of Doaksville Lodge was issued November 23, 1870, and it was chartered November 8, 1871. Caddo Lodge was created by dispensation dated August 26, 1873, and was chartered October 14, 1873. The former was in the "Creek Nation" and the two latter in the "Choctaw Nation."

At the time of the formation of the Grand Lodge, there were three other Lodges in the Territory. Oklahoma, in the "Choctaw Nation," chartered by the Grand Lodge of Arkansas, November 18, 1868; this Lodge at once gave in its adhesion to the new Grand Lodge, and sent in its charter and had it endorsed, numbered and enrolled. Flint Lodge, in the "Cherokee Nation," chartered by the Grand Lodge of Arkansas, November 9, 1853; and Alpha Lodge, also in the "Cherokee Nation," created by dispensation issued May 18, 1872, and chartered October 17, 1872, by the Grand Lodge of Kansas; the two latter Lodges declined to give in their adhesion to the new Grand Lodge, but each continued to adhere to the Grand Lodge which chartered it, as neither of them, at first, recognized the new Grand Lodge. The latter, failing for two years to secure their adhesion, in 1876 arrested their charters. The Grand Lodge of Kansas refused to recognize the new Grand Lodge and sustained Alpha Lodge in its position. The point was raised that the Indian Territory was not within the rule relating to the organization of Grand Lodges; it was, in fact, a Territory *sui generis* and its government entirely different from that of the other Territories. In 1877, the Grand Lodge, deeming milder methods preferable, rescinded the action of 1876. Immediately afterwards Flint Lodge gave in its adhesion, and Alpha Lodge followed its example in October, 1878, that being as soon as it could obtain the desired action by the Grand Lodge of Kansas. In the meantime, six other Lodges had been chartered, two in the "Cherokee Nation," two in the "Chickasaw Nation," and two in the "Choctaw Nation." In the meantime, also, other Grand Lodges decided that, although the different Indian "Nations" were independent of each other, and therefore the Territory essentially different from the other Territories in government, still there was a general government sufficient to bring the Territory within the principle applied to them.

The formation of the Grand Lodge gave an impulse to the growth of Masonry, for in 1880 there were thirteen Lodges with a membership of 362; and in 1888, twenty-six Lodges with a membership of 832, in addition to three Lodges chartered at that session whose returns are not given. That the "outer door" is well guarded is evident from the fact that, in 1888, the rejections were almost forty per cent. of the entire number of applications.

Wyoming.—The Grand Lodge of Colorado chartered Cheyenne Lodge, October 7, 1868; Laramie Lodge, September 28, 1870, after working U. D. from January 31, preceding; and Evanston Lodge, September 30, 1874, its dispensation having been granted, September 8, 1873, and continued by the Grand Lodge, at its next session. And the Grand Lodge of Nebraska chartered Wyoming Lodge, June 23, 1870, after working under a dispensation issued November 20, 1869.

The "Masters and Wardens" of these four Lodges met December 15, 1874, and proceeded regularly to organize themselves into a Grand Lodge on the same day. The Lodges had a membership then of about 250, and the growth has been slow as compared with that of the Grand Lodges in some of the other Territories. In 1880, the total membership was 342; in 1866, 493, and in 1887, 568.

Dakota.—Under authority of the Grand Lodge of Iowa, St. John's Lodge at Yankton received a dispensation dated December 5, 1862, and a charter granted June 3, 1863; Incense Lodge at Vermillion, a dispensation dated January 14, 1869, and a charter granted June 2, 1869; Elk Point Lodge at Elk Point, a dispensation dated March 23, 1870, and a charter granted June 8, 1871; Minnehaha Lodge at Sioux Falls, a dispensation dated July 13, 1873, and a charter granted June 3, 1874; Silver Star Lodge at Canton, a dispensation dated February 6, 1875, and a charter granted, June 2, 1875; and Mt. Zion Lodge at Springfield, a dispensation dated February 16, 1875, and a charter granted June 2, 1875. The Grand Master of Minnesota issued a dispensation for Shiloh Lodge at Fargo, November 22, 1872, and it was chartered January 14, 1874; and a dispensation for Bismarck Lodge at Bismarck in 1874, and another in 1875, and it was chartered January 12, 1876.

The representatives of St. John's, Incense, Elk Point, Minnehaha, and Silver Star Lodges met in convention June 21, 1875, to form a Grand Lodge. The representatives of Mt. Zion Lodge were present, but as the Lodge had not received its charter, they were not admitted to participate in the proceedings. A constitution was adopted and Grand Officers elected; a committee was appointed to arrange for the installation and the convention adjourned to assemble at the call of the committee. On July 21, 1875, the convention met and the Grand Officers were installed in public by Theodore S. Parvin, P. G. Master of Iowa; the same Lodges were represented and also Mt. Zion Lodge, which had then been constituted. The charters were called in, numbered according to their dates and returned to the Lodges.

At the session of the Grand Lodge in 1876, the Grand Master reported that three Lodges were working in the Territory under the Grand Lodge of Minnesota, one chartered before the organization of his Grand Lodge, one chartered since, but which had been working under dispensation granted previously, and one under a dispensation issued since; apparently, however, no charter was granted to the latter. On account of the illness of the Grand Master of Minnesota and for other accidental causes, the organization of the Grand Lodge of Dakota did not come officially to the knowledge of the Grand Lodge of Minnesota until its session in 1878, when it resolved that its two Lodges in Dakota, so long as they should see fit to adhere to it, should be defended by it. Correspondence between the two Grand Lodges ensued, but nothing was effected, except that Shiloh Lodge, of its own accord, gave in its adhesion in 1879. At its session in January, 1880, the Grand Lodge of Minnesota adopted a resolution substantially the same as the one adopted in 1878; but the newly elected Grand Master, Harry R. Wells, upon an

investigation of the matter, became convinced that the position of his Grand Lodge was untenable and in violation of the jurisdictional law of Grand Lodges. As a result he had a personal interview with the Grand Master of Dakota and came to the conclusion to advise Bismarck Lodge to give in its adhesion to the Grand Lodge of its jurisdiction. His advice was followed, and during the session of the Grand Lodge of Dakota in 1880, Bismarck Lodge gave in its adhesion, which was accepted, and the Lodge numbered and entered on the Dakota roll.

The Grand Lodge soon commenced a wonderful growth; in 1880, its membership was 541, but in 1888 it had one hundred Lodges with 4,088 members.

New Mexico.—The early Lodges were chartered by the Grand Lodge of Missouri. Montezuma, May 8, 1851; Bent, June 1, 1860, but its charter was surrendered in 1865; Chapman, June 2, 1866; Aztec, October 19, 1867; Kit Carson, October 12, 1869; Silver City, October 14, 1873; Union, October 15, 1874; and Cimmarron, October 14, 1875.

In accordance with previous notice, the Masters and Wardens of Montezuma, Chapman and Aztec Lodges met in convention August 6, 1877, to form a Grand Lodge. A constitution was adopted and Grand Officers were elected. On August 7, 1877, the convention met and the Grand Officers were installed, "whereupon the M. W. Grand Lodge of New Mexico was declared organized and *in esse* and was opened in ample form." This method seems to be more technically correct than that of adjourning the convention *sine die* and then assembling the Grand Lodge, which, technically speaking, does not then exist.

There were then seven Lodges in the Territory; Union Lodge, which had voted to join in the movement, at once gave in its adhesion, but the other three Lodges did not.

The Grand Lodge of Missouri, at its next session, recognized the new Grand Lodge, but still kept the names of two of the other Lodges on its roll. Kit Carson Lodge was probably dormant when the Grand Lodge was organized, as its charter was revoked in 1878, because it had not met for over a year and was generally in bad condition. The new Grand Lodge met in January, 1879, and the Grand Master reported that Silver City and Cimmarron Lodges were still borne on the roll of the Grand Lodge of Missouri, and had refused to give in their adhesion to the Grand Lodge of New Mexico. The latter, through its committee, asserted its rights and submitted the matter to the Grand Lodge of Missouri, with a statement of the law, at once full, concise and accurate. It held that it had exclusive jurisdiction over all Lodges in the Territory; that while the revocation of the charter of Kit Carson Lodge was permissible, all funds received from it, or the sale of its effects, should be paid over to the Grand Lodge of New Mexico; that all dues received by the Grand Lodge of Missouri, accruing after the organization of the Grand Lodge of New Mexico, should also be paid to it. These positions were denied by the Grand Lodge of Missouri, and the question was fully discussed. When the Grand Lodge of New Mexico met in 1880, Cimmarron Lodge had surrendered its charter to the Grand Lodge of Missouri and ceased to exist; but Silver City Lodge was still recusant, and the Grand Lodge directed the arrest of its charter unless it should make returns within a specified time. The Grand Master wrote a personal letter to the Master, and visited Silver City in person in order to prevent taking extreme measures; but his efforts were in vain, and he arrested the charter. At the next session of the Grand Lodge, Masonic intercourse with Missouri was suspended, and the edict ordered to be read in all the Lodges. At the next session of the Grand Lodge of Missouri, the matter was submitted

to a committee, four of the five members of which united in a report, in which the whole matter was reviewed, and the conclusion reached that the recognition of the new Grand Lodge was inconsistent with the further maintenance of Masonic authority in New Mexico. The Grand Lodge adopted resolutions requesting the Grand Lodge of New Mexico to modify its edict in relation to Silver City Lodge, it order that that Lodge might give in its adhesion to it, and requesting the Lodge to adopt that course. Through the mediation of the Grand Master of Illinois, such action was taken as restored the Lodge under the jurisdiction of New Mexico, and secured the return of fraternal relations between the two Grand Lodges. The result was to settle the question involved in consonance with the law of exclusive jurisdiction; and the course of the Grand Lodge of Missouri, in frankly acknowledging its error, added great force to the effect of the decision.

The four Lodges, at the time of the formation of the Grand Lodge, had 165 members, and in 1880, 184. In 1887, there were eleven Lodges with 581 members.

Arizona.—The Grand Lodge of California chartered Aztlan Lodge at Prescott, October 11, 1866; Arizona Lodge at Phœnix, October 16, 1879; and Tucson Lodge at Tucson, October 15, 1881; and the Grand Master issued a dispensation for Solomon Lodge at Tombstone, June 4, 1881, and at the ensuing session of the Grand Lodge the dispensation was continued. The Grand Lodge of New Mexico chartered White Mountain Lodge, in Globe, January 18, 1881.

On March 23, 1882, the representatives of Arizona, Tucson and White Mountain Lodges met in convention for the purpose of considering the propriety of forming a Grand Lodge. It was decided that the representatives of the three chartered Lodges had the authority to form a Grand Lodge, and the representatives present from the Lodge U. D. were invited "to take part in the deliberations of the convention." The convention then proceeded to adopt a constitution. This being done, a Lodge of Master Masons was opened, and Grand Officers were elected. On March 25, 1882, they were installed, when the convention adjourned *sine die* and the Grand Lodge opened. The charters of the Lodges were ordered to be properly endorsed and returned to them, as the authority under which they were to exist. A charter was granted to Solomon Lodge U. D., and the Grand Master was authorized to endorse the charter of Aztlan Lodge in the same manner. This Lodge immediately gave in its adhesion and made the returns ordered by the Grand Lodge. The five Lodges had a membership of 274; in 1887, there were six Lodges with 355 members.

Conclusion.

Libraries.—When Grand Lodges commenced the exchange of their published Proceedings some of the Grand Secretaries carefully preserved all that they received; but most of those, thus collected, disappeared during the anti-Masonic excitement. Soon after Masonry revived, however, many Grand Secretaries continued the practice of their predecessors, and, as already stated, this work received an impetus from the interest taken in it by Bro. Parvin of Iowa. The result has been that almost every Grand Lodge now has something of a Masonic Library; some limit themselves to binding and preserving the Proceedings and documents received from other Grand Lodges; others obtain Masonic books of all descriptions; and a few have in addition a general Library. The Grand Lodge of Iowa has the most extensive and valuable collection; while the Grand

Lodges of Massachusetts, California and New York follow pretty closely. Maine has a very full set of the Proceedings of all the York Rite Grand Bodies, under an arrangement which gives the other Grand Bodies the use of the Library, in consideration of having the Proceedings received by them. The Southern Supreme Council has an immensely valuable miscellaneous Library at Washington, while the Northern Supreme Council has lately received a large collection of Masonic works. Several individuals have large Masonic libraries, the largest and most complete of which are those of Bros. Enoch T. Carson of Ohio, and Samuel C. Lawrence of Massachusetts.

Quorum.—This word has found its way into the constitutions and laws of several Grand Lodges. In others the idea is found while the word is not used. The present law of the Grand Lodges varies largely. Delaware, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Oregon, Rhode Island, Vermont and Wisconsin adhere to the old law, and have no express provision in relation to the matter. South Carolina retains the old law so far as opening the Grand Lodge is concerned, but one-third of the Lodges must be represented before it can proceed to business. Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Idaho, Indian Territory, Minnesota, Mississippi, New Mexico, and Wyoming require a representation of three lodges. Maryland, Nevada, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Washington, and West Virginia, of five lodges; Nebraska, seven; New York, Indiana and Tennessee, ten; New Jersey, fifteen; Illinois, twenty to open and fifty to proceed to business; Georgia, twenty-five; Texas, at regular sessions, twenty-five, and at special sessions, fifty; Missouri, thirty; Iowa, fifty; Michigan, fifty, although ten members may open the Grand Lodge; California, seventy-five; Alabama and Ohio, one-third; Kentucky, one-third to open, and then one-fifth; and Montana, the District of Columbia and Utah, a majority.

Grand Lodges not Sovereign, but with Limited Powers.—The form of constitution, originated by the Grand Lodge of North Carolina in 1787, limiting the powers of the Grand Lodge, and taking away from it the attribute of sovereignty, was followed at their organization by most of the Grand Lodges springing from that Grand Lodge, either directly or through other Grand Lodges. These were Tennessee, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, and Dakota; subsequently to their organization, Alabama, Delaware, Georgia, Idaho, Michigan, and Ohio adopted the same plan; but Tennessee, Iowa, Georgia, Utah and Colorado have since abandoned it. At present the Grand Lodges of Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Indian Territory, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, Wisconsin and Wyoming retain the power to themselves to amend their several constitutions. The Grand Lodge of New York, after adopting an amendment provisionally allows it to be adopted in the recess by the Lodges; but if not so adopted, it acts itself at its next session. Texas requires a majority both of the representatives of the Lodges and of the other members of the Grand Lodge. The Grand Lodges of Alabama, Dakota, Idaho, Illinois, West Virginia, amend their constitutions by first adopting the amendment and then submitting it to the Lodges, and if two-thirds of the chartered Lodges vote for it, it becomes a part of the constitution. Nebraska has the same plan, but Lodges not voting are counted in the affirmative. In Delaware, Missouri, Michigan, New Mexico and Ohio, a proposed amendment must be

seconded by a majority of the Grand Lodge, be submitted to the Lodges and approved by two thirds of them, and then finally be adopted by the Grand Lodge; this last method is of quite recent invention.

National Conventions.—A convention was held at Washington, March 9, 1822. Its object was the establishment of a General Grand Lodge; it adopted an address to the Grand Lodges recommending the formation of a Supreme Grand Lodge; the large majority of the Grand Lodges voted against the proposition, and the project failed.

Upon a call issued by the Grand Lodge of Alabama, a convention was held at Washington, March 7, 1842, to secure uniformity in the work; ten Grand Lodges were represented; it was finally concluded that, in consequence of the small representation, the matter should be referred to a new convention to be held in 1843.

Accordingly a convention was held, May 8, 1843; fifteen Grand Lodges were represented. It was in session ten days; with great unanimity, a system of work and lectures was adopted. Forms for a Funeral Service, Constituting Lodges and Installing Officers (in public as well as in the Lodge room), laying the Corner Stone of Public Structures and the Dedication of Masonic Halls were adopted and published with the Proceedings; the issuing of Grand Lodge certificates and a plan for a National Masonic Convention to meet once in three years, were recommended to the Grand Lodges.

The Convention adjourned to meet at Winchester, Va., May 11, 1846; delegates from only six Grand Lodges appearing, the Convention adjourned *sine die* (see p. 510).

The plan for a National Convention, meeting triennially, failed to receive the sanction of the necessary number of Grand Lodges. But the Grand Lodge of Maryland issued a call for a convention to form a General Grand Lodge, and it was held at Baltimore, September 23, 1847. Six Grand Lodges were represented; a constitution for a Supreme Grand Lodge was adopted, to become effective when ratified by sixteen Grand Lodges; that number failed to ratify the constitution and the project again failed.

But another convention was called to meet in Washington in May, 1850; while some delegates attended, their number was so few that no formal meeting was held.

The Grand Lodge of Maine, under the lead of Cyril Pearl, then took the initiative and issued a circular calling a convention at Lexington, Kentucky, on September 17, 1853. Six Grand Lodges were represented, but the convention invited others to take seats in it, and representatives from eleven other Grand Lodges enrolled their names. The convention affirmed the expediency of forming a National Confederation and called another convention to meet in Washington on the first Wednesday of January, 1855.

Seven Grand Lodges were represented. Articles of confederation were adopted to become effective when they should be ratified by twenty Grand Lodges; and an address to the Grand Lodges of the United States was issued; but the articles were not ratified by the necessary number of Grand Lodges and failure was again the result.

Bro. Cyril Pearl, however, did not despair; he believed in the scheme, and was not daunted by any number of failures; under the authority of his Grand Lodge, he sent circular letters to every Grand Lodge, calling a convention to be held on September 13, 1859, at Chicago. The representatives of thirteen Grand Lodges met and adopted a constitution for a National Masonic Congress, to be organized when the Articles should be ratified by five Grand Lodges. But while a majority of the Grand Lodges had, at some time or other, declared in favor of a National organization, the Congress was never organized.

PART II.

HISTORY OF ROYAL ARCH MASONRY IN THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

ROYAL ARCH MASONRY IN THE UNITED STATES.

IN considering the history of Royal Arch Masonry in the United States, it must be remembered that it was first brought into notice by the "Ancients" in Great Britain; that it was soon after cultivated by the adherents of the old Grand Lodge, and probably to a greater extent than by the "Ancients;" that at first the degree was conferred by both parties under the authority of Lodge warrants, or in Chapters appurtenant to a Lodge; that the *old* Grand Lodge party first conferred it in Chapters distinct from the Lodge; that their example was soon followed by the "Ancients;" and that it was introduced into this country, while it was in a transition state, and before it was fully organized into a separate system in Great Britain.

The "Ancients" and the Grand Lodge of Scotland commenced chartering Lodges in America at a time when the Royal Arch degree had begun to attract the attention of the craft, and both these governing bodies held that a charter for a Lodge carried with it the authority to confer that degree.

It has been understood that the "Modern" (*old*) Grand Lodge did not tolerate the conferring of this degree by virtue of a Lodge warrant. But it is now well settled that, while in 1765 they established a separate body for conferring this degree, previously to that date it was conferred in a Lodge, or a Chapter appurtenant to a Lodge, and under a Lodge warrant. (See ante Vol. III., p. 210, etc.)

As in 1758, when the "Ancients" established their first Lodge in America at Philadelphia, the Royal Arch degree was cultivated by them, there can be little doubt that it was understood, as a matter of course, that this degree could be conferred under that warrant. This conclusion is strengthened by the name of the next Lodge chartered, "Royal Arch Lodge." The records of this Lodge from 1767 have been preserved, and they contain references to the Royal Arch Degree in 1768. Undoubtedly the degree was occasionally conferred in the Pennsylvania Lodges till 1795.



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P. Gen. G. H. P. General Gr. Chapter of R. A. Masons of the
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In St. Andrew's Lodge in Boston, the degree was conferred, as shown by the records as early as 1769. And while during the Revolution the conferring of it was suspended, it was resumed afterwards and the degree was cultivated to a greater extent than ever before.

On December 15, 1760, George Harrison, Provincial Grand Master of New York under the *old* Grand Lodge, granted a warrant for "Independent Royal Arch Lodge" in the City of New York, whose name certainly indicates that it conferred the Royal Arch degree; other circumstances point to the same conclusion. Harrison had already (December 7, 1757) granted a charter for a Lodge in New York City with the power of conferring the Mark Degree.

Many Military Lodges also conferred the Royal Arch Degree, and in all probability more frequently than the local Lodges.

The rituals in use were diverse, and the parts, into which the degree was divided, differed under the different rituals, although presumably the essentials were uniform, or sufficiently so to insure mutual recognition.

For thirty years or more it was often conferred as a side degree, the requisite number of companions assembling at pleasure and conferring the degree under the sanction of a Lodge warrant borrowed for the purpose; this method was recognized as regular by the Chapters of a partially permanent character.

In 1795, however, as has been already stated (ante pp. 374, 375), James Molan appeared in Philadelphia, organized Chapters and formed a Grand Chapter. Who he was, or whence he obtained the degree, or under what authority he claimed to act, does not appear. In consequence of this affair, the Grand Lodge authorized the formation of a Grand Chapter subordinate to the Grand Lodge, but at the same time it affirmed the right of every regularly warranted Lodge "to make Masons of the higher degrees." This organization in 1795 was the first in America, but was little more than a nominal organization, leaving the Lodges to confer the degree as they had done previously.

The Chapter attached to St. Andrew's Lodge in Boston adopted a code of by-laws of the "Royal Arch Lodge" September 1, 1769—the first code in this country so far as known. But it continued to work under the Lodge warrant. There was a Chapter also at Newburyport, Massachusetts, in 1790, held under the Lodge warrant. These two Chapters conferred together in 1794 about the work. St. Andrew's Chapter had already adopted the Mark Degree but conferred it only on Past Masters. In 1797 the question of procuring a warrant was discussed, and it was agreed that it must be obtained from England.

In the meantime Chapters had been established in the City of New York. Unfortunately, little is known of the origin or history of the two older ones. One of them, Washington Chapter, granted charters for new Chapters; to what extent is not known, but certainly to the five earlier Chapters in Connecticut. It did not claim to be a Grand Chapter, but granted charters "by virtue of the power to us regularly committed," calling itself, however, "The Mother Chapter." It chartered Hiram Chapter No. 1, at Newton, April 29, 1791; Franklin, No. 2, at New Haven, May 20, 1795; Washington, No. 3, at Middleton, March 15, 1796; Franklin, No. 4, at Norwich, March 15, 1796; and Solomon, No. 5, at Derby, March 15, 1796,—all in Connecticut. Hiram Chapter kept two records for many years, one for the Chapter proper, and one for the Mark Lodge, which exercised jurisdiction over the degrees of Mark Master, Master in the Chair and Most Excellent

Master; Washington No. 3, had had a previous continuous existence since 1783, acting under the warrant of St. John's Lodge; and Solomon's Chapter had been in existence previously to the date of its charter, but how long cannot be ascertained.

Providence Chapter was established at Providence, R. I., in 1793, under a charter from Washington Chapter.

There continued to be in the different Chapters a difference in the number, names and order of the degrees conferred, and important differences in the ritual. In short, no *system* of Royal Arch Masonry had been established. But the time for that so desirable result was approaching, and with the hour came the men to effect it. In 1793, John Hanmer came to Albany from England, bearing a certificate that he was well skilled in the ancient work and lectures. He soon became acquainted with Thomas Smith Webb, Ezra Ames and others, to whom he imparted his lectures and mode of work. They at once adopted his system, and the institution in that vicinity was substantially reorganized under his supervision and instruction. He remained in this country till 1800, and then returned to England. But his pupils and disciples remained to perfect his system and teach his work; the most conspicuous among these was Thomas Smith Webb, although tradition tells us that Ezra Ames was deemed the most reliable for verbal accuracy.

On November 11, 1796, a charter was granted for Temple Lodge, at Albany, with Hanmer for Master, Webb for Senior Warden, and Gideon Fairman for Junior Warden. But their work was not confined to the symbolic degrees. On February 4, 1797, a meeting of nine Royal Arch Masons was held, a symbolic Lodge being opened. Comp. Hanmer presented the subject of opening a Royal Arch Chapter and urged the importance of it so strongly that those present voted unanimously to act in accordance with his views. Comp. Webb was elected High Priest, and "regularly installed in antient form." The Chapter was then opened. Three brethren, "after being passed the chair (by Bro. Hanmer) and acknowledged as past masters," were exalted. The following week the Chapter met, and opened as a Masters' Lodge and three candidates were installed as Past Masters. A Lodge of Most Excellent Masters was then opened by Webb and the degree conferred on several candidates, *including Hanmer*. Then followed the Royal Arch. The Chapter continued during the summer to confer these three degrees.

On September 27, 1797, a Mark Masters' Lodge was held with Webb presiding and Hamner as S. Warden, thus reversing their positions in Temple Lodge. Candidates, a part of whom were Royal Arch Masons, received the degree. Meetings were regularly held till January 17, 1798, when the Lodge was practically, though without any vote to that effect, consolidated with the Chapter.

On the second of August, Webb had visited St. Andrew's Chapter, in company with Jonathan Greenleaf and Joshua Gage, members of the Chapter at Newburyport. The degrees of Past Master, Mark Master, R. Super-Excellent Master, and Royal Arch Mason were conferred on Thaddeus Mason Harris. A union of the Chapters was probably discussed, as, on the eleventh of September following, the High Priest was requested to write Webb on that subject.

On October 11, 1797, Temple Chapter appointed Webb, Hanmer, and another as a committee to correspond with the different Chapters of New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, New Jersey and Vermont on the subject of convening a Grand Chapter. On the twentieth, Webb and Hanmer visited St. Andrew's Chapter, and upon its invitation presided and conferred the Mark Degree "after their

manner." The next evening the Chapter met and chose officers. On the succeeding evening a committee was appointed to meet committees from other Chapters to confer on the subject of forming a Grand Chapter; on the next day the Committees of St. Andrew's, Newburyport, and Temple Chapters met and issued a Circular to the Chapters in New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New York requesting them to send delegates to a convention to be held at Hartford on the fourth Wednesday of January, 1798, for the purpose of forming a Grand Chapter for those States. In the evening, upon the invitation of the Chapter, Webb and Hanmer presided and conferred the Most Excellent Master's Degree "after their manner" on two companions from Newburyport Chapter. The Chapter was then opened and "a lesson on the Seventh degree" communicated by Companions Webb and Hanmer. This is the first time the Most Excellent Degree is mentioned in the record of the Chapter. Comp. Gardner, in his address delivered in 1870, assumes that "without doubt it was the first time it was ever conferred outside of Temple Chapter, where it originated;" and it has been generally assumed that Webb was its author; but in the Reprint of the Proceedings of the Grand Chapter of Connecticut, there is a statement which seems to affirm that it was conferred in Hiram Mark Lodge at an earlier date and apparently before Webb became a Royal Arch Mason; however this may be, St. Andrew's at once adopted an arrangement of the degrees which must have been agreed upon by the representatives of the three Chapters; and it may be safely said that in that eventful week, during which Webb and Hanmer were in Boston, the systems, both of Royal Arch work and Royal Arch government, were originated and put in the way of immediate adoption.

The convention to form a Grand Chapter met in Hartford, January 24, 1798. On the first day, seven Chapters were represented—St. Andrew's at Boston, King Cyrus at Newburyport, Providence at Providence, Solomon at Derby (Conn.), Franklin at Norwich (Conn.), Franklin at New Haven (Conn.), and Hudson at Hudson (N. Y.). The next day, two other Chapters were represented, Temple Chapter at Albany and Horeb Chapter at Whitestown (N. Y.). A constitution was adopted and Grand Officers were elected and installed.

The Grand Chapter was formed for the New England States and New York and was called "The Grand Royal Arch Chapter of the Northern States of America."

The constitution provided for a Deputy Grand Chapter for each of those States and prescribed of whom it should be composed and fixed a time and place for the organization of each, except New Hampshire and Vermont. The Deputy Grand Chapters were invested with power to grant charters, and it was assumed that every Chapter would have a charter. The degrees were named in the order agreed upon in Boston, and as they are now conferred.

The next session was fixed for the third Wednesday of September, 1798. The delegates met and adjourned to the second Wednesday of January, 1799. Three of the four Deputy Grand Chapters were represented. A new constitution, drafted by Webb, was adopted. The name was changed to "General Grand Chapter" and the Deputy Grand Chapters were changed to Grand Chapters. Webb's system, as already published in his Monitor, was the basis of the constitution. Vermont was placed under the jurisdiction of New York, and New Hampshire under that of Massachusetts. Connecticut was not represented, even by the Grand High Priest who was from that State; nevertheless he was re-elected; this is the more singular as the meeting in September, 1798, was held at

Middleton; the failure of Connecticut to be represented probably had something to do with the adjournment to Providence.

In Connecticut there had already been an organization established with a view to maintain harmonious relations between the Chapters in that State. On July 5, 1796, committees from four of the Chapters met at New Haven and adopted certain rules relating to matters in which all the Chapters were interested; one of the four, however, on the report of the proceedings made by its committee, refused to confirm the action of the convention. Another was held in October following, and another is said to have been held in June, 1797, and another in October, 1797; but the records of the last two have not been preserved.

In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of the Grand Chapter adopted in January, 1798, Deputy Grand Chapters were immediately formed; in New York, on the second Tuesday of March, 1798; in Rhode Island "on the Tuesday following the second Monday of March," 1798; in Connecticut, on the seventeenth of May, 1798; and in Massachusetts on the twelfth of June, 1798. All except two of the Chapters in these States united in the formation of these Deputy Grand Chapters, which were made Grand Chapters, as already stated, in January, 1799. There was a sixth Chapter in Connecticut, concerning the origin of which there are two conflicting accounts. One has it, that it was chartered by the Grand Chapter of New York; and the other, that it was chartered by Washington Chapter; as its charter was dated April 9, 1796, some two years before the Grand Chapter of New York was organized, it is certain that it received its charter from Washington Chapter, to which, it is said, its records show that it made returns. Before the date of its charter a Mark Lodge had been at work, and in one instance a Past Masters' Lodge had been opened and the degree conferred.

In New York there were four Chapters in addition to those represented in the Convention which formed the Grand Chapter. Two of these, Hibernian in New York City and Montgomery at Stillwater (both older than Temple Chapter), joined with the three in forming the Deputy Grand Chapter of New York; but the other two, "The Old Chapter" and Washington Chapter, stood aloof and within a few years ceased to exist. Unfortunately for the history of Royal Arch Masonry their records were not preserved, and nothing remains, so far as known, by which their origin and history can be ascertained. It is not even known what degrees they conferred. But in a charter granted in 1791, the officers of Washington Chapter sign as High Priest, King and Scribe; and in one granted March 15, 1796, they sign as M. E. High Priest, M. E. King, and M. E. Scribe. In the Connecticut Chapters, granted by it in 1796, the same officers are named and, in addition, Royal Arch Captain and Zerubbabel; to these the Chapters added First, Second and Third Grand Masters, and Stewards and Sentinels. The By-Laws of Hiram Chapter, adopted March 3, 1792, provided that the officers shall be High Priest, King, Scribe, Zerubbabel, Royal Arch Captain, three Grand Masters, Treasurer, Secretary, Architect, Clothier and Tyler; in the enumeration of their duties, the Royal Arch Captain was "to keep watch at the Sanctuary" and the Grand Masters "to watch the vails." The record of Temple Chapter at its second meeting (February 14, 1797) gives the initials of the Officers as H. P., K., S., P. S., R. C., and V's (four); to which a Tyler was added. In St. Andrew's Chapter in 1769, the officers were Master and Wardens; when it resumed work in 1789, the Officers were Royal Arch Master and Wardens, with a cipher added to each title. In 1791, they were High Priest, First and Second Kings and Scribe; after the

visit of Webb and Hanmer in 1797, the officers were High Priest, King and Scribe. The Chapter at Middleton, Conn., in 1783, had for officers, a High Priest, "Captain General or Royal Arch Captain," and three Grand Masters. Solomon Chapter at Derby, in December, 1795, had "H. P., King, Scribe, Zerubbabel, Captain, and First, Second and Third Grand Masters." After receiving its charter, the positions of Zerubbabel and Captain were reversed, and the latter was called Royal Arch Captain. As these Chapters would naturally follow the style of the chartering Chapter, it is reasonably certain that before Webb commenced his work, Washington Chapter had substantially the same officers, with substantially the same titles, as Webb had in his system.

St. Andrew's Chapter apparently did not use the Vails till 1795. Previously to that, the work in the two Massachusetts Chapters was not uniform. On March 10, 1795, the work of both Chapters was exemplified upon actual candidates in St. Andrew's Chapter, and on May 27, 1795, a vote was adopted by that Chapter indicating that vails had not been before used, but were to be thereafter.

The number and arrangement of the degrees, as already stated, were finally fixed at Boston in October, 1797; but the history of the prior usages is uncertain. St. Andrew's Chapter in 1769, and for more than twenty-five years thereafter, enumerated the "steps" as "Excellent, Super-Excellent, Royal Arch, and Knight Templar;" these were the "degrees" mentioned in the "form of certificate" adopted August 25, 1791, but "Knight Templar" was soon after stricken out. The Chapter voted, November 28, 1793, that the Degree of "Mark Master Mason be connected with the other degrees;" this was in addition to the other degrees, and a separate fee was required for it; and until the beginning of 1796, it was conferred *after* the Royal Arch. On September 5, 1783, Washington Chapter in Connecticut was organized by six persons, who described themselves as having been "initiated into the Most Sublime degree of an Excellent, Super-Excellent, and Royal Arch Mason." In the early days of Vanden Broeck Chapter, the degrees were Mark Master, Excellent Master, Super-Excellent Master, and Royal Arch Mason.

The proposition that Thomas Smith Webb was the author of the Most Excellent Master's degree has been generally accepted, but there is reason to doubt the accuracy of the statement. Vanden Broeck Chapter was chartered (undoubtedly by Washington Chapter of New York City) April 9, 1796. It held its first meeting under its charter in June following. It adopted a code of By-Laws on the second of October, 1796, in which are fixed the fees "for the several degrees of Mark Master, Excellent Master, *Most Excellent Master*, and Royal Arch." It is believed that an examination of the early records of other Connecticut Chapters will show the mention of this degree in 1796, if not earlier. The almost certain inference is that Washington Chapter, from which the Connecticut Chapters received their charters that very year, also had that degree as one of those conferred by it. While it is true that Temple Chapter, founded by Webb in February, 1797, did not take a charter from Washington Chapter, it is also exceedingly probable that he was acquainted with its ritual. The fact, that the Most Excellent Degree was conferred in a Connecticut Chapter before Webb conferred it and under circumstances showing that the Chapter could not have received it from him, makes it quite certain that he could not have been the originator of that degree.

The Mark Degree had been quite extensively conferred before October, 1797, in Mark Lodges held under a Lodge warrant, or in voluntary assemblies of the requisite number of Mark Master Masons.

Under the system of the "Ancients," the Royal Arch Degree could be conferred only on Past Masters. To avoid limiting the degree to actual Past Masters, Master Masons were allowed to pass the Chair either in the Symbolic Lodge, or in a Lodge of Past Masters. The By-Laws of Hiram Chapter in Connecticut, adopted in 1791, provided that the Royal Arch Degree could be conferred only on an actual Past Master of a Lodge, a Master elect, or one who could show by the certificate of his Lodge that he had been a Master Mason six months. It has been suggested that the degree of "Excellent Master" was really the ceremony of "passing the chair," but Comp. William Sewall Gardner in his address, delivered before St. Andrew's Chapter in 1870, says in substance that the Excellent and Super-Excellent degrees were a part of the Royal Arch degree as now conferred. When Webb first visited St. Andrew's Chapter, Thaddeus Mason Harris "passed the chair," received the degree of Mark Master, and was exalted to the Sublime degrees of R. Super-Excellent and Royal Arch Mason. At this time in Webb's Chapter they were conferring the Past Master's, the Most Excellent Master's, and Royal Arch degrees, while the Mark Master's degree was conferred in a distinct body.

Such were the different usages when Webb and Hanmer visited St. Andrew's Chapter in October, 1797. The result of their conference with the Companions whom they met there, was to modify the prevailing systems and adopt a uniform one consisting of the Mark Master's degree (to be conferred in independent Mark Lodges as well as in the Chapter), the Past Master's degree, the Most Excellent Master's degree, and the Royal Arch degree.

While Webb retained the names of the degrees and probably the leading ideas of their ritual, he revised, amplified and made more dramatic the "work" of every one; in that sense he is the "author of the American system of Royal Arch Masonry." It has been stated, especially by Cross, that in this revision and amplification of the work, Webb was assisted by many others, and that it was not fully completed till 1810; but an examination of Webb's Monitors of 1797, 1802, 1805 and 1808 in connection with the ritual now in use, will fully demonstrate the erroneous character of the statement. That verbal and other slight changes were made and will be continued to be made, goes without saying; but otherwise the "work" remains substantially as Webb taught it in 1797.

The formation of the General Grand Chapter and the consequent adoption of a uniform ritual and general polity, gave a new impetus to Royal Arch Masonry. But a contingency, unforeseen and unprovided for, arose. The General Grand Chapter limited the territory within which its officers should charter Chapters, to the six States already mentioned. But application for charters came from other States. In 1804, the Grand Chapter of Rhode Island adopted resolutions authorizing the General Grand Officers to grant charters "within any State in which there is not a Grand Royal Arch Chapter established;" and a majority of the Grand Chapters concurred. The result was that a charter was granted to Unity Chapter at Beaufort, South Carolina, and to Georgia Chapter at Savannah.

In the circular sent out by the Grand Chapter of Rhode Island in 1804, the suggestion was made that the General Grand Chapter extend its jurisdiction over the United States; Webb was then Grand High Priest, and undoubtedly this idea came from him. The General Grand Chapter met January 9, 1806; in the meantime the Grand Chapter of Vermont had been established, and its representatives were admitted to seats. The Constitution was revised and the jurisdiction extended over "the United States of

America." The manner of forming Chapters and Grand Chapters was prescribed, and various provisions were adopted in relation to the powers of the latter. This Constitution, like the preceding ones, proceeded upon the principle that the General Grand Chapter was the source of all power in Royal Arch Masonry, and all officers of Chapters were required at their installation to take an obligation to "support and maintain" it.

At this time (1806) there was no other sovereign Grand Chapter in the United States. The Grand Chapter of Pennsylvania, formed in 1795, was still subordinate to the Grand Lodge. A Grand Chapter had been formed in Maryland in 1797, but it was then dormant. It was reorganized in 1807, but again became dormant, and was reorganized in 1814. Thus, with the exception of Pennsylvania, there was no State "in which a Grand Chapter had been established" by any authority other than the General Grand Chapter.

But its authority was not universally recognized; a convention was held in Virginia, May 3, 1806 (apparently, however, before the action of the General Grand Chapter was known), with the view of forming a Grand Chapter for that State. It was understood that four Chapters then existed in the State, all held under Lodge warrants. The proposition for a convention was made by the "Grand United Chapter of Royal Arch, Excellent and Super-Excellent Masons of Norfolk to the Royal Arch Chapters of Richmond, Staunton and Dumfries;" these names indicate a difference in the origin, nomenclature of degrees, and ritual in these Chapters. But two of them were represented, and as this number was not considered sufficient, no organization was made. However, a provisional constitution was adopted to be submitted to the Chapters, and the presiding officer was directed to call a new convention when the constitution should have been adopted by three Chapters. It was approved by the Chapters at Norfolk, Staunton and Richmond, and a convention was called and held May 1, 1808; only two Chapters (Norfolk and Staunton) were represented; those present proceeded to organize a "Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter," May 4, 1808.

The titles of the Grand Officers indicate wide differences between the system of the General Grand Chapter and that of the Grand Chapter of Virginia. But this system was continued till 1820, when the work of the General Grand Chapter was exemplified before the Grand Chapter and formally adopted by it, with a corresponding change in the names and order of the degrees, and in the titles of the officers. This continued until 1841, when the Grand Chapter assumed jurisdiction over the Council degrees and ordered that the degrees be conferred in the following order: Mark Master, Past Master, Most Excellent Master, Royal Master, Select Master and Royal Arch. This system still continues. There has also been a Grand Chapter formed in West Virginia by Chapters chartered by the Grand Chapter of Virginia; it naturally adopted the ritual and polity of its parent Grand Chapter, and like that, it continues independent of the General Grand Chapter.

The proceedings of the Grand Chapter of Pennsylvania during its early years were meagre and of little importance. It was subordinate to the Grand Lodge, whose principal officers were *ex officio* officers of the Grand Chapter. No warrants were granted for Chapters, but they were established under Lodge warrants. In 1823, a committee of the Grand Lodge reported that Royal Arch Masonry was in "a drooping state." Up to that time, the Regulations provided that a Mason, who had "passed the chair" either by election as Master of a Lodge or by dispensation of the Grand Master, might be "admitted to the sublime degree of Excellent Royal Arch Mason;" there is no mention of the

Mark Master's or Most Excellent Master's degree until September, 1812, when the establishment of a Mark Lodge in Philadelphia by Ezra Ames was brought to the attention of the Grand Lodge; a resolution, disapproving any meeting of Masons under a warrant from other jurisdictions, was adopted, and thereupon, the Lodge was reported as closed The committee said, "This Lodge professed to give the Mark in a different manner from the Lodges in this city and declared it to be a degree beyond that of Master Mason and as preparatory to an exaltation to the Royal Arch."

In 1813, the Regulations for the Grand Chapter were revised by the Grand Lodge and the declaration that Ancient Masonry consists of four degrees, Apprentice, Fellow Craft, Master and Royal Arch, was re-affirmed. In 1817, an application from the Grand Chapter for power to decide conclusively on the By-Laws, Rules and Regulations of Subordinate Chapters was indefinitely postponed by the Grand Lodge. The correspondence of Webb and others shows that at this time strenuous efforts were made to introduce the Webb system into Pennsylvania, but without full success. There are indications that there was then a desire on the part of the Grand Chapter to become independent of the Grand Lodge and to cultivate the other degrees. This feeling continued to increase, and in 1822 a direct proposition was presented to the Grand Lodge to inquire into the expediency of "changing the existing system of government of Royal Arch Masonry." But nothing came of it. In February, 1823, a Committee of the Grand Lodge was appointed to inquire "if any and what grievances exist in Arch Masonry" and to report a remedy. The Committee reported that there were grievances which arose from the action of the General Grand Chapter in issuing charters for Chapters, thereby cutting off Pennsylvania Royal Arch Masons from all intercourse with those in other States; several regulations were proposed, among them one making the Mark and Most Excellent Master's degrees prerequisites to the Royal Arch; but the recommendations were not adopted. Propositions were made by the Grand Lodge and counter propositions by the Grand Chapter without avail, until finally a conference committee agreed upon a report which was adopted by the Grand Chapter and, after amendment, agreed to by the Grand Lodge, January 5, 1824. Thereupon, a convention was held May 17, 1824 "for the purpose of organizing themselves into a Grand Holy Royal Arch Chapter." A Chairman and Recorder were chosen and a Grand Chapter organized and "opened in ancient and solemn form;" the meeting adjourned one week, when Grand Officers were formally elected; those at first elected were styled First, Second and Third Grand Chiefs, while those elected at the next meeting were styled Grand High Priest, Grand King and Grand Scribe; a committee was appointed to prepare a "Code of Rules and Regulations," which reported July 16, 1824 and the Code proposed by the committee was adopted. The constitution agreed to by the Grand Lodge made the Grand Chapter, so formed, independent and sovereign, but every member of the Grand Lodge, being a Royal Arch Mason, was *ex-officio* a member of the Grand Chapter. No one could be made a Royal Arch Mason "without his previously having become a Past Master, Mark Master and Most Excellent Master." The Grand Chapter was invested with the power of amending the constitution. This arrangement necessarily took away from the Lodges the power to confer "the higher degrees." Dissatisfaction was the result, and some Lodges continued to confer them. The Grand Lodge decided that the exclusive jurisdiction over these degrees was vested in the Grand Chapter, except that "no brother can receive the degree of Past Master unless duly elected Worshipful Master of a particular Lodge or by virtue of a dispensation reg-

ularly issued and obtained for that special and specific purpose." It was also discovered that some compact in relation to fees had been inadvertently violated in granting the constitution of the Grand Chapter, and the question was submitted to the Lodges and the Constitution of the Grand Chapter confirmed in that respect.

The new Regulations provided for the same officers as in the Webb system. Lodges of Mark Masters or Most Excellent Masters could be chartered distinct from a Chapter. In former regulations six Royal Arch Masons could open a Chapter, but in one of the proposed codes the number was changed to nine; this code did not fix the number, but provided that a charter might be issued to six Royal Arch Masons and of course the inference is that six might open a Chapter.

In 1828, another and very full code was adopted, and no change was made in these respects; in this, it was provided that for non-payment of dues, a member's name might be struck from the roll of his Chapter, but no one could be suspended or expelled save for "an immoral or unmasonic offence." After the organization of the independent Grand Chapter, Royal Arch Masonry became prosperous. Many charters for Chapters and Lodges were issued. But the growth received a check during the Anti-Masonic excitement; in 1837, however, interest was revived and a new growth commenced, which has since been fairly maintained. This Grand Chapter still continues independent of the General Grand Chapter, but, while at one time it undertook to grant charters for Chapters in other States, it has for many years practically recognized the exclusive jurisdiction of that body in Territories of the United States in which there is no Grand Chapter.

The General Grand Chapter failed to meet in 1812 on account of the general derangement of affairs caused by the war, and a special meeting was held in 1816, Webb presiding, as General Grand King; the Grand Chapters of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, Connecticut, Vermont and South Carolina were represented. In addition representatives were present from the Grand Chapter of Maryland, who were admitted to seats. Webb was elected General Grand High Priest, but declined, and DeWitt Clinton was elected in his stead, and Webb was elected Deputy.

The Grand Chapter of Maryland had not been formed under the authority of the General Grand Chapter. The first Chapters were held under Lodge warrants. A Grand Chapter was formed in 1797, but subsequently became dormant. An attempt to revive it was made in 1807, but was not so successful but that the Grand Chapter again became dormant; it was finally reorganized on a successful basis in 1814. After consideration, the Grand Chapter was received under the authority of the General Grand Chapter "on an equality with the other Grand Chapters," its delegates requesting that it should not be forced "to alter its mode of working."

As already stated, after the close of this session, a strenuous attempt was made by Webb and others to induce Pennsylvania to come under the jurisdiction of the General Grand Chapter, but with only partial success. But that jurisdiction was so far affected that it finally adopted the Grand Chapter system of government, as well as the same schedule of degrees cultivated by the Grand Chapters subordinate to the General Grand Chapter.

The session of 1819 was held under sorrowful circumstances. Webb, and John H. Lynde, General Grand King had died; much of the time was devoted to memorial services in honor of these distinguished Companions. The Grand Chapters of Ohio and Ken-

tucky were represented for the first time and the formation of the Grand Chapter of New Hampshire was announced. A Grand Chapter had been formed in New Jersey, but as one of its three constituents was held under the authority of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, it was declared to be illegally formed.

Quite a number of Chapters had been organized, and at the session in 1826 the Grand Chapters of Massachusetts, New York, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, South Carolina, Maryland, Ohio, New Hampshire, Kentucky, Maine, Alabama, Tennessee, District of Columbia, and New Jersey were represented, with a delegate from a Chapter in Louisiana. Grand Chapters had been formed in North Carolina and Georgia, but they were not represented. A memorial from the Grand Chapter of Kentucky in relation to the propriety of dissolving the General Grand Chapter, was presented and referred to a committee, which reported that "it is not expedient to take any further measures on the subject," and the report was accepted by a vote of forty-nine to two; one of the negative votes was from Maryland and the other was from Ohio. It was decided that the Grand Chapter of Alabama had not been legally formed; that Body accepted this decision and soon after reorganized in accordance with the recommendation of the General Grand Chapter. It was voted that, thereafter, the Grand Chapter meet triennially.

At this time, the General Grand Chapter had reached a high position of success and influence. It had unquestioned jurisdiction throughout the United States, except in Pennsylvania and Virginia. And in those States the systems of work and of government had been changed to conform to those of its constituent Grand Chapters. Through it a regular system of degrees and a substantially uniform ritual and form of government had taken the place of the chaos that existed at the time of its organization, and which must have continued to exist had not some body, with general power and jurisdiction, intervened. But this result was not reached without opposition; in several States the power to confer the "higher degrees" was claimed; for example, the Grand Lodge of Tennessee in 1816 explicitly made the claim and authorized Cumberland Chapter at Nashville to confer the Chapter degrees; but these attempts were of rather a spasmodic character and were soon abandoned, and the jurisdiction of the General Grand Chapter recognized.

But while the General Grand Chapter was in session in 1826, the Morgan affair occured in Western New York, and the Anti-masonic excitement followed. The Chapters suffered in common with the Lodges. The Grand Chapters of Georgia, District of Columbia, New Jersey, North Carolina, and Vermont went out of existence, and that of Alabama had to be reorganized and others suspended their convocations. But when the General Grand Chapter met in 1829, the effect of the excitement was not fully felt. Eleven Grand Chapters were represented; the death of DeWitt Clinton, the General Grand High Priest, cast a gloom over the proceedings. A revised constitution was adopted. But the business, which was of the most importance, was the action in relation to the Council degrees; a communication was made by Comp. Stapleton of Maryland in relation to these degrees, but it was based upon an entire misapprehension of the origin, history and existing *status* of those degrees, as more recent investigation has fully demonstrated. But the General Grand Chapter, acting under the same misapprehension, by resolution and without mentioning the degrees in its constitution, advised the Councils "to place the degrees under the authority of the State Grand Chapters" and authorized the Grand Chapters to make arrangement for conferring the degrees, but only by

consent of the Grand Council in any State in which a Grand Council existed at that time. Grand Councils had been formed in Connecticut, New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Georgia, and probably in Vermont. This action of the General Grand Chapter and the anti-masonic excitement threw the Cryptic Rite into confusion, and several of the Grand Councils went out of existence, and little was done in relation to those degrees until the revival of Masonry commenced.

The General Grand Chapter met regularly in 1832, 1835, 1838 and 1841. Of course the prevailing excitement was one of the subjects of consideration, in relation to which temperate but firm resolutions were adopted. In 1838, the death of the General Grand High Priest, Edward Livingston, was announced, and a page of the record, suitably inscribed, was devoted to his memory. In 1841, the issuing of several new charters was reported, and it was evident that the effect of the anti-masonic excitement had nearly ceased and considerable progress had been made in the work of reorganization.

In 1844, the session was an important one; Masonry had so far revived that the Chapter degrees had begun to be cultivated more widely and with more interest than ever before. The General Grand Secretary, Charles Gilman, submitted a report calling attention to various matters requiring attention. He said that the matter of the Royal and Select Master's degrees continued to be "a subject of anxiety and irritation in the Southern and Western States," and that both the Grand Chapter and Grand Council of Alabama had determined in 1843, that they would not "recognize Royal and Select Masters who have received those degrees in Chapters of Royal Arch Masons." The action of 1829, however, was approved, but the practice of conferring them before the Royal Arch was declared to be wrong. It was decided that a Grand Chapter formed in Indiana in 1829, which never met afterwards, was illegally organized; that the Grand Chapter of Louisiana had ceased to exist, and that the Grand Chapter formed in Texas could not be recognized.

In Louisiana a Grand Chapter had been organized in 1813, by Chapters held under Lodge warrants; and was subordinate to the Grand Lodge. In 1829, however, probably without full knowledge of the facts, a representative from this Grand Chapter was admitted to a seat in the General Grand Chapter and immediately afterwards the Grand Chapter, at a special session, voted to give in its adhesion to the General Grand Chapter, and so notified its subordinates; but the Grand Chapter became dormant in 1831, or at most had a merely nominal existence; and all its subordinates, save Holland Chapter, ceased to exist. In 1841, under direction of the Grand Lodge, a Grand Chapter was reorganized, Holland Chapter taking no part in the proceedings; it refused to recognize the Grand Chapter, and thereupon the latter undertook to revoke its charter and expel its officers for contumacy. The General Grand Chapter decided that, upon the Grand Chapter's becoming dormant in 1831, Holland Chapter passed at once under the jurisdiction of the General Grand Chapter, and that all the subsequent proceedings were illegal and void. The Grand Chapter refused to recognize the validity of the action of the General Grand Chapter; but the latter in 1847 reaffirmed its former action, and granted charters for other Chapters, and on May 1, 1848, a Grand Chapter was formed under its authority, which still maintains its position as the Governing Body of Royal Arch Masonry in that State.

On December 10, 1841, the Grand Lodge of Texas granted dispensations for four Chapters; they must have organized immediately and proceeded to form a Grand Chapter,

as on the twenty-third of the same month the Grand Lodge was notified of the existence of a Grand Chapter and was asked to surrender all jurisdiction over Royal Arch Masonry in the Republic; the Grand Lodge complied with the request. The Grand Chapter met next in January, 1843, and thereafter met annually till January, 1849, when it dissolved, the dissolution to take effect on the first day of March following. The reason was, that the General Grand Chapter declined to recognize the Grand Chapter as legally formed. Under the system then established in the United States, this decision was undoubtedly correct. It should be observed that the Grand Lodge issued Dispensations for *Chapters;* this was not in accordance with ancient usage and law, for the doctrine was that the holding of a Chapter was an incident to a *Lodge* charter; Chapters were held under Lodge warrants and the law of the "Ancients" was that Chapters could only be so held; there had been but few instances in which a Grand Lodge had issued a warrant for a Chapter, and those were nearly all, if not all, subsequent to 1806, and no one of them was recognized as valid. The General Grand Chapter, not claiming exclusive jurisdiction over Texas at first, but holding it to be unoccupied territory, granted a charter for a Chapter in Texas, December 9, 1835, but which, in consequence of the state of public affairs, was not organized till June 2, 1840, when it was opened at Galveston. This Chapter took no part in the formation of the Grand Chapter of Texas. The latter body, however, continued its work, and in 1847 the matter was again before the General Grand Chapter which interdicted all Masonic communication with the Grand Chapter of Texas and all holding under it. The result was that the Grand Chapter was dissolved March 1, 1849; that new Chapters were formed under dispensations from the General Grand Officers; that charters were granted at the session of the General Grand Chapter in 1850; and that a Grand Chapter was formed, under the authority of the General Grand Chapter, December 30, 1850.

The Grand Chapter of Florida was formed January 21, 1847, by two Chapters chartered by the Grand Chapter of Virginia and one chartered by the Grand Chapter of South Carolina. It voted to come under the jurisdiction of the General Grand Chapter; but when the proceedings were laid before that Body, it declined to receive the Grand Chapter under its jurisdiction, until certain amendments were made to the constitution of the Grand Chapter; besides it held that the issuing of a charter by the Grand Chapter of South Carolina was without authority, but, under the circumstances, it offered to issue a charter in place of the South Carolina charter. The Grand Chapter withdrew its proposition and remained independent. A dissension arose in it in relation to conferring the Council Degrees and the question was ably discussed, and the result was that it abandoned claim over those degrees. In 1868 the General Grand Chapter invited the Grand Chapter of Florida to come under its jurisdiction, and in 1869 the invitation was accepted.

Up to 1820, Maine was a part of Massachusetts, and all the Chapters organized in Maine, prior to 1821, were chartered by the Grand Chapter of that State. Upon the division of the State these Chapters continued their allegiance to that Grand Chapter until 1821, when, with the permission of the proper officer of the General Grand Chapter, the Grand Chapter of Maine was organized.

With the exceptions noted, all the Grand Chapters in the United States were formed by authority of the General Grand Chapter and by Chapters chartered by it. It met regularly in 1844, 1847, 1850, 1853, 1856 and 1859, and transacted a large amount of

routine business. Many subjects of importance were acted upon and others discussed without any definite action.

There seems to have been an inclination to confer irregular degrees, and the subject was several times before the General Grand Chapter. In the constitution, as revised in 1829, the following provision was inserted:

"No Royal Arch Mason, within the jurisdiction of the General Grand Chapter, shall be permitted to confer any degree in Masonry not recognized as a constitutional degree, nor to establish any society of Masons not recognized as a constitutional body. And the first four officers of the General Grand Chapter, or any three of them, shall in all cases have authority to decide all constitutional questions under this section."

In 1847, the General Grand Secretary called attention to this provision, saying that he had "received information that Masons had so far departed from the rules and principles of the Order as to institute new degrees in what they miscall Masonry." The committee, to which his report was referred, declared that they believed the practice "to be destructive of the best interests of Masonry itself" and offered the following resolution, but it was "laid on the table" and no action taken thereon;

"Resolved, that henceforth no legally constituted body of Royal Arch Masons shall be authorized to confer on any one any degree other than those recognized or authorized by the General Grand Chapter; nor shall any individual Royal Arch Mason be authorized or allowed to confer, in the capacity of a Royal Arch Mason, any honorary or extraneous degree whatever."

At the same session, a proposition was made to amend the constitution by striking out this provision and substituting the following, but it was rejected:

"No Royal Arch Mason, within the jurisdiction of the General Grand Chapter, shall be permitted to confer any degree, *as a Masonic degree*, other than those recognized by the General Grand Chapter as constitutional degrees, to wit, Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft, Master Mason, Mark Master, Past Master, Most Excellent Master, Royal Arch Mason, and Royal and Select Master; nor to establish, or unite with, any society as a *Masonic Society or Body,* not recognized as a constitutional Masonic Body."

In 1850, a proposition to repeal this provision of the constitution was referred to a committee, but no reference was made to it in the report. Subsequently John L. Lewis, a member of the committee, submitted the following resolution, defining the term "constitutional degrees" as used in the constitution, but it was "indefinitely postponed."

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this General Grand Chapter, those are constitutional degrees only which are conferred in regular Blue Lodges, Royal Arch Chapters, Encampments of Knights Templar and the Appendant Orders; Councils of Royal and Select Masters, and Supreme Councils of the 'Ancient Accepted Rite' and their inferior jurisdictions."

In 1853, the provision in question was repealed. In 1856, the Grand Chapter of Vermont proposed an amendment restoring it, which was laid over to the next convocation under the rule, but was then rejected.

The Council Degrees, after the action already given, continued to be a subject of discussion and differences, and in 1853 the matter was referred to an able committee, which reported that they had examined the various reports which had been made upon the subject in various State jurisdictions, and found, in substance, that the belief that the degrees were "within the pale of the jurisdiction of Royal Arch Masonry" was based upon mis-

apprehension; and that the General Grand Chapter had no jurisdiction over them: a resolution embodying this conclusion was adopted.

The necessary "Physical Qualifications" of candidates were the subject of much consideration and discussion; in 1853, a very able report on the subject was presented and after an adverse vote upon the proposition, "That no Royal Arch Chapter should take a candidate, unless he be a perfect man, having no main or defect in his body that may render him incapable of learning the art,"

The following rule was adopted:

"It is incompetent for Royal Arch Chapters to confer the respective degrees of Masonry upon candidates whose physical defects are such as to prevent them from conforming literally to the requirements of those degrees.

At the same session, the relation of the Order of High Priesthood to the Chapter, was defined by the adoption of the following resolution:

"Resolved, That, while in deference to the long-established usages of Royal Arch Masonry in this country, it is recommended that every newly-elected High Priest should, as soon as it is convenient, receive the Order of High Priesthood, his anointment as such is not necessary to his installation, or to the full and entire discharge of all his powers and duties as the presiding officer of his Chapter."

The Past Master's degree has also caused much difference of opinion; originally it seems to have been held that the degree in the Chapter and a portion of the ceremony of installing the Master of a Lodge, were precisely the same, and should be recognized as such; but in process of time, Grand Lodges refused to recognize any one as a Past Master, unless he had been elected and installed as Master of a Symbolic Lodge. Even then Chapters were inclined to recognize one, who had been elected and installed Master of a Lodge and had received the degree of Past Master in a convention of Past Masters, as a regular Past Master in the Chapter. In 1853, the Grand Chapter of New York presented to the General Grand Chapter for its consideration a resolution substantially affirming this doctrine: the Committee on Jurisprudence reported the resolution in a different draft, but in substance the same; it was amended so as to read "This body does not claim jurisdiction over the degree of Past Master when about to be conferred on a Master Elect of a Symbolic Lodge," and adopted. This was not satisfactory, and in 1856 several Grand Chapters presented resolutions in relation to the degree; an attempt was made to drop the degree from the Chapter series, but it failed; the General Grand Chapter, however, recommending that the ceremonies be abridged within the narrowest constitutional limits, but still retain the essential features of conferring the degree. The Grand Lodges soon held, with substantial unanimity, that they could recognize no one as a Past Master who claimed to become such in a chapter. But diverse views prevailed in the Grand Chapters. In 1859 a proposition to drop the degree was defeated by an overwhelming vote, and in 1871 the same question was presented, and the General Grand Chapter, holding that the two degrees, though they bear the same name, are masonically different, by an almost unanimous vote refused to drop the degree from the list of constitutional degrees.

In 1856 the relations of the General Grand Chapter to the Grand Chapters were brought in question and resolutions were offered defining them, upon which considerable debate ensued. The early proceedings of the General Grand Chapter had not been published and its history was unknown to those present. It is not wonderful, therefore, that

the resolutions submitted were based upon assumptions precisely the reverse of the facts; one resolution assumed that the General Grand Chapter was created by the Grand Chapters, and that was the fundamental idea upon which the proposition was based; had it been known that the General Grand Chapter was actually created by the representatives of Chapters and that Grand Chapters were *created by its authority with powers prescribed by it*, the resolutions would scarcely have been introduced. The main resolution was modified to a simple declaration (directly in conflict with historical facts) and, as modified, was adopted. But this did not satisfy the supporters of the resolutions.

Amendments to the constitution were proposed reversing the plan of government that had obtained from the organization of Royal Arch Masonry and substituting for it a plan modeled upon that of the United States government, with a provision that this plan once adopted could be changed only by unanimous consent of all the Grand Chapters. The effect of the amendment would be to deprive the General Grand Chapter of all but merely nominal power, except over chapters immediately subordinate to it. The amendment was inconsistent with itself; it proceeded upon the theory that the General Grand Chapter had no powers except those specifically granted to it by the Grand Chapters, and yet it provided that "all Masonic powers not *hereby* granted to it are reserved to the Grand and Subordinate Chapters of the several States;" that is, the General Grand Chapter amends its Constitution, reserving to the Grand Chapters all the powers *which it does not thereby grant to itself!* In another part of the amendment, the General Grand Chapter denied to itself all legislative powers not specifically granted to itself by the Constitution it was then adopting, that is, powers *not specifically granted by itself to itself.* The proposed amendments, under the laws then existing, could not be acted upon at that time, but must be laid over to the next session. In 1859 they came up for action. Several of the Grand Chapters had acted upon the amendments, and of course their representatives regarded such action as instruction. Twenty-five Grand Chapters were represented; the Grand Chapters of Kentucky and North Carolina had voted to withdraw from the General Grand Chapter and were not represented. The question was evidently discussed among the members, as the opponents of the amendment endeavored to postpone action upon it, but without avail. It was taken up on the second day and discussed until the evening of the third day, when the vote was taken and the amendment rejected. But it had a majority and the change of only two votes would have carried it. The excitement was intense and the breaking up of the General Grand Chapter seemed imminent. A reconsideration was moved and carried, and an adjournment was taken till the next day. In view of the closeness of the vote and the danger of dissolving the General Grand Chapter, several members who voted in the negative, led by Robert P. Dunlap, Past General Grand High Priest, determined to change their votes, as a choice of evils, and so on the fourth day the principal amendment was carried by a vote of seventy-seven to twenty-three. This amendment stripped the General Grand Chapter of nearly all the powers it had possessed and exercised from its organization—more than sixty-years—and it really left that Body as nearly powerless as the nature of the case would admit. But of course, it was seen that, as the Constitution then stood, the General Grand Chapter, by repealing the amendment already adopted, could resume its former powers; to prevent this the following amendment had been proposed and was then pending:

"But no future Constitution, nor any amendments to this or any future Constitution, other than those made at the present session, shall become and be in force and

operative until they shall have been submitted to and approved by at least two-thirds of the Grand Chapters of the confederation, and until such approval has been officially promulgated by proclamation of the General Grand High Priest; and no amendment shall ever be made unless by the unanimous assent of all the Grand Chapters, to change the system of government, and the nature of the confederation, to derogate from the sovereignty and independence of such State Grand Chapters, to make the General Grand Chapter supreme and sovereign, or the source of power, or to invest it with the inherent powers of a Grand Lodge of Master Masons."

On taking the vote, this amendment was defeated, a majority voting against it. This proposition so explicitly presented the question that the inference is irresistible, that the majority regarded the first amendment as an experiment and designedly left the General Grand Chapter in a position to resume its original powers. if it should ever conclude that the interests of Royal Arch Masonry required it. But the opinion was very prevalent, if not nearly general, that the adoption of the amendment had substantially destroyed the usefulness of the General Grand Chapter.

The Committee on Jurisprudence reported unanimously that the Grand Chapters of North Carolina and Kentucky had no power to dissolve their connection with the General Grand Chapter without its consent, and that if the action of those Grand Chapters should not be reconsidered, "it would be wholly competent for the General Grand Chapter to declare that all the membership of said State Grand Chapters was irregular, and not to be recognized by other State Grand Chapters acknowledging the jurisdiction of the General Grand Chapter." This report was accepted by a vote of fifty-seven to twenty-one, the Grand Chapters of Georgia, Michigan, Missouri, Ohio and Texas, and one delegate from Alabama, voting in the negative; among those who voted in the affirmative when the question on the first amendment was taken, the Grand Chapters of Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, and one delegate from Maine, three from Alabama, and one from Maryland voted to adopt this report, as well as the Grand Chapter of New Hampshire, which did not vote on that amendment the first time, but voted for it the second time. When this report was adopted, the first amendment was a part of the constitution, and this vote, whether so understood or not, was a practical construction of that instrument, as amended.

Before the time for holding the next convocation came around, the civil war was raging, and no session was held. The Grand Chapters of Alabama, Georgia, Iowa, Rhode Island, Texas and Vermont had adopted resolutions declaring their connection with the General Grand Chapter dissolved; Alabama, Georgia, and Texas, on account of the apparent disruption of the Nation; Iowa and Vermont, on the ground that the General Grand Chapter was virtually dissolved; and Rhode Island, reversing the precedent set by its distinguished representatives under precisely similar circumstances in 1812 and 1816, declared that the General Grand Chapter had ceased to exist by failure to meet in 1862; two of its representatives attended the session in 1871, but finding that they were recognized as members, they abruptly left the Hall. Kentucky and North Carolina had already taken the same course.

A special session was called and held September 7, 1865; seventeen Grand Chapters were represented. The time for holding the regular triennial session for 1865 was fixed for the next day, when the same number of Chapters were represented; the business transacted was chiefly of a routine character.

In 1868, twenty-seven Grand Chapters were represented. None of those who had

voted to dissolve their connection with the General Grand Chapter were among them. A resolution declaring that no Grand Chapter organized by the authority of the General Grand Chapter, or which at any time has become a constitutent thereof, can lawfully sever its connection therewith, without the consent of the General Grand Chapter, was unanimously adopted. The General Grand High Priest was requested to open correspondence with those Grand Chapters, as well as those of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Florida, with the view of securing their adhesion to the General Grand Chapter. The result was that when that body met in 1871, the Grand Chapters of Florida, Iowa, North Carolina and Vermont had given in their adhesion and were represented. Soon after, Alabama, Georgia and Kentucky took the same course, leaving only Rhode Island and Texas not acknowledging allegiance to the General Grand Chapter as asserted by it.

In 1871, an amendment of the constitution of the highest importance was adopted, making Past Grand High Priests of the State Grand Chapters permanent members of the General Grand Chapter. This added to that body members, presumably the most experienced and wisest Royal Arch Masons in the Jurisdiction. The effect was visible at once; the strength and influence of the General Grand Chapter regained the rapidly waning respect of the craft. The amendment added to that body the Senate element of representative government, making its composition a model for a governing masonic body, which necessarily possesses legislative, judicial and executive duties. The representatives of the Grand Chapters are naturally younger, less experienced and more impetuous, while the permanent members are more conservative and better qualified, especially to exercise judicial functions. This is shown in the proceedings of the General Grand Chapter since 1871.

Since that date Royal Arch Masonry in the United States has grown, sometimes more rapidly than at others, with the usual occasional ebbs that happen to such institutions. Grand Chapters have been established in all the States, the District of Columbia, and several of the Territories, as shown in the following table.

The following are the Grand Chapters now existing in the United States:

CONSTITUENTS OF THE GENERAL GRAND CHAPTER

NAME.	DATE OF ORGANIZATION.
Alabama,	June 2, 1827.
" Reorganized,	December 8, 1837.
Arkansas,	April 28, 1851.
California,	July 28, 1854.
Colorado,	May 11, 1875.
Connecticut,	May 17, 1798.
Dakota,	February 25, 1885.
Delaware,	June 19, 1818.
" Reorganized,	January 20, 1869.
District of Columbia,	February 10, 1824.
" Reorganized,	May 23, 1867.
Florida,	January 21, 1847.
Georgia,	February 4, 1822.
" Reorganized,	May 3, 1841.
Illinois,	April 10, 1850.

Indiana,	December 25, 1845.
Iowa,	June 8, 1854.
Kansas,	February 23, 1866.
Kentucky,	December 4, 1817.
Louisiana,	March 1, 1813.
" Reorganized,	May 1, 1848.
Maine,	February 7, 1821.
Maryland,	June 24, 1797.
" Reorganized,	1807.
" "	November 10, 1814.
Massachusetts,	March 13, 1798.
Michigan,	March 18, 1848.
Minnesota,	December 17, 1859.
Mississippi,	May 18, 1846.
Missouri,	October 16, 1846.
Nebraska,	March 19, 1867.
Nevada,	November 21, 1873.
New Hampshire,	June 10, 1819.
New Jersey,	February 13, 1857.
New York,	March 14, 1798.
North Carolina,	June 22, 1822.
" Reorganized,	June 29, 1847.
Ohio,	October 24, 1816.
Oregon,	September 18, 1860.
Rhode Island,	March 12, 1798.
South Carolina,	May 29, 1812.
Tennessee,	April 3, 1826.
Texas,	December 30, 1850.
Vermont,	December 20, 1804.
" Reorganized,	July 18, 1849.
Washington,	June 5, 1884.
Wisconsin,	August 7, 1850.

Independent Grand Chapters.

Pennsylvania (Subordinate to Grand Lodge),	November 23, 1795.
" (Independent),	May 17, 1824.
Virginia,	May 5, 1808.
West Virginia,	November 16, 1871.

In addition, the General Grand Chapter had, at its last session, immediately subordinate to itself, four Chapters in Arizona, four in Idaho, two in the Indian Territory, four in Montana, four in New Mexico, three in Utah, three in Wyoming, one in the Sandwich Islands, and one in China.

The aggregate membership of all the Chapters in the United States varies very little from 150,000.

INTRODUCTION.

IT is worthy of note that no attempt has been made to write the History of Templarism in America, or of its modern form in England, and only within the last few years has an effort been made to trace either its origin or introduction into this country. The writer therefore feels it a particular honor in having been selected by the American publishers of Gould's great work, "The History of Freemasonry," to write the history of TEMPLARISM, or, to use the more euphoneous word of our English and Canadian fraters, TEMPLARY, for the American Addenda, but being necessarily limited in space, some portions will have to be condensed in order to give greater scope to the more important epochs.

The theory that the Templary of our day is a legitimate offshoot from that of the Christian Knights of the 12th and 14th centuries, although a beautiful and popular idea, will have to be abandoned as quite untenable on historic grounds, and the conclusion we arrive at, after due consideration of the slight evidence in its favor, is that the Masonic Templary of to-day has no connection whatever with the Templars of the 12th and 14th centuries.

The writer wishes to express his indebtedness to the fragmentary writings of Sir Knights Gardner and Chapman of Mass., Mackey and Gourdin of South Carolina, Creigh of Pennsylvania; Macoy of New York; Schultz of Maryland; Carson of Ohio; Moore of Canada, and others in this country, and of Hughan, Lyon and others in England and Scotland.

T. S. PARVIN.

PART III.

HISTORY OF KNIGHT TEMPLAR MASONRY IN THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

MODERN TEMPLARY IN AMERICA.

THE history of Templary in America naturally divides itself into three distinct periods of time; 1st, between the years 1769–1816, covering the period before the organization of the General Grand Encampment; 2nd, 1816–1856, the period of the General Grand Encampment; and 3rd, 1856 to the present, that of the Grand Encampment and Grand Commanderies, since the adoption of the present constitution. The complete data of this latter period is of easy access and may be found in the published proceedings of the Grand Encampment of the United States and in those of the Grand Commanderies of the several States and Territories, as well as in numerous American Masonic periodicals. We do not think it necessary therefore to devote much space to the consideration of this third period, contenting ourselves mainly with a chronological account thereof, supplemented with such facts as do not appear on the face of the records, devoting ourselves principally to an elucidation of the first and second periods of the history of Masonic Templary in the United States.

At the outset we are met with a grave question which we must first briefly consider—that is, as to the origin of the Institution or Order itself, and about which such a diversity of opinion exists among the best-informed Templars, in the present as well as the past of our history. Until within the past few years it was generally conceded that Modern Templary was a lineal descendant or continuation of the Templary of ancient crusading times, and it is only recently that sufficient light has been thrown upon this subject to create even a doubt as to the correctness of this popular belief. Sir Knight Robert Macoy, the veteran Grand Recorder of the Grand Commandery of New York, in his report to the Grand Commandery of that State for 1885,[1] rather favors the idea of the ancient origin of our Order; but from our own investigations, which have been most extensive and thorough, we have come to quite a different conclusion.[2]

[1] "The increase of Templar literature during the last ten years has scarcely kept pace with the growth of the Order. Several of the Grand Recorders, committees and reporters on correspondence have embodied valuable historical hints in their several papers which throw light upon the origin of Templary, but none thus far have satisfactorily supplied the link that separates the Templarism of DeMolay, A.D. 1313, from that of Thomas Smith Webb, A.D. 1800. It is not to the credit of our Order, boasting of its five hundred commanderies and its fifty-five thousand fraters, that such absence of facts should exist in our history. Let us hope that the efforts of a Hughan in England may be supplemented with those of a Carson in Ohio and a Moore in Canada to establish our genealogy through the pure four-quarter-old descent from the Templars of the Crusades that will touch every year in the six centuries that thus challenge us for proof."—*Sir Knight Robert Macoy. Report G. C. of New York*, 1885.

[2] "Had the ancient Orders of Knighthood been connected with Freemasonry, the historians of the day would have known and published the fact. Had the organization of the Templars continued down to the present day, the fact could be clearly shown. When it appears that for a long period of time nothing is known of Ancient Templarism, we should without hesitation admit that the Templarism of the eighteenth century, which suddenly made its appearance as an appendage to Freemasonry, and claimed to constitute a part and parcel of it, is truly entitled to be regarded as of ancient origin.

The popular theory under which many writers viewed the origin and history of Templar Masonry would trace it back by some mysterious line of connection to the Order of Malta, which was dissolved in 1798, or back to the Order of the Temple, which ceased to exist in 1313, and the latter theory even at this day has many advocates. As an instance we subjoin an extract from an address by a Grand Orator in one of our leading Grand Commanderies.[1] A better and truer theory is to credit the whole system of Masonic Templary to the inventive genius of the Ritual makers of the eighteenth century.

The first appearance of Modern Templar Masonry on this continent, or indeed elsewhere so far as we have any written evidence at present, was in Boston, Mass., when St. Andrews Lodge, working under a warrant from the Grand Lodge of Scotland as a chapter, conferred the Order of Knight Templar August 28th, 1769. On the 25th of August, 1869, a full century after this, Grand Master Gardner of the Grand Encampment of the United States, commissioned Sir Jas. H. Hopkins, Grand Commander of the Knights Templar of Pennsylvania, and in 1874 Grand Master, as his representative, to visit Europe. He was especially instructed to visit the various Templar bodies, priories and encampments in England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland and upon the continent, to inspect and report upon the different modes of conferring the Order, to the end that the Order of Masonic Knights Templar might be better understood. At the triennial conclave of the Grand Encampment held at Baltimore, in 1871, this eminent Sir Knight reported in full.

His comprehensive and instructive report contains many interesting facts relating to the history and usages of our Order, and it is evident that the distinguished Sir Knight does not hold to the views then generally promulgated by writers who had given but little if any research to the subject, that Masonic Templary was part and parcel or a lineal descendant of the Templary of crusading times.[2]

Templary, as well as Masonry, religion and history, has its myths, and it is only within a few years that some of those connected with Masonry have been exploded, and now we have to deal with the Templar myth.[3]

As regards the connection between the ancient Orders of Knighthood and Freemasonry we may remark there are two distinct views, one class of writers claiming that the Orders of Knighthood sprang from the Freemasons, while another that the Freemasons sprang from them. It is immaterial, as there was no connection existing between them. There was no Freemasonry as we now have it in existence at that period. The Masonry of that day was wholly operative, and it was not till some centuries after the extinction of the Ancient Templars that Masonry became first operative and speculative and later wholly speculative, when it assumed the name of Freemasonry."—*History of Freemasonry, Dr. J. W. S. Mitchell*, 1859.

[1] It is an easy matter to trace our connection as Templars directly back to the Templars of the Crusades—and this statement has been copied into some of our leading Masonic periodicals. Similar statements may be found presented from time to time by Grand Commanders and even Grand Masters of the Grand Encampment.

[2] "I made an anxious effort, having been everywhere uniformly received with knightly courtesy, and aided in my researches by the best-informed and greatest lights in the Order, to learn the origin and the connection between Freemasonry and the Order of Christian Knighthood. The most eminent scholars whose writings I could procure, and the most learned with whom I had the opportunity of conversing, have failed to clear away the mists of uncertainty that envelop this subject. It is claimed by some that the veterans of the Order of the Temple were Freemasons, and engrafted the knightly institution upon the old one. This claim cannot be substantiated, inasmuch as the Order of the Temple was founded 1118 and that of Freemasonry in 1717, and at later times did not exist as an institution like unto that of the eighteenth or even of the sixteenth century, much less that of any then existing of the twelfth century, when the Templars of the Crusades had their origin. In the eighteenth, we find abundant records of Masonry and Knighthood living and working together in such fraternal sympathy as would result from a common origin, a common purpose, and a long-cemented union."—*Report to G. E.* 1871. *Hopkins.*

[3] "In their ardent desire to associate ideas of antiquity with the high degrees, some writers have not hesitated to identify the Masonic Templars now existing as the rightful successors of the Knights Templar of the Middle Ages. In this they are altogether mistaken. Masonic Templarism does not in any respect bear a relationship to the Templarism of the Crusades, but is a branch of the system of Masonic Knighthood which had its origin on the continent some 130 years ago. It was to their intercourse with brethren belonging to regiments serving in Ireland towards the end of the last century that Scotch Lodges owe their acquaintance with Knight Templarism, and it is a curious fact that this order, then known as Black Masonry, was propagated to a large extent through charters issued by the High Knights Templar Kilwinning Lodge, a body of Freemasons in Dublin who were constituted by Mother Kilwinning Lodge in Scotland in 1779. This encouraged the belief in Kilwinning being the centre of the Haut Grades."—*Lyon.*

"The Masonic Knights Templar of the eighteenth century and since have no connection whatever with the earlier



PROMINENT FREEMASONS OF WESTERN STATES.

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Our predilections were originally with the advocates of the first theory, and we earnestly sought to supply the missing link, and trace our connection back to the ancient Templars. With this object in view we set ourselves to work, and after much time and study devoted to the subject, we failed to find the first jot or tittle of evidence in support of that theory, or of data to supply the sought-for missing link.

Closely and intimately connected with this subject is another, as to the aim and character of the modern Order of Templars. If it be a lineal descendant of the Crusaders, as has been claimed, then it is a military institution; on the contrary, if it had its origin in the eighteenth century, and in Masonic bodies, whether Lodges or Chapters, then certainly it is a Masonic institution.

In 1869 St. Andrews Chapter of Royal Arch Masons, Boston, celebrated its centennial, and the orator of the occasion was Wm. Sewall Gardner, Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Mass., and Grand Master of the Grand Encampment of the United States. In the preparation of the admirable address he delivered upon that occasion, he drew largely from the early history of the Chapter, whose hundred years of existence was being commemorated. This old Lodge, styled St. Andrews Royal Arch Lodge, held its first recorded meeting August 28th, 1769, in Mason's Hall, Boston, and the record of that meeting contains the first account of the conferring of the Order of Knight Templar that has yet been discovered in manuscript or print.[1]

How the ceremonial was obtained or whence it came does not appear, but it is a very remarkable fact that this is the earliest recorded account of that degree that has yet been found in this country or Great Britain. It will be noted that the degree was conferred in a Chapter, working, as was then quite common, under a lodge warrant. We have authentic information that a Royal Arch Chapter existed and was actively at work in Philadelphia as early as 1758, and which continues in a flourishing condition at the present time, but we find no record therein of the Chapter having conferred the Knight Templar degree.

Brother Hughan, notwithstanding his most diligent researches, has been unable to find an English reference of so early a date, nor does it appear that the degree was worked there until ten years later, in 1779; and while Knight Templary was popular in certain parts of England in the latter part of the last century, it cannot be regarded as an ancient degree in connection with Freemasonry, for it had no existence as a degree, in connection therewith, until 1769, and then it was conferred only upon Royal Arch Masons. In Great Britain, as in America, the degree was conferred in Lodges, or Chapters working under Lodge warrants. As early as October 8th, 1779, the High Knights Templar of Ireland Kilwinning Lodge, was warranted to assemble in Dublin and was duly constituted. The records of this Lodge prove that the charter was used as the authority for conferring the Royal Arch, Knights Templar and Rose Croix degrees in 1782 and since, though the document itself only provides for the rights and privileges of a

body, and never had. Bodies of Knights Templar in connection with the craft came on the scene after the introduction of the Master's degree and the Royal Arch, which occurred in the first half of the last century. The origin of Masonic Templary is unknown, but is doubtless due (as Carson thinks) to the fondness for Christian Masonry. When the Craft ceased to be essentially and exclusively Christian, 1717, there arose a desire for the incorporation of other degrees that were exclusively Christian in their character."—*Hughan.*

[1] "Brother Wm. Davis came before the Lodge, begging to have and receive the parts belonging to the Royal Arch Masons, which being read was received and he unanimously voted in, and was accordingly made by receiving the four steps, that of Excellent, Superexcellent, Royal Arch and Knight Templar."—*Extract from Records St. Andrews Chap., Boston.*

"This minute contains the earliest known reference in the world to the degree of a Masonic Knight Templar, and was itself of interest quite apart from its worth as a Royal Arch record."—*Hughan.*

regular Lodge. We quote an interesting document found in the history of Mother Lodge Kilwinning, Scotland, by Robert Wiley, Glasgow, 1878. It is a letter written on the subject of High Knights Templar of Ireland Kilwinning Lodge No. 75, addressed by Brother Dr. Geo. Augustus Cunningham of Dublin, under date of April 26, 1779, to Thomas Arthur of Irvine, Scotland.

DEAR SIR:—I send to your care the two enclosed letters, being strongly solicited by a very worthy sett of breetherin, who, several years ago, formed themselves into a Lodge, by the name of the High Knights' Templars, as every Lodge in this city is known by some particular denomination. Upon finding I was a member of our Ancient Mother Lodge, Kilwinning, they told me they had long been desirous of holding their Origin and Charter from Kilwinning as they had always heard and lookt upon it to be the reall and only ancient lodge, at least in Britain.

They therefore wish that through my application they may obtain there enclosen request, for which they promise me, upon the word of Breetherin, to put into my hands five guineas over and above all expenses. upon their receiving said charter, and which I, upon the faith of a Brother, will transmit to Scotland for the use of Kilwinning Lodge. If this request is granted may I desire of you as a brother that you will take care to have it done in as elegant and hansome manner as possible, and properly signed by our Grand Master and Wardens, &c.

I think if our Brother Haddow in Edinburgh, was applied to, he would get it doune in the best manner, with a proper seale appended thereto. You will see that I am anxious to have every honour done to the lodge, as well as to our Scotch Breetherin.

Mr. Rainsford's letter wishes only that in case that any lodge knowing that this one holds of Kilwinning, any application coming from this place, or from Ireland—as many of the members of this may fix in different parts of this kingdom—this lodge may have the honour of applying to you for any future charters, for which they will at all times be answerable for payment to Kilwinning for said charters. My best wishes attend you and all the Breetherin. Make my compliments acceptable to your mother and sister. I am, respectfully, dear sir, your sincere friend and afeconat brother.

GEO. AUGT. CUNNINGHAM.

It is evident from this letter that the degree of High Knight Templar was at that date, 1779, and for "several years previous," conferred in the Kilwinning Lodge, No. 75, Dublin, Ireland. The Irish Lodges having and conferring the degree, probably carried it with them to America, and so communicated it to their American brothers prior to the revolution.

The Scottish Kilwinning brethren never at any time worked other than "St. John's Masonry." Until some new evidence is brought to light we must conclude that the degree of Knights Templar was first conferred in America in 1769, and in Ireland in 1779, perhaps "several years previously," and in both instances the Lodge derived its charter from Scotland, the Earl of Eglinton, as Master of the Mother Lodge of Kilwinning, Scotland, having warranted the Lodge of the same name in Dublin, Ireland.

But a more difficult problem presents itself for solution: Where did the members of St. Andrews Lodge, Boston, or Kilwinning Lodge, Dublin, obtain the degree? Follow the record, and history is silent. We know that it was the custom of that period in the mother country to have Lodges warranted only as Military Lodges to accompany their regiments when sent abroad, and we know further that Irish regiments were during this and the preceding year quartered in Boston, that their officers mingled freely with the Masons of that city; we therefore incline to the belief that they brought the degree with them from the old country, and that our American brethren obtained it from them. We may readily

surmise that the Knight Templary referred to in "A Word to the Wise," as existing in London in the early part of the last century, was taken up by the Ritual makers of that period, and connected with Freemasonry as an offset to the cosmopolitan character that Freemasonry was assuming; and what more likely place for this Trinitarian degree to take root and grow than in the Catholic city of Dublin, where, the majority of Masons being Catholic, the growing Unitarian novelty of cosmopolitan Masonry of that date, would naturally create a desire for degrees embodying their religious belief in the Trinity.

The old Mother Grand Lodge of England of 1717 never recognized, until 1813, any other degrees than those of entered apprentice, fellow craft, and master mason, and then only that of the Royal Arch.[1] The rival Grand Lodge, however, that of the Athol Masons, recognized both the Royal Arch and Knights Templar, while the Knights Templar only was recognized by the York Grand Lodge. In the "Word to the Wise" we have reference pointedly to the degrees having been grafted on the old York Lodge,[2] but it is entirely silent as to its actual origin. It could not, however, judging from the history presented by this author, have dated back prior to the time given by Brother Hughan.

Numerous Military Lodges were warranted by both the Ancient and Modern Grand Lodges of England, and by the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland. One distinguished regiment had a Lodge connected with it chartered in turn by both of the English Grand Lodges, and subsequently by those of Scotland and Ireland. It also had connected with it under the same warrant two chapters holding under the authority of the Grand Lodges of England and Ireland. In 1766 there were two military Lodges stationed at Boston, No. 58 on the register of England, connected with the 14th Regiment, and No. 322 Register of Ireland, attached to the 29th Regiment. As early as 1762 St. Andrews

[1] "Within the last one hundred years Masonry has expanded into different grades and rites, and among them in some form is found the degree of the Royal Arch. Its origin is doubtful, and its pretension to great antiquity is at least subject to argument. The day is gone by when it was considered heresy to question the fact that the Temple of Solomon was the birth-place of Masonry, and it is no longer considered treasonable to discuss the probable origin of our rites and ceremonials and to let in the clear noonday sun upon our history."—*Gardner.*

"The Royal Arch obtained a foothold in Scotland about the middle of the last century from the medium of Military Lodges, which had thus become acquainted with the degree in their intercourse with Irish Masons. Although in some instances regarded by Lodges as the *ne plus ultra* of Freemasonry, it was yet worked in connection with the Order of the Temple. The custom of Knight Templar Encampments fraternizing with Lodges prevailed to a considerable extent in Scotland, particularly in the Western provinces, at the end of the last and the beginning of the present century, and the distinction of honorary membership was frequently conferred on Knights Templar as an expression of the brethren's admiration of the high degrees. The Encampments on their part reciprocated the compliment by initiating the office-bearers of Lodges, by which they were received into the several degrees worked by them. This exchange of courtesies tended to a wider dissemination in Lodges of a taste for Arch and Templar degrees. To such an extent had the work of Lodges at this period become associated with that of the Royal Arch and Templar degrees, that in October, 1800, the Grand Lodge of Scotland issued a circular prohibiting and discharging its daughters to hold any meeting above the degree of Master Mason under penalty of the forfeiture of their charter. Lodge St. John, Ayrshire, introduced the Arch between the years 1771 and 1778 through the medium of the Hibernian element, which at this time permeated the Lodge. Whether during the period mentioned this body also dubbed Masonic Knights, cannot now be ascertained, but its pretensions to a knowledge and practice of degrees other than those of degrees of Masonry were supported by its assumption of title. Subsequently it assumed its old and proper title, and not only continued to work the Royal Arch degree, but conferred also that of Knight Templar as 1797."—*Lyon.*

[2] "A Word to the Wise, being a vindication of the Science as patronized by the Grand Lodge of England, and the devices of the Craft-y on the Fraternity disclosed. London, 1796." In this work the writer discusses the subject of Knights Templars under the two heads or theories we have named, and from the historical review of the Knights Templar of old it will be evident that the Order was abolished entirely in 1313, and that the Knights Templar of the present age have no antiquity to boast of; that the society has for a few years subsisted in the metropolis under this appellation, and to gain admittance therein it was not a necessary qualification for a person to be a Free and a Royal Arch Mason, but that the York Masons have Knight Templar as a Masonic degree; that it is one of their impositions that disgraces them as Masons.

The statutes of the Knights Templar were printed for the first time in 1791, at which time there were Chapters working the Templar degree at York, London and Bath. This degree was grafted on the old stock by the old Lodge of York City, and which pertained to a knowledge of seven degrees in addition to the three degrees of ancient craft Masonry, and claimed for their members superior knowledge as communicated in the higher degrees, by which many were induced to become connected with that Grand Lodge or those established under its jurisdiction, attached to the institution of Freemasonry; but to the credit of the Grand Lodge of England it permitted no such mummery to be practiced in any of the Lodges that derived their constitution from it.

Lodge of Boston applied to the Grand Lodge of Scotland, from which it had received its warrant, for leave to confer the Royal Arch degree, and subsequently under this warrant it conferred both the degrees of Royal Arch and Knight Templar. Even prior to this, as early as 1758, Lodge No. 3 at Philadelphia, working under warrant as Lodge No. 359, granted by the Grand Lodge of all England, also worked as a Chapter and conferred the Royal Arch degree, but, as previously stated, we do not find that this Chapter ever conferred the degree of Knight Templar.

W. Alexander Laurie, in his History of Freemasonry, and the Grand Lodge of Scotland, referring to the Knights Templar, Knights of St. John, etc., states, without any confirmation however, that the Order of Knights Templar was a branch of Freemasonry, to prove which would be a useless labor. From the circumstance of resemblance between the two he does not mean to infer that Chivalry was Freemasonry under another name, only that the two were intimately connected, and that the former took its origin from the latter. Referring to the General Convention of all Knights Templar in Scotland, held in 1808, he says that they resolved to discard the Irish Charter under which the degree had been conferred, and to rest their claim as to right of ancient Knights on the general belief and tradition of the country. It is only tradition and nothing more that has been adduced in support of this claim, which is now universally discarded by intelligent writers of the present day.[1] In those days much faith and credence was given to the charter of transmission of Larmenius of 1724, which is now entirely discredited and regarded as a forgery. In the absence of better evidence than is disclosed it would appear that the Scottish Order is limited to the same amount of popular acceptance as is accredited to other Masonic fraternities of Knights Templar, and which rest their claim on Masonic rites and precedence. There does not appear to be any authentic information as to the date of the establishment of the Masonic Knights Templar, in America.[2] It would appear, however, that the belief is in favor of its having been derived from the early Encampments of Great Britain, and as heretofore stated it travelled through the medium of the Irish regiments. Sir Patrick Colquhoun, in his elaborate work, gives us several matters of in-

[1] "The views which we have expressed agree with the views which Sir Knight Carson has for some time formed of the connection between the Order of Knight Templar of the olden days and the present Order of Knights Templar connected with the Masonic Fraternity. The former is Chivalry, while the latter is Symbolism. The system of Templary as worked here in the United States no doubt in greater part was originated here. From whence it came originally, as far as the Order of the Temple is concerned, I have never been able to find out, but in Pennsylvania it came from the Ancients or seceders of England, 1752, for we know that the Lodges there working under the ancient system, they were in the habit of allowing the use of their warrants to open Chapters of the higher degrees as early as 1783. The Knight Templary of to-day does not bear the slightest resemblance, nor can the faintest trace be found, at least I have never been able to find any, to the Knight Templar of the days of the Crusades. We have borrowed some of the characteristics of the old Crusaders. Many of our writers and orators, like children playing with toy swords, have the battles of a war in play, and are too much given to fight, in symbols of speech, the Crusades. I know that the views expressed by Parvin, Carson and others, and entertained by myself, may not suit the mass, yet to Masonic students they bear the impressions of truth."—*Meyer, MSS. Letter*, 1887.

[2] "What are the claims of the Order of Masonic Knights Templar to a descent from the early Templars and their brethren of the Hospital? It is difficult to obtain a knowledge of the proceedings of the Masonic Templars in England, as they were necessarily of a secret description and the Order kept probably but scant records. The general statements and assertions as to the claims of the Scotch Order of Masonic Templars are calculated to induce a belief that there is existing there some of those descended from the veritable knights of old. The writer was much influenced by these statements, but failing to procure information which he could offer as from an official source, he can present only the result of his own inquiries, and he is bound to show that in this statement he found no stronger claim for the Scotch Templars than is possessed by those institutions of the Order existing in England. The present body in Scotland claims to be the legitimate descendant by adoption of the original Knights of the Order. It is beyond doubt that, in consequence of the general persecution of the Order, the Scotch Knights amalgamated with the Order of St. John. It would be difficult to trace the Order with accuracy through the troublous years of the past. There is evidence that in the latter part of the last century the institutions of Masonic Templars held meetings in Scotland and accepted charters of constitution from a body of Masonic Templars connected with the early Grand Encampment in Dublin, of whose origin we cannot find any account, and whose legitimacy, to say the least, was quite as questionable as their own."—*Knights Templars and Knights Hospitallers. Alfred Woof, London*, 1865.

terest. He very rightly disposes of the statement that there existed any ancient connection between the original Order of the Temple and the Guild of Freemasons.

Symbolic or speculative Masonry was evolved from the original Masons Guilds in the seventeenth century, about three hundred years after the destruction of the Temple Order. Among the numerous degrees started up in the latter part of the last century, that of Knights Templar found the greatest favor and most adherents, because of the desire to preserve a society eminently Christian and Trinitarian.

The assertion that the expelled Templars served under Robert Bruce and had a preceptory at Kilwinning rests on no authority, and the claim of Scottish Templars to direct succession from the ancient order is easily disposed of. They rightly repudiated the charter attributed to John Mark Larmenius, but fell into another fallacy in alleging the succession while admitting the dis-establishment of the order. Sir Patrick Colquhoun further disposes of the claim of succession by the statement that the Scottish, like all other Templars of the ancient order, were disestablished and disendowed in 1314. He is further of the opinion that the Templar degree originated in the Kilwinning Lodge, Dublin. Certain Scotch brethren serving in Ireland obtained a knowledge of the high grades, which were termed Black Masonry and its members High Knights Templar. He concludes by remarking that having reviewed the historical facts connected with the old Order of the Temple, and shown the beginning and the progress of the modern imitative institution, he perhaps has disappointed those who would fain believe in the ancient origin and a pedigree of ages.[2]

The modern Order of Masonic Knighthood is an imitation of the Order of the Temple, and is a society eminently Christian, purged of all the leaven of heathen rites and traditions, and to which none are admitted but members of a Masonic body, and such only as profess themselves to be Trinitarian Christians. From this latter position, however, the Templars in some jurisdictions have materially diverged, as in several of them Unitarian Christians are admitted.

To show somewhat the changes that have been made in the order of the Temple in our Lodges, Chapters and Encampments, we mention the fact that under the system of the ancients the members of a Grand Lodge and of all warranted Lodges had a right to exercise the degrees of the ancient Craft, and consequently the Royal Arch, to which many of them added what was called the higher degrees, including that of high Knights Templar, but no Mason of any denomination could hold any Lodge without a warrant for the same. The Royal Arch was introduced as early as 1758 in Lodge No. 3 at Philadelphia, working also as a Chapter in communion with a Military Lodge working under warrant No. 357, granted by the Grand Lodge of all England.

In 1767 the degrees of Perfection of the Scottish Rite were conferred at Albany, New York, among which was the Royal Arch of that Rite, and it is possible that before the close of that century the degree of Knight Templar was conferred in the same body, though we have no record to this effect.

Lodges working the Royal Arch degree were first called Chapters in 1794, which year marks a wonderful degree of activity in the Royal Arch Lodges. The Mark degree, as we now have it in our Chapters, and which, with other degrees, including the Royal Arch, are

[1] "It had reference only to business matters, the Guilds having been employed in the erection and repair of their preceptories."—*A concise History of the Order of the Temple. Sir Patrick Colquhoun, London*, 1878.

[2] "... Such may regret to find that the institution in its present independent form is but about seventy years old."—*Ibid.*

pre-requisite under the American system for receiving the Templar orders, was first introduced into the Lodges working as Chapters in 1792, but as a side degree. Some years later it was recognized as one of the regular degrees of the Chapter. The first mention of the Most Excellent Masters degree, and without doubt the first time it was ever conferred in any Chapter outside of Temple Chapter, Albany, where it originated, was in the old Chapter of St. Andrews, Boston, during the visit made to it by Thomas Smith Webb in February, 1795. This degree was no doubt conferred and first practiced by Webb, who introduced it into his system, which he perfected early in the present century.

The two most prominent actors in the Masonic drama of the latter part of the last and the early part of the present century were undoubtedly Thomas Smith Webb and Henry Fowle; to the former we are indebted for what is known as the American system of Freemasonry.

Webb was born in Boston, October 10th, 1771. He was initiated into Craft Masonry in Rising Sun Lodge at Keene, New Hampshire, in November or December, 1792. In 1797 he removed to Albany, during which year he published the first edition of his "Monitor," the preface to which is dated September. That Webb modified, but did not manufacture the Chapter degrees is conceded, as in this country they differ essentially from the degrees of the same name elsewhere; and while attempts have been made to connect others with him in the work, the evidence is wanting to show that he had any assistance in the undertaking. In the first edition of the "Monitor," his history of Grand Lodges, Grand and Subordinate Chapters, is quite full and complete, but very defective in its Templar history. He names only the five Encampments of the Grand Encampment of Pennsylvania, three of which were in Philadelphia, one in the city of New York and another at Stillwater, N. Y., omitting all reference to those in South Carolina, Maryland, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, where we have evidence that such existed.

The degrees of Templary are not and never were intended to represent a military organization, but to perpetuate the religious principles upon which the Ancient Order of Knight Templars was founded, as we do not pretend to believe that the degrees of the Temple and Malta are in direct descent or a perpetuation of the Ancient Chivalric Orders, but are merely an adaptation to Freemasonry, retaining the military name and phraseology to commemorate their supposed origin and preserve their Christian teachings, exemplified in the ancient ceremonial, but in no sense can they be looked upon as a military body.[1] Such attempts quite destroy the sacred character of the degree,[2] and turn the fraternity into a dramatic spectacle for public recreation and amusement, under the pretense of fol-

[1] "The theory that the chivalric Templar Order, on their persecution and dispersion, took refuge in the Masonic Body, is but one of the fabulous traditions of the past to account for the supposed amalgamation, for which there is not the slightest historical foundation. It is not even probable that the proud and haughty nobles of that age, from which class the Templar Order was selected, would engraft themselves upon a fraternity of Mechanics, when the Military Orders of Europe were open to them, and only too glad to receive into their ranks so renowned a Military Body as the Templars. Under any circumstances they could have no connection with the Royal Arch, a Jewish Masonic degree of very modern times, that grew out of the disputes arising between the two rival English Grand Lodges of the last Century in the schism known as Ancient and Modern Masons—much less with the American Red Cross Degree, called in Great Britain the Babylonish Pass, a fabrication with other side degrees of the last century, taken from a Persian legend, consequently Pagan, which may be looked upon as having some reference to the Royal Arch, but in no sense to Christian degrees."—*Allocution to the Sovereign Great Priory. Moore.*

[2] "The wearing of swords does not necessarily give Templary a Military character, for in the last century swords were worn by all classes of society, who had no pretensions to be considered Military men, and are still worn in official civil costume. We also wear in our Private Chapters the White habit of the Ancient Templars and Black of the Malta Order, as a badge or symbol to denote the Order represented, and to promote a greater interest being taken in the ceremonies, but in no sense claiming any right or pretensions to the title or dignity of Secular Knighthood. All such attempts, and bombastic, public, dramatic military exhibitions indulged in, are only calculated to draw upon the fraternity the merited derision of general society."—*Moore.*

lowing and representing the usages of Chivalry. We do not now fight against infidels, but contend against infidelity, and endeavor to inculcate high moral and Christian principles. Among the thousands of addresses of Grand Masters, Grand Commanders and Grand Orators, we fail to find a single one which does not speak of Templary as a branch of Masonry.[1] The Encampments in Pennsylvania, from the organization of the first Grand Encampment in 1797, to that of the present Grand body for that State in 1854, declared themselves as being subordinate to and under the control of the Grand Lodge of Master Masons. Thomas Smith Webb and Henry Fowle, both members of the Grand Encampment of Massachusetts of 1805, were the leading spirits in the organization of the General Grand Encampment of the United States in 1816, and copied after the constitution and organization of the General Grand Chapter, in which they were the leading officers and which they had organized in 1798.[2]

Throughout the constitution of 1856, when the Grand Encampment was in a measure reorganized upon its present basis, Templary and Masonry are everywhere associated together. The power vested in the Grand Encampment by the two Grand Encampments of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and of New York which created it, authorized it to do all things pertaining to the good, well-being and perpetuation of the principles of Templar Masonry. There was no other Templary then or now known save Masonic Knighthood. It declared that its discipline, which should everywhere be uniform, was that of Templar Masonry. The historical record required to be copied by the Grand Recorder was styled a "Book of Templar Masonry," and that officer was enjoined "to collect all historical data tending to lighten up the history of Templar Masonry in the United States." The officers were all required in the exercise of their official functions "to adhere to the ancient landmarks" of Masonry, which is an ancient institution, while Templary is only its last-born child.

The Grand Encampment especially "enjoins upon its constituent Grand Commanderies the duty of perpetuating Templar Masonry among its subordinates." One of the most important committees was styled "A Committee on Masonic Jurisprudence."

In 1877 the word Masonic was dropped and Templar substituted. The words Templar

[1] "Those writers who would seek to identify the Masonic Templars now existing as the rightful representatives of the Knights Templar of the Middle Ages, are altogether mistaken. Masonic Templarism does not in any respect bear relationship to the Templars of the Crusades, but is a branch of the system of Masonic Knighthood."—*Lyon.*

"The Knight Templar bodies in the United States of America as elsewhere are Masonic, not Military organizations."—*Hughan.*

"There is no connection between the Order of Knights Templar of the olden days and the present Order of Knights Templar connected with the Masonic Fraternity. The former is Chivalry, while the latter is Symbolism."—*Meyer, MSS. Letter*, 1887.

"The earliest known reference in the world to the degree of Masonic Knight Templar is in the old minutes of 1769, St. Andrew's Lodge of Masons, Boston, Mass."—*Hughan.*

[2] "It is now universally conceded that this Grand Encampment, Massachusetts and Rhode Island, is the oldest Grand Body of Masonic Knighthood upon this continent. The history of this Grand Encampment teaches the important lesson of the necessity of a firm reliance upon the Masonic Institution as the only hope of our prosperity and perpetuity. Let us not forget the teaching of history, that the Knights Templar of the Middle Ages were unable to perpetuate their society. As a separate and independent organization, it became obliterated, and known only as an Order which had existed. The Masonic Institution is one of great antiquity and is a universal brotherhood. I am convinced that unless the Grand Encampment of Knights Templar had been founded upon the institution of Masonry, they could not have survived the trials and vicissitudes to which they have been exposed (during the period of the Morgan excitement). It is upon this firm and stable foundation of Masonry that we have erected our Temple of Knighthood. The teachings, the preparations which the degrees of Masonry afford, are absolutely necessary to a proper appreciation of these Orders. In England the Masonic Knights Templar make an open and avowed confession of the dependence of the Order upon the Masonic Institution. Its Ritual convinces us that it was compiled upon Masonry, and that the form and manner of our work is eminently Masonic. In its teachings and ceremonies it is Masonry christianized,—the complete acknowledgement of and a full belief in the divine mission of the risen Messiah engrafted upon the Masonic forms and precepts and ritual. A divorce of these Orders—Knighthood from the Institution of Masonry—would lead to their total destruction and annihilation. Let an enthusiastic pride stimulate us to be true and faithful to the traditions of the Fathers of this Grand Encampment (which tradition traced its connection directly to the Lodges from which the Templar degree had its origin)."—*Gardner.*

Masonry are one and inseparable throughout the entire instrument. At the triennial conclave committees were appointed to take into consideration all matters presented on the subject of Masonry.[1] The Grand Encampment disclaimed any authority on its part to interfere with the lower degrees of Masonry, while it exercised an exclusive control over the higher ones of Knight Templar, Knights of Malta and Red Cross Knights. In 1841 Sir Knight William J. Reese, in speaking of the establishment of an Encampment near his jurisdiction, regards it as a very important measure gained to the Masonic interests of the State, as it fills up a vacuum that has long been felt.[2]

The committee, reporting upon his address, "rejoices in the manifestations of the prosperity of the Masonic Institution, and especially in the orders of Knighthood."

In 1850 Past Grand Master John L. Lewis reported that it was a well-established rule that any discipline enforced or penal provision of the Masonic order inflicted upon a brother or companion of an inferior degree in the acknowledged Masonic Bodies, inferior to those of Knighthood, affects his relation to the Encampment. It would be a solecism to suppose that a Knight Templar could be suspended or expelled by a Lodge or Chapter and yet remain in good standing in his Encampment. If the corner-stone of the Masonic edifice be taken away nothing is left of the structure.

The first Grand Encampment organized in the State of Vermont was declared to be illegal, because it had not been organized in accordance with the constitution of the Grand Encampment and the *usages of Masonry*. Similar allusions are found throughout the entire series of Templar proceedings of the Grand Encampment, promulgated by its Grand Master, and all of its committees, or embodied in its organic law.

Per contra, we find only two declarations not in accord with these, the first in the address of the Grand Master Dean to the Grand Encampment in 1883, wherein he tries to prove that the order is essentially a military one.[3] His successor repeated the declaration that, "ours is a military institution," and proposed to govern it on military principles.

The constitution of 1856 as well as 1880 states that commanderies offending against the laws of the Grand Encampment in their failure to make annual reports, etc., shall be subject to knightly discipline, and that commanderies offending, in violating the interdict in regard to the conferring of the orders of Knighthood, shall for such offense also be subject to such discipline. Subsequently the Grand Encampment through its Grand Master adopted a code of laws providing for control and discipline of offenders against the laws of Templary and of Masonry.

Reviewing from year to year the proceedings of Grand Commanderies and Grand Lodges, we find the addresses of Grand Commanders and Grand Masters ever referring to the cases of Masonic and Templar discipline, and the word in Masonry and Templary has

[1] "It proves that it was their aim and object to give to the new organization an exclusive Masonic character, and in its first constitution forbade its Encampments to confer the Orders of Knighthood upon any one who shall not have regularly received the several degrees of Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft, Mark Master, Past Master, Most Excellent Master and Royal Arch Mason, which means in regularly constituted Lodges of Master Masons and Chapters of Royal Arch Masons." —*Gardner.*

[2] "I regard the Masonic institution as a powerful auxiliary in promoting sound morals, and especially do the Templar degrees exercise a restraining and elevating influence over the minds and actions of men, and making the degrees of the Encampment and of the Lodge a part of the same institution."—*Report of G. G. W. F. Reese*, 1841.

[3] "The grand Encampment and its constituent bodies are a military organization, and in the military the whole matter of discipline is always left with the head of the army." He then quotes from the constitution, which provides that the Grand Master shall have a watchful supervision over all the Commanderies, both Grand and subordinate, in the United States, and says that the work and discipline of Templar Masonry everywhere are uniform throughout the jurisdictions of the Grand Encampment. He then quotes from the articles of war in reference to the powers and duties of the Secretary of War to enforce discipline in the army, and he construes discipline in this clause to refer to military discipline, which includes manual exercise, evolutions and subordinations.—*Dean.*

and can have no other reference than to the control and punishment of offenders for the violation of Templar and Masonic Laws.

"The age of Chivalry has gone," said the immortal Burke, and the order of Templars of the age of Chivalry long since ceased to have an existence; and while that body was undoubtedly Christian and military in its character, modern Templary, being wholly independent and having no connection with the ancient, has embodied in its constitution nothing of a military character.

The founders of the Order of Knighthood and of the Grand Encampment, and the authors of the constitution of 1856 and of the body which adopted it, had not the remotest idea that the word discipline incorporated in that instrument could possibly ever have been construed to mean other than that a uniform penalty should be prescribed throughout the jurisdiction for the punishment of offenders guilty of the same offense.

Red Cross.

We are quite as much at a loss in tracing the origin and history of this degree as that of the Knights Templar. It was generally accepted until the discovery of the South Carolina Diploma, referred to later, that it was manufactured by Webb and his associates.

The Maltese Ritual also originated in Boston Encampment at Boston.[1] It is quite certian that the degree of Knight of the Red Cross was not worked in England.

At the organization of the Grand Encampment of Knights Templar of the United States in 1816, we find the degree Knight of the Red Cross associated with those of Knight Templar and Knight of Malta, as the three degrees or orders authorized to be conferred under this jurisdiction. The second Grand Encampment of Pennsylvania antedates in its existence that of the Grand Encampment of the United States, and in the Charter of Recognition granted by the Grand Encampment to Maryland Encampment No. 1, Baltimore, the full text of which is given in Dr. Creigh's valuable work, we find that the Grand Encampment authorized its subordinates as early as May 17th, 1814, to confer the orders of Knights Templar, Knights of Malta and Knights of the Red Cross, with continuance to their successors in office and members forever. The fair presumption from the Charter is that the Knights of the Red Cross degree had been conferred in Pennsylvania, many years prior to this date, and that it was not regarded then as "an interpolation," nor did any one in that Grand Encampment, in the name of Christian or otherwise, protest against its being acknowledged as a degree in the order of Christian Knighthood. Sir Knight E. T. Carson of Ohio, who has devoted more time and labor to the elucidation of Templar history in the United States than probably any other Sir Knight, writes that as late as 1883 it had been the received tradition that Webb was the founder of our Red Cross grade.[2] In the year 1883 Grand Master Dean of the Grand Encampment brought more prominently to the notice of Templars and Masons the existence of the Tem-

[1] Dr. Creigh in his History of the Knights Templar of Pennsylvania asks the question, "From whence is the degree of the Red Cross derived?" and answers it himself by saying, "It was manufactured by Webb and his associates from the Knight of the East or Sword, and not of the East and West degrees of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rites." Again, seemingly forgetting what he had previously written, he declares it to be, "not only an interpolation, but having been superstitiously taken from the ineffable degrees of the Scottish Rite; that it should never have had any connection with the Templar Order, the Knights of Malta or St. John's, and is unworthy of the high character of the Christian Orders of Knighthood." "The degree was formed, fashioned and manufactured for New England and its dependencies, and the Grand Encampment of Massachusetts and Rhode Island furnished the Ritual which is now used (1867) in all the Templar Orders in the United States."

[2] A learned Sir Knight of Massachusetts, as late as 1865, asserts substantially the same thing, and states that the Ritual was made by Fowle and Gleason, while Webb devoted his attention mostly to the Chapter degrees.—*Gardner.*

plar Diploma issued by South Carolina Encampment No 1, in 1783, just one hundred years earlier. This diploma, the most interesting Templar document that has yet been recovered from the ruins of Templar history, was published by Dr. Mackey in his history of Freemasonry in South Carolina in the year 1861, and we have presented it elsewhere, it being an essential document in the chain of Templar history in this country,[1] its authenticity having been established beyond a doubt; and not only is the received tradition that Webb was the founder of the degree made to vanish, but the further fact is made to appear that in this Diploma we find the earliest mention of the Red Cross in connection with Knights Templar that has yet been met with, and the fact is now established not only that Webb was not the manufacturer of the degree, but that it existed and was worked nearly two decades before Webb became a Knight Templar, and, instead of having been manufactured for New England, it existed and was first worked in South Carolina, the names of the two States being brought here, as in many other instances, in peculiar juxtaposition. Dr. Mackey was clearly of the opinion that this degree as well as the Templar degrees was introduced into this country by the possessors of the high degrees of the Ancient and Accepted Rite, whose predecessors received them in Europe from the founders of the Rite.

It is more an inference, however, of his and of others, than a proved fact, that the degree was conferred in Charleston by members of the Supreme Council, who alone could have manufactured the degree, and say it is preparatory to that of the Temple.

This degree is not and never has been recognized as part of the Templar system in England, Ireland or in our neighboring province of Canada. The governing bodies of those degrees in Canada, however, authorize its communication to its members, to the end that they may visit and hold Templar intercourse with American Templars.

A further and more conclusive proof of the fact that Webb had nothing to do, as was once the popular idea, in the manufacture of the Red Cross degree, may be formed from the "Sketches from the Records of St. Andrew's Royal Arch Chapter of Boston," edited by Alfred F. Chapman, G. G. H. P., in 1883. The records of February 8, 1797, read as follows:

"Voted, that the Knights of the Red Cross by Brother Benjamin Hurd, Jr., be and they are hereby permitted to make their records in the book of the Chapter." While this privilege was not availed of, this is the last (not the first) mention made of Knights of any grade in connection with the work of the Chapter. This is conclusive evidence that in that old Chapter, working under a Lodge warrant, not only the degree of Knights Templar but also that of Red Cross Knight was worked, and that, too, at a period at least five years before Webb became a Knight Templar.

This Brother Benjamin Hurd, Jr., who became actively interested in Templary, was subsequently one of the Charter members of Boston Encampment, being elected and made a Knight Templar in the Chapter at its meeting on the 20th day of March, 1789, which period inaugurated an era of prosperity in the material interest of the old Lodge St. Andrews No. 1, working also as a Chapter and as an Encampment. He was secretary of the body, and his records show that several were admitted to the degrees of Master Mason, Royal Arch Mason and Knight Templar Mason.

[1] "The authenticity of this diploma once established, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts are both ante-dated, and the received tradition that Webb was the founder of our Red Cross grade vanishes before the burning rays of the sun of truth. Such documents are most valuable."—*Extract from Letter, Carson*, 1883.

It is worthy of note that we usually find the word Mason associated and connected with that of Knight Templar. There was no Templary in those days separate from Masonry. While an examination of these evidences proves that Webb was not the author of the degree of the Red Cross Knight, and that it was conferred in connection with the Templar degree both in South Carolina and Massachusetts some years before Webb became a Knight Templar (about 1797), they do not inform us who was the author of the degree, nor when or where it was originated. We shall have to wait further investigation to learn these facts, but the assertion of the Historiographer of Pennsylvania must be relegated to the domain of obsolete ideas.[1]

[1] There is not a class or order of men in civilized countries on earth to be found but will acknowledge the fact that the Order of Knighthood as practiced by the Grand Encampment of the United States, and of which we are proud of being a subordinate, was brought into existence during the reign of Darius, king of Persia, about 530 years before the birth of Christ. We speak particularly of the Red Cross degree, while the Knights Templar originated in Jerusalem, A.D. 1118.—*History of the Knights Templar in Penna., Dr. Creigh, Phila.*, Vol. ii. page 42.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

EARLY AMERICAN RECORDS.

Templary in Massachusetts, 1769.

OUR information in regard to this old Grand Commandery, now the oldest existing, is chiefly derived from the reprint of the proceedings of the Grand Encampment of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, from its organization in 1805 to 1868 inclusive. This work was executed under the supervision of three of the most intelligent and active Templars in the jurisdiction of the two States, and from the reading of their introduction, in which they submit their work "in the hope that it will meet with approval and contribute something to the history of the Orders of Knighthood in the United States," we were led to expect ample data at our hands for the accomplishment of the purpose we now have in view. But to our great disappointment we found no introductory history or remarks whatever, nothing to explain the meagre and bald text of the record, which reads, "A Grand Convention of Knights Templars was held in Providence, R. I., on the 6th day of May, 1805. It was declared to be the sense of the convention that a Grand Encampment of Knights Templar be formed and established, and a committee appointed to report the draft of a constitution to the adjourned convention to be held on the 13th of the same month. That convention having taken into consideration the report of the committee, unanimously adopted the constitution under the title of the Grand Encampment of Rhode Island and Jurisdiction thereunto belonging. It declared that the Grand Encampment should take cognizance of and preside over all Encampments of Knights Templars, Knights of Malta and Knights of the Red Cross that are already established, and that shall acknowledge its jurisdiction. Thomas Smith Webb of Providence was elected Grand Master, and Henry Fowle of Boston Generalissimo. We do not find reported as present a single representative from any Commandery or Encampment. We know, however, from other sources of information, that St. John's Encampment No. 1 Knights Templars, located at Providence, R. I., had been in existence since August 23rd, 1802, and that Sir Knight Thomas Smith Webb was its E.C. Boston Encampment of Knights of the Red Cross formed March 12th, 1802, Sir Knight Henry Fowle being its Sovereign Master. Newburyport Encampment of Knights Templars was established in Newburyport in 1795. The records of this Encampment, we learn from Sir Knight Gardner's history, have been lost, and the particulars of its organization cannot now be obtained. At an extra session of the Grand Encampment held in October, 1805, application was made from St. John's Encampment of Knights Templars, holden in the town of Providence, R. I., praying for a charter of

recognition, confirming them in their accustomed rights and privileges agreeably to the constitution. The prayer of the petitioners was granted, and a charter issued accordingly. At the succeeding assembly, March 3rd, 1806, a similar charter of recognition upon application was voted to Boston Encampment, and at the assembly held in May following the Grand officers were authorized and directed, whenever the Encampments of Knights Templar at Newburyport and Portland petition for a charter of recognition, to issue the same, agreeably to the constitution. The name of the Body was changed to "The United States Grand Encampment." At this assembly a new constitution was adopted and ratified.

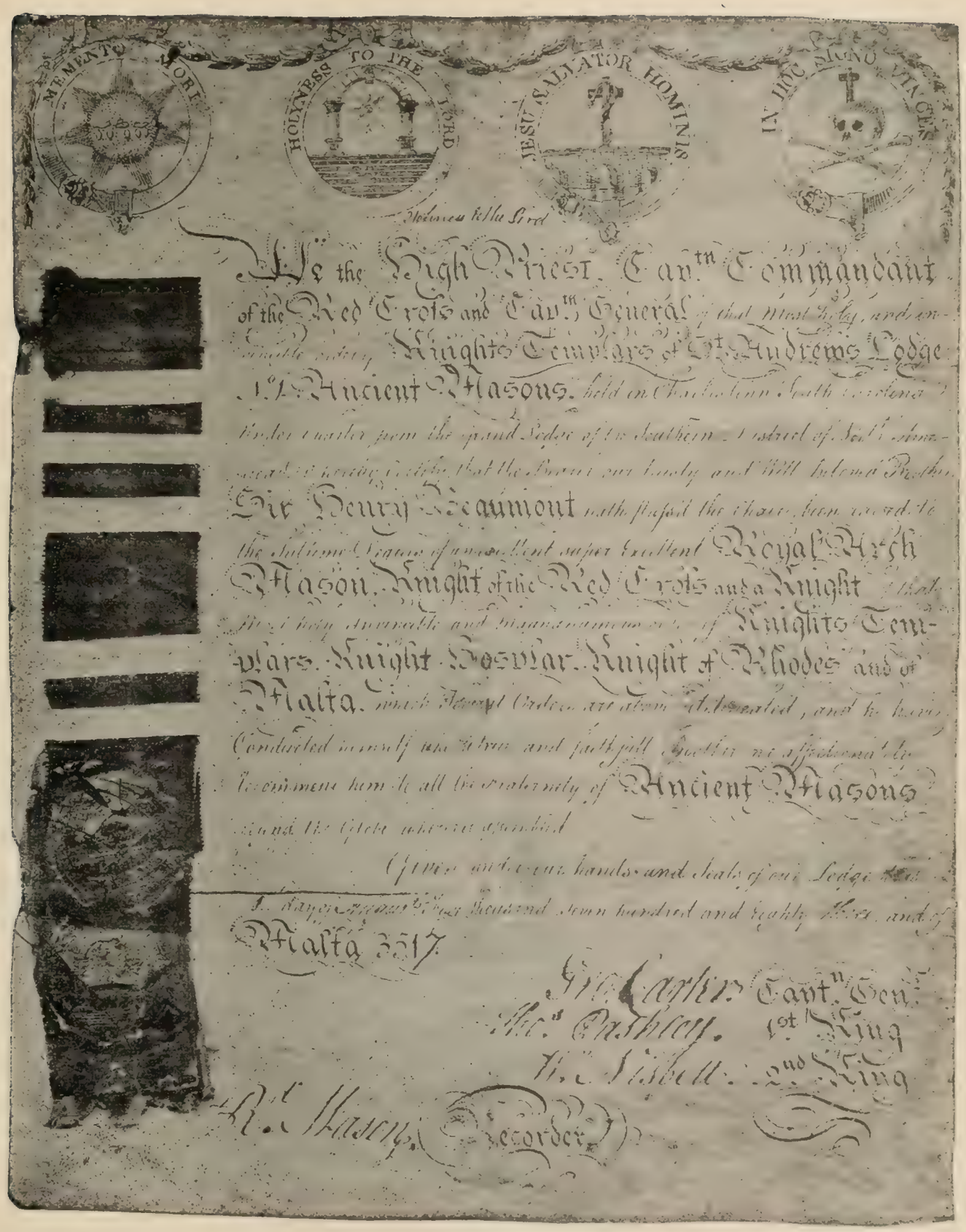
We learn from the Recorder's heading to his minutes for 1807 that an Assembly of the United States Grand Encampment was held in Boston, May 28th, and the following Encampments were represented: Boston Encampment by W. Sir Knight Henry Fowle, Grand Master, and three others; St. John's Encampment, Providence, by W. Sir Thomas Smith Webb, Grand Master, and three others; King Darius Council, Portland, by W. Sir John Coe, office not given, and three others, one being Benjamin Gleason, afterwards famous in the annals of Masonry as a Ritualist of great celebrity. At the assembly held in 1808 the Encampment at Newburyport was for the first time represented by W. Sir Knight Nathaniel Knapp, Jr., Grand Master, and three others. His Encampment had no doubt in the meantime availed itself of the resolution of 1806 and secured a charter of recognition. At the session, June 7, 1814, a petition was received from a number of Knight Templars of Newport, R. I., praying for a charter free of expense except the customary recognition fees. The prayer of the petitioners was granted, and this Encampment with the other four were all present through their representatives at the assembly in 1815, the Newport Encampment bearing the name of Washington. In 1816 the first three officers of the Encampment were Thomas Smith Webb, Henry Fowle and John Snow. The committee appointed to revise the constitution reported sundry amendments, the first being to amend the title, expunging the words United States. At this assembly it was resolved that three delegates be appointed from the Grand Encampment to meet and confer with any or all other Grand Encampments that are now established within the United States, etc., upon the subject of the general union of all the Encampments of the country under one head and general form of union. At the Grand Encampment held in Providence June 15, 1817, Sir Thomas Smith Webb submitted a report of the delegates to the General Grand Encampment. He also presented the constitution as adopted for the General Grand Encampment Knights Templar and appendant Orders for the United States of America. The report of the delegates having been taken into consideration, it was resolved "that this Grand Encampment approve of the doings of their delegates and of the proceedings of the convention holden in the City of New York, and adopt the general constitution for their future government, and the Grand Master, the Deputy Grand Master and Grand Recorder are authorized and empowered to revise the local constitution of this Grand Encampment and render it conformable to the said General Grand Constitution." Thomas Smith Webb, who had been at the head of the Grand Encampment from its organization in 1805 to the present session, 1818, declined re-election, and M. W. Henry Fowle was unanimously elected his successor, and it was voted "that this Grand Encampment, duly appreciating the most eminent services of our past Grand Master, and as a feeble testimony of the high respect and veneration they entertain for his unwearied exertions in the cause of our institution, do now vote their thanks to M. W. Sir

Thomas Smith Webb for the great benefits they have derived from him during his administration of the government of this Grand Encampment," and we doubt not had this resolution been submitted in all jurisdictions where Templarism had obtained a foothold then or at the present day throughout the United States, Pennsylvania alone excepted, it would have received unanimous indorsement. It was not until 1820 that the Council of Red Cross Knights of Portland, who were also Knights Templar, submitted their petition for a charter of recognition agreeably to the constitution of the Grand Encampment, and they were then constituted a Templar Encampment.

South Carolina, 1780.

The principal sources of our information are a lecture delivered in Charleston, S.C., March 23, 1855, by Theodore S. Gourdin, then Commander of South Carolina No. 1, and a subsequent report made by him upon the history of Templarism to the Grand Encampment of the United States; third, the History of Freemasonry in South Carolina by Albert G. Mackey, M.D., 1861, Chapter LVI. of which is devoted to Templarism in South Carolina; and fourth, the address of Grand Master Benjamin Dean to the Grand Encampment at its triennial, August, 1883, to whom Templarism is greatly indebted for his researches in bringing to light some most important facts in connection with its early history. The exact date of the introduction of the Templar Order of Knighthood into South Carolina is involved in much obscurity, as it is in every other of the old colonies. Brother Gourdin, deducing his information from the old seal in the archives, says that South Carolina Encampment No. 1 of Knight Templars and the pendant Orders was established in 1780. Brother Mackey was unable to find any reference in the contemporary journals of that day to the existence of South Carolina Encampment No. 1 at that early period. It is possible that the early journals of that State had not been as carefully preserved as were those of Philadelphia, to which we are indebted for much of our knowledge of the early history of Freemasonry in the province of Pennsylvania. Brother Mackey, however, was successful in obtaining the original diploma issued on the first day of August, 1783, the earliest Templar diploma or document of which we have any accurate knowledge. This interesting document bears an impression of the seal referred to by Sir Knight Gourdin. It has upon it a star of seven points, with the ineffable name in the centre and the motto " Memento Mori," the arch on two pillars and the "All Seeing Eye" on the keystone, the sun beneath the arch and "Holiness to the Lord" for the motto, the cross and brazen serpent erected on the bridge, "Jesus Salvator Hominis" for the motto; on the fourth circle is the skull and crossbones surmounted with the cross, "In hoc signo vinces." The reference of the last three devices is evidently to the Royal Arch, the red cross to the Templar degrees, while the first is the symbol of the Lodge of Perfection, and hence they show the connection of the Order of Templary in the State at that time with the ancient and accepted rite. This diploma was issued to Brother Sir Henry Beaumont, and is of such an interesting and valuable character that we have reproduced it for this work.

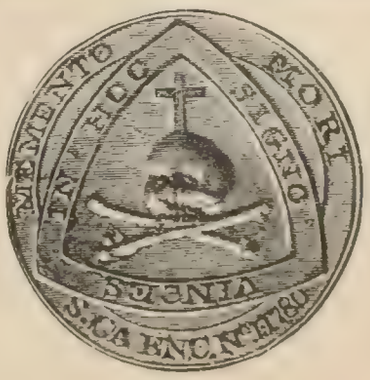
It was, we learn, issued by the Invincible Order of Knights Templar of St Andrews Lodge No. 1, ancient Masons, held in Charleston, S. C., under charter from the Grand Lodge of the Southern district of North America. A careful examination of the diploma shows that on the seal are the words Lodge No. 40. Brother Mackey in his " History of Freemasonry in South Carolina" does not show any connection between this Lodge No. 40



Fac-simile of the Patent and Seal

OF KNIGHTS OF THE RED CROSS, KNIGHTS TEMPLARS AND KNIGHTS OF MALTA.

St. Andrews Lodge No. 1, Charleston, S. C., 1783.



and St. Andrews Lodge No. 1. The South Carolina Gazette, published in Charleston at that date, shows that at some period not clearly defined there was a Lodge established in West Florida called St. Andrews Lodge No. 40, and that it was moved to Charleston about 1783, and was chartered as a York Lodge in the City of Charleston in July, 1783, by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania.

December 10th, 1878, Wilmot G. DeSaussure, P. G. M., in an address delivered by him on the history of Freemasonry in South Carolina before the Grand Lodge of that State, remarks that the warrant for No. 40 was granted to brethren formerly of St. Andrews Lodge No. 1, West Florida, and then of Charleston on the 12th of July, 1783. It is quite probable that had Brother Mackey's attention been called to the words Lodge No. 40 on the seal of that diploma, when in his custody, that he would have given to the subject a more exhaustive research, because in his "History of Freemasonry in South Carolina" he frequently refers to Lodge No. 40 as a very active Lodge.

Another subject quite as perplexing in this diploma is that it states that this Lodge St. Andrews No. 1 held its charter from the Southern district of North America: on this the early records of Masonry seem quite silent. Sir Knight Dean, however, persevered in his investigations until he also unraveled this mystery. We have before us the original documents and publications, but prefer to follow the line of argument presented by Grand Master Dean, who examined all the minutes and proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania Free and Accepted Masons, compiled and published by the library committee of Pennsylvania, which show that at a Lodge of emergency July 8, 1783, a memorial of St. Andrews Lodge No. 1, late of West Florida, and now of Charleston, S. C., was presented, and that sundry papers relative thereto addressed to the right worshipful Grand Master were laid before this Lodge and received a full hearing, it being recommended that a letter be written to the Master and brethren of St. Andrews Lodge, referring and recommending them to our worthy Brother Edward Weyman, of Lodge No. 38, to whom a letter was also requested to be written, granting full power and authority to act agreeably to directions to be given him by this Grand Lodge. A committee, together with Brothers Hamilton and Van Lost, were appointed to that business, and were desired to lay their proceedings before the Grand Lodge at their next meeting, which was held July 12, 1783, R. W. Wm. Adcock, as before, Grand Master. The committee appointed at the last meeting having laid before the Grand Lodge their several letters to Brother Weyman, Master of Lodge No. 38, and to the Master of St. Andrews Lodge No. 1, they were unanimously adopted, and on motion ordered that the secretary prepare and draw a warrant for the brethren of St. Andrews Lodge No. 1 to be No. 40, which warrant should be transmitted to Brother Weyman, Master of Lodge No. 38, to be by him delivered to the Master and members of St. Andrews Lodge No. 1, provided that the Master and members of said Lodge be found to be of the ancient and honorable fraternity and accept to be under this jurisdiction. The records show that this Lodge No. 40 was represented at a subsequent meeting of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania during the years 1783 and 1788, and in the list of Lodges as published in the reprint is found No. 40 St. Andrews Lodge, Charleston, S. C., granted July 12th, 1783, surrendered and renewed May 25th, 1787, surrendered September 24th, 1787, and joined the Grand Lodge of South Carolina. At the meeting of September 29th, 1783, a letter from George Carter, Master of Lodge No. 40, addressed to the R. W. Grand Master, was presented, informing him that he had received the warrant sent him from this Grand Lodge by the hands of Brother Weyman. There is also one other letter

to Brother Joseph Howell, with the power appointing him and Brother Michael Jennings prox. in behalf of Lodge No. 40, which was admitted. A reference to the diploma will show that the first signature appended to it is that of George Carter, the brother named in this minute. From a communication addressed by Sidney Hayden, author of "Washington and his Masonic Compeers," dated Sayre, Penn., May 1st, 1883, and addressed to C. S. Jennison of Charleston, S. C., we are enabled to trace the history of the Grand Lodge of the Southern jurisdiction of North America under the charter of St. Andrews Lodge No. 1 was held.

Brother Hayden writes: "We know nothing of Masons in Florida, if any existed there, until after Florida became a Masonic province in 1763 at the close of the old French war. It then became known as the southern district of the British possessions in America, and was divided by the English government into the two provinces called East and West Florida, over each of which an English colonial governor was appointed, with their respective capitals at St. Augustine and Pensacola. James Grant was made governor of East Florida, and in 1768 he received a charter from the Grand Lodge of Scotland to establish a Lodge in St. Augustine. Its registry number in Scotland was 143. The same year, 1768, he was also appointed at the Grand Lodge of Scotland as provincial Grand Master of the southern district of North America, which embraced East and West Florida, and soon after his appointment, in 1770 I think, he established a Lodge in West Florida at Pensacola. This Lodge was called St. Andrews Lodge No. 1 of West Florida. St. Andrews appears to have worked at Pensacola until about the close of the Revolution, when, as Florida again became a Spanish province, Pensacola was deserted by many of its inhabitants who were British subjects, they removing to Charleston, S. C. This removal had been in 1783, and with them it seems St. Andrews Lodge was also removed."

The seal of the Lodge, after it became No. 40 of Pennsylvania, was not the same as while St. Andrews No. 1. The first seal with Lodge No. 40 at the bottom was of the same description as the fourth design at the head of the diploma, as shown by Dr. Mackey, whose description we have heretofore quoted. The print of the seal with South Carolina Encampment No. 1, 1780, at the bottom, with same design as formerly, was probably adopted after the Lodge became connected with the ancient York G.L. of South Carolina, instead of Pennsylvania, or perhaps it may have assumed to be an Encampment distinct from its former Lodge when its seal was adopted. If Brother Hayden is correct, it would clearly prove that South Carolina Encampment No. 1, at Charleston, became an independent and distinct Encampment several years prior to that of Maryland Encampment No. 1 at Baltimore. The date 1780 upon the seal may have been traditionally true, or the Lodge may have begun to confer the higher degrees in that year, or even before, in Pensacola. These higher degrees in those times were governed by no statute in Masonry, but by a custom by which Master's Lodges conferred any higher degrees of which they had knowledge on worthy Master Masons. One of the most curious and interesting instances in connection with this diploma, and the history of the old St. Andrews Lodge No. 1, is the discovery of the original seal, which was recovered through the instrumentality of Grand Master Dean. From his researches in the Grand Secretary's office in Massachusetts he learned that Sir Knight A.G. Haley, of Salmon Falls, New Hampshire, had a seal like that of the inscription upon the diploma in his possession, which Sir Knight Haley gave to the Grand Master, with this history as to how it came in his possession: He had bought it of the cook of a schooner in Dover, New Hampshire, who had bought it in Mas-

sachusetts in the centennial year for one dollar. The cook obtained it from the original finder, who had thrown it up out of the ground while banking up the earth around his house in Bath, Maine. This seal is of silver. South Carolina Encampment No. 1 still exists, after a varied history.

We have before us a copy of the original circular issued by this Encampment September 3rd, 1823, to the several Grand Encampments of the United States. It informs them that the Encampment of Knights Templar and the pendant Orders established in 1780 has been this day regularly acknowledged and come under the jurisdiction of the General Grand Encampment of the United States, and in behalf of the Encampment craves an interchange of fraternal and social intercourse between the respective members, and with this circular is given an impression of the old seal, being signed by Joseph McKosh, recorder; M. Holdbrook, M.D., G.C., T. H.; W. Curtis, G.E.N.; David Ross, C.A.P., G.E.N. This diploma, long believed to be spurious, is now thoroughly proved and accepted as genuine. The discrepancies between the numbers one and forty, for a long time irreconcilable, are satisfactorily accounted for, and the existence of the body, Grand Lodge of the Southern district of North America, proven, and there can no longer be a doubt that there was an Encampment in Charleston, S. C., as early as 1783, if not 1780, as claimed for it from the seal long lost, now found.

New York, 1785.

Sir Knight Robert Macoy, who has been Grand Recorder of the Grand Encampment of New York since 1851, has bestowed much time and labor in his efforts to rescue from oblivion the early history of Templary in his State. Appended to the proceedings of the Grand Commandery for 1882 a hundred pages or more are devoted to the early history of the Knights Templars, with a concise history of the Order in the State of New York by the Grand Recorder, who selects as his motto "History is the light of truth, the life of memory and the guide of actions." In a later report he says that, "Several of the Grand Recorders, committees and reporters have embodied valuable historical hints in their several papers, which throw light upon the origin of Templary * * * * but none thus far have satisfactorily supplied the link that separates the Templars of the Crusades from the modern Templars or Templarism as it exists in the United States, England and Canada." He quotes from the address of Sir Knight Theodore Gourdin, E. Commander of South Carolina Encampment No. 1 in Charleston, who said, in 1855, "I have been unable to ascertain at what period, by what authority and under what particular circumstances the first Encampment was established in our country," and after the lapse of more than thirty years, in which many diligent explorers have been engaged, they neither furnish the facts nor aid us in the general search for the local habitations of our Templar Fathers. The questions—Whence did they come? and Where were the first Encampments organized?—are still unsolved. Prior to 1797 there were no Knight Templar associations authorized to grant warrants for Encampments." Sir Knight Robert Macoy remarks that "Sir Knights anywhere in the United States could and probably did meet and increase their numbers or dignify their worthy companies by the authority of inherent rights, keeping few and probably no records. We are certain that those who lived and labored in the days referred to have passed to their final rest and have left few traces behind." And yet the few traces they have left did not confirm the position assumed by Sir Knight Macoy, but

rather go to prove that the Sir Knights made in those days were made in Lodges or Chapters working under Lodge warrants, except possibly in a few instances, where the degree of Knight Templar was conferred by officers of some of the bodies of the ancient and accepted Scotch Rite.

Inasmuch as there are reasonable doubts as to which State is entitled to priority in the introduction of the Rite, Sir Knight Macoy puts in a claim for New York for the honor of priority and original sovereignty, with jurisdiction belonging thereto, as being as legitimate as any jurisdiction in the United States, the claims of others to the contrary notwithstanding. Since the publication of this statement by Sir Knight Robert Macoy, the South Carolina Diploma and seal have been discovered and have settled the question of priority, up to this date. In his effort to establish priority for New York, he brings together some interesting Templar facts, and supports his statement that Templary existed in the City of New York previous to 1785 by quotations from old newspapers published in that City in those days, verified by reference to the reprint of the Grand Lodge proceedings and the early history and transactions of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the State of New York, 1781 to 1815, published by authority of the Grand Lodge in 1876. In the minute of proceedings December 21st, 1785, the Grand Lodge prescribed the order of exercises in a resolution declaring that the order of procession on St. John's Day next be as follows—two Tylers with drawn swords, music, Knights Templars with swords, etc., and then goes on to include officers and members of Lodges, of Grand Lodges, clergymen invited, and closed with Knights Templars properly clothed, drawn swords, etc. Sir Knight Macoy found a copy of the "Independent Journal," published in New York December 28th, 1785, which records quite lengthily the proceedings of the anniversary of St. John the Evangelist, which was celebrated with most respectful deference and splendor by the brethren of their Lodge of the ancient and truly honorable society of Free and Accepted Masons in this State, and by great numbers of "very respectful gentlemen from several European governments." The procession moved through the principal streets, and was sketched in the paper which gave the same programme or form of procession as was provided by the Grand Lodge; and then goes on to state, that whilst the members of the fraternity celebrated the natal days of their patron saints, Sir Knights as a body seldom appeared in public. In 1789, being the anniversary of the festival of St. John the Baptist, the Grand Lodge had another procession and sermon. In this procession the Knights Templar led, and Brother Macoy finds in the New York "Daily Gazette" of June 25th, 1789, an editorial notice which, after going on to describe a portion of the procession, includes Knights Templars; then in commenting upon the spectacle the editor remarks, "This Order, consecrated to benevolence, has on its rolls the most distinguished characters of society, and on this occasion many members of Congress and others of highest distinction were seen in this philanthropic band. The day was spent with that Harmony and Order which ever distinguish the Masonic fraternity." Sir Knight Macoy says: "We refer to what was known as Old Encampment, Grand Encampment, and sometimes as Morton's Encampment, of which Gen. Jacob Morton was for many years Grand Master. The date and circumstances under which this Grand Encampment was established are not definitely known. The general belief is that this was the body of Knights Templars that participated in the celebrations of St. John's Day, December 27th, 1785, June 24, 1789, and again in 1795. The first published list of this Commandery appeared in 1796, when Jacob Morton was Grand Master. The body contin-

ued to hold stated meetings until 1810, when it disappeared. Gen. Jacob Morton was admitted an honorary member of the Grand Encampment of the State in 1815.

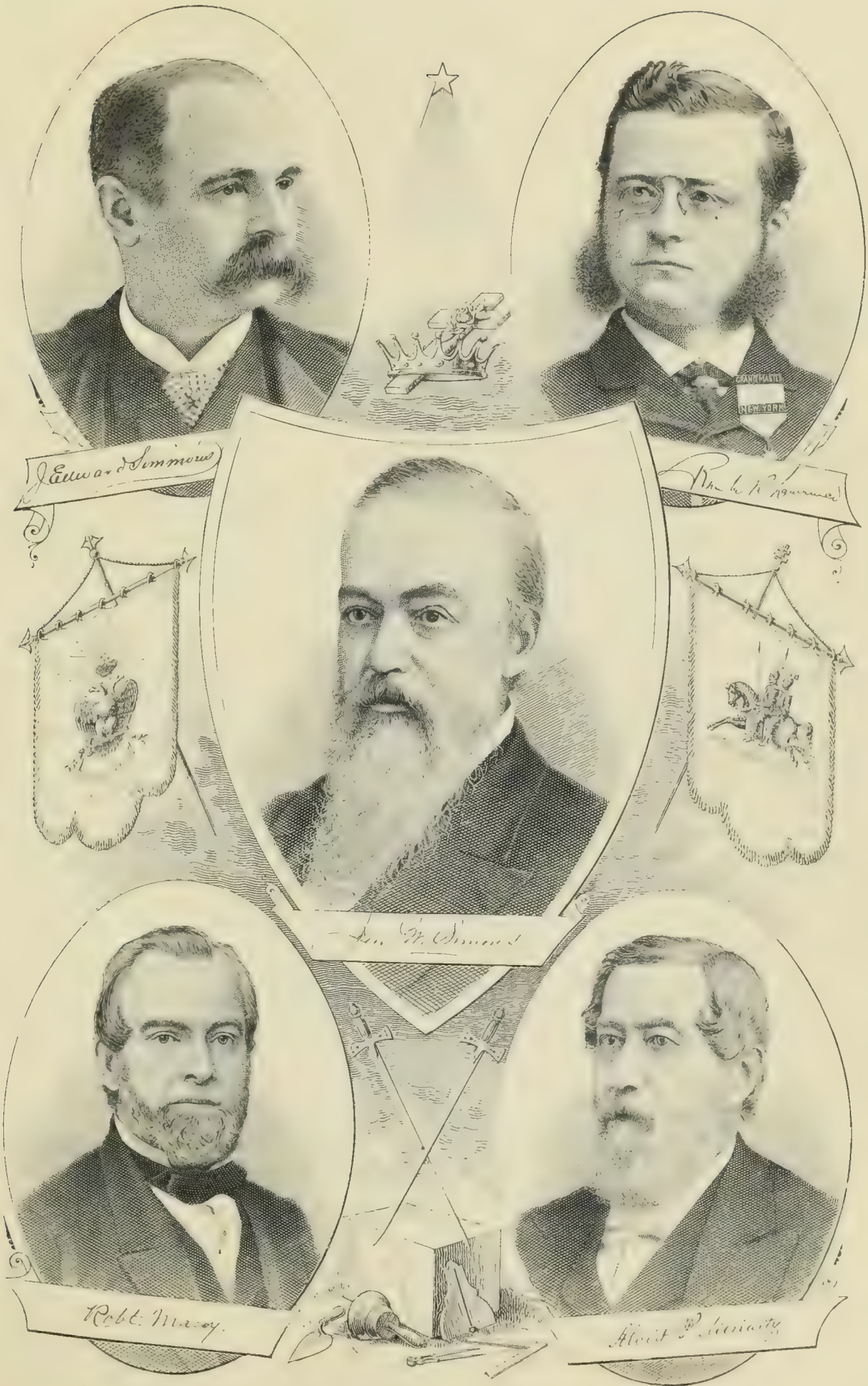
Referring to the transactions of the Grand Lodge, we find that in 1799 it held an extra meeting, December 30th, for the purpose of observing the solemn funeral rites in commemoration of our illustrious brother George Washington, with a procession, etc. The order of the Procession is given in full, filling two pages in it. We find, again, first, Knight Templars in the form as directed by their presiding officer, then the Lodges of the City, etc. Sir Knight Macoy seems to have overlooked this, as no doubt he would have found numerous references to this procession in connection with so memorable an occasion in the City papers of that date. The only other order of procession given in the proceedings was that at an emergent session held September 1st, 1814, being the day assigned by the committee of defense for receiving the services of the craft on the fortifications, at Brooklyn, pursuant to a resolution passed on the 22nd ult. It will be remembered that the United States was at that time engaged in war with Great Britain, and the citizens of New York were anticipating an invasion by the enemy. The Grand Lodge, accompanied by the brethren of the City Lodges, proceeded in procession to the fortifications, where, having been joined at Brooklyn by the brothers of the Lodges of that City, they labored diligently through the day upon the fortifications and returned in like order to the City Hall in the evening. In this order of procession we find no reference whatever to Knights Templar. Prior to the organization of the Grand Encampment of New York, there were existing within the State numerous Encampments of Knights Templars, self-created bodies, as we learn from the address delivered before the Grand Encampment upon its organization. We shall see when we come to the subject of the organization of this Grand Body that there were no Encampments represented in its creation. The proceedings of the Grand Encampment are entirely silent as to the existence of any such Encampments. Sir Knight Macoy, in his history of the Order in the State of New York, says but little on this subject. The little light that has been obtained in regard to the establishment of these bodies has been gleaned from the City Directories of New York.

Previous to 1799 a Body of Knights Templars, known as St. Peter's Encampment, flourished in the City of New York; the source of its authority Sir Knight Macoy was unable to ascertain, except that it was an offshoot from several of the self-constituted bodies that then existed in the City. Several self-constituted Masonic bodies are in existence there now, as they have been more or less for nearly a century past. The officers of St. Peters Encampment in 1799 are named in the directory of that year, when John West was Grand Master, and in the succeeding years the same Sir Knights were continued in office. When this Commandery ceased to exist cannot now be ascertained. Webb, in his "Monitor" of 1802, speaks of Jerusalem Encampment in New York City. This Encampment is not mentioned in any of the directories of that year, which leads Sir Knight Macoy to infer that Jerusalem and St. Peters Encampment were one and the same body. The history of Rising Sun Encampment is much more full and complete. It will be noted that this was one of the Encampments which united with those in Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore, in organizing the second Grand Encampment of Pennsylvania, February 16, 1814, four months prior to the organization of the Grand Encampment of New York. In Creigh's history of the Knights Templars of Pennsylvania we find a very full report of this Encampment, to and including the year 1817, when, according to this

writer, it became merged or transformed into Columbia Commandery. "Very much of a contradictory character has been written of the origin, progress and death of this Commandery, which seems, however, to be living under the name of Columbian Encampment of to-day." The correctness, however, of this statement is denied by Sir Knight Macoy, who states that Columbian Encampment No. 1 on the New York roster was organized in 1810, and which probably a number of the Knights of Rising Sun Encampment constituted, and that for several years the two Encampments had a coexistence, when, in 1817, Rising Sun Encampment passed away, never having been recognized by the Grand Encampment of New York. It was, however, as we have stated, represented in the convention which formed the Grand Encampment of Pennsylvania, and received from it a charter of recognition May 18th, 1814. Its first officers under this charter were James McDonald, M.E.H.P., Wm. B. Hatfield, E.G. Master, Wm. Cowen, Capt. Gen. At the session of May, 1817, of the Grand Encampment of Pennsylvania, this Encampment was for the last time represented by Samuel Maberick, its E.G. Master.

Columbian Encampment, No. 1, also lost its early records by fire; its origin, therefore, cannot be satisfactorily traced. The first record we have of it is dated in 1810, as appears from its old seal. February 4th, 1816, it received a warrant from the Grand Encampment, in which Thomas Lowndes was named as the first Grand Master. In 1824, this Encampment united with Morton Encampment No. 4, and created the Marquis De Lafayette, who was the Nation's guest, a Knight Templar in full form. This Encampment continues still in existence.

Temple Encampment No. 2 was stationed at Albany. Like most other Encampments, its early records are lost. It is known, however, that it existed as early as 1796, the year Thomas Smith Webb visited that City, but whether he had any part in its organization is not known; indeed it is not presumed that he did, as it is a question whether he was even then a Knight Templar. All that we know of him in this regard is, that he was made a Knight Templar in Philadelphia prior to the year 1802. In the City of Albany, in the year 1797, he issued the first edition of his famous "Freemasons' Monitor, or Illustrations of Masonry," in which he gives a list of Encampments of Knights Templar, naming Grand Encampment, Philadelphia; Encampment No. 1, Encampment No. 2, both of the same City; No. 3 Harrisburg, Penn.; No. 4 Carlyle, ditto, and a Grand Encampment at Stillwater, New York; also one in the City of New York; which brief statement is all that he presents on the subject of Encampments at that period. By what authority Temple No. 2 was established, and who were its first officers, we have no knowledge. It is the opinion of Sir Knight Macoy that, like other Templar bodies existing at an early date in New York, it was organized by the self-creating process then in vogue, and to which reference was made by the Grand Orator at the organization of the Grand Encampment of New York. It continued as an independent body till 1823, when it petitioned for and received a warrant from the Grand Encampment of New York, under the title of Temple Encampment No. 2. In our extract from the proceedings of the Grand Lodge of New York, at an emergent meeting held in 1799, for the purpose of uniting in the funeral services had in memory of the late President, Gen. George Washington, it appeared that the Knights Templars took a prominent part; and on reference to the "Commercial Advertiser" of New York, under the date of December 30th, 1799, we find this order,—"Knights Templar are requested to attend to-morrow morning at ten o'clock in the French Church, Pine St.,



PROMINENT FREEMASONS OF NEW YORK STATE.

JOHN W. SIMONS, 33°, P .·. G .·. MASTER OF THE GRAND LODGE.
J. EDWARD SIMMONS, 33°, P .·. G .·. MASTER OF THE GRAND LODGE. FRANK R. LAWRENCE, 33°, P .·. G .·. MASTER OF THE GRAND LODGE. ROBERT MACOY, 33°, P .·. GRAND COM .·. AND GRAND REC .·. OF K .·. T .·. NEW YORK.
ALBERT P. MORIARTY, 33°, ASSISTANT G .·. SEC'Y .·. GEN ,·. FOR THE N .·. M ,·. J .·. U, S. A.

in full dress, with crepe around the arm, sword in hand, to join in the funeral services in honor of the memory of our late worthy Grand Master Lieut. Gen. George Washington, by order of Sir J.M., and, underneath G.M., 'attested by Wm. Richardson, Scribe, December 30th, 1799.'" The J.M. here evidently stands for James McDonald, who was a prominent and probably the chief officer for that year. Brother Creigh asks the question —"Was Gen. Washington a K.T.? If so, where did he receive his degrees? The notice gives him the position of having been a Grand Master of the Commandery." Gen. Washington was not a Knight Templar, nor was he a Grand Master of Masons, inasmuch as there was not then and never had been a General Grand Lodge of Masons. An effort had been made to organize such a national body, and Gen. Washington's name had been proposed in connection with it as its chief officer; and the celebrated ode on Masonry was quoted by Sir Knight Creigh in his history to prove, from its being dedicated to Col. Proctor as K.T., that he was a Knight Templar. In the body of the poem the following occurs: "Washington our Father and our friend, whose fame had resounded over the land as our Master Grand." Knowing that he was not a Grand Master, it only shows the liberty which poets take with historical facts.

The Grand Encampment of Knight Templars and appendant Orders for the State of New York was "regularly constituted by the Sov. Grand Consistory of the chiefs of exalted Masonry for the United States of America, its territories and dependencies, sitting in New York." This sovereign Grand Consistory of the ancient Scottish Rite of Herodom was established at New York for the United States of America, its territories and dependencies, in the month of October, 1807, by Joseph Cerneau, and is known in history as the Cerneau body. The recognition, however, of the constitution of an Encampment of Knights Templar by a body of the Scotch Rite has never been conceded by other Templars or claimed by Scotch Rite Masons, and its constitution can only be justified by the lapse of years, the law of prescription, or the common consent of all Templar Bodies. There was existing in the City of New York at that date, as we also learn from Folger's history, another association of Scotch Rite Masons organized by Emanuel De La Motta. He denied the legality of the establishment of the Grand Encampment, under the sanction of what he styled "Mr. Cerneau's Grand Association." "It is another proof," De La Motta says, "of their title, one of reflection and information, being in the most pointed and positive opposition with the sacred engagements of Kadosch and incompatible with that degree." According to the common law of Masonry then existing and now prevailing, the Grand Encampment of Knights Templar could only have been organized by sovereign Encampments of such, and there were then existing at least three in that jurisdiction, neither of which, nor any other, had any part or lot in its organization, nor did any of them for some time after come under its jurisdiction. To resume the history from the published proceedings, we learn that on the 18th of the fourth month, A.L. 5814, answering to June, A.D. 1814, and the foundation of the Order of Knights Templar the 695th year, a number of Sir Knights being, agreeably to notice, assembled at the place assigned for their deliberations, this Grand Encampment was opened with all due form and becoming solemnity, Brother Jonathan Schieffelin officiating as T.D. Grand Master, James B. Durand as S.W., and Toussaint Midy as J.W. The Sir Knights referred to here as having assembled pursuant to that notice were, inasmuch as they were all members of the Sovereign Grand Consistory, only Knights of Kadosch and not Knights Templar, although the Rituals of the two degrees were no doubt similar, yet con-

ferred under two distinct organizations, one recognized as belonging to the Scotch Rite and the other the York Rite of Masons. The object of this meeting was for the purpose of reading the report of the committee appointed to draft constitutional laws. The Grand Orator, Brother Elias Hickes, took occasion to deliver a short but animated address in which he gave a historical sketch of the foundation of the order of Knights Templar in a style calculated, says the record, to incite the liveliest interest, which was manifested by reiterated applause; and in order at the same time to perpetuate the motives that led to the establishment of this Grand Encampment as the groundwork of future operations, he gave the following concise account of the proceedings of the ceremonial that took place at this formation by the Sov. Grand Consistory; "The Chiefs of Exalted Masonry for the United States of America, her territories and dependencies, at their asylum, held in the City of New York on the 22nd of the month Sebath of the Hebrew year 7818, corresponding with the eleventh month A.L. 5818, January, A.D. 1814, and of the foundation of our Order 694 years, and at which most if not all the members here present assisted. The numerous Encampments of Knights Templars," said he, "now existing within this State being self-created bodies, are consequently governed by their own private and individual laws, acknowledging no superior authority, because in fact none heretofore existed." It would have been well had the Grand Orator informed the public how the body he himself represented was created, and the authority under the constitutions of the Body of Scottish Rite Masons at that period of its history. It seems to us passing strange at this day that while numerous Encampments of Knight Templars existed in New York, none of them should have engaged or taken part in the organization of a Grand Encampment of Knights Templars,—on the contrary that it should have been created by a small body of Masons of another Rite. These officers were accordingly installed into their respective offices, and the establishment of the Grand Encampment of Knights Templar and appendant Orders for the state of New York was next proclaimed in ample form. This record shows that in the choosing of the Grand Officers they were taken for this time only from among its own members. De La Motta, whom we have before quoted, in his replication proceeds to say that, "To perceive names mentioned in their celebrated tableau (officers of the Grand Encampment) as possessing the grade of Kadosch designated as Grand Officers in that Grand Encampment, is a thing so incompatible with the degree of Kadosch that every true and lawful brother arriving at that degree must shudder at their improper conduct." It seems that the same set of officers presided over the two bodies, the parent Sov. Grand Consistory and its daughter the Grand Encampment. In the former the members are styled Knights of Kadosch, in the latter the same officers are called Knights Templars. The committee appointed at a previous meeting of the Sovereign Grand Consistory laid upon the Grand Recorder's desk their project of a constitution, consisting of three articles, after which the whole was debated upon section by section and agreed to, but the final adoption of the constitution postponed in consequence of the absence of several members to a meeting to be held on the 25th inst. There appearing no further business to be disposed of, the Grand Encampment was closed in the usual form and manner, we presume of Grand Consistories of the Scotch Rite, inasmuch as there could have been no form or manner previously prescribed for Grand Encampments of Knights Templar. An examination of the records as published of this Grand Encampment shows that DeWitt Clinton, its first T.I. Grand Master, who was re-elected annually, was never present at one of its conclaves until the year 1826, at which he is recorded as present, when he was again re-

elected, as he was the succeeding year on June 27th. At a special conclave held the 20th of February, 1828, the Deputy Grand Master announced his death, when he, Sir Knight W. F. Piatt, was elected his successor in June of the same year, and he delivered a very interesting address commemorative of the death of their late illustrious brother DeWitt Clinton, who for many years had presided over the deliberations of this Grand Encampment. So read the records, although they do not show him as ever having presided save at the one conclave of 26. The records nowhere prior to December 24th show the presence of any subordinate Encampment. At this annual conclave, Columbian Encampment No. 1, Utica No. 3, Morton No. 4, La Fayette No. 7, are reported as present or represented by their proxies. The minutes of the said conclave, called in June, 1816, for the purpose of considering the propriety of sending a delegate to the convention to be held in Philadelphia, show that Sir Knight Thomas Lowndes was appointed such delegate. The minute of the annual conclave on the 29th of the same month shows that a warrant was issued for an Encampment of Knights Templars and appendant Orders sitting at New Orleans, whereof Sir Denis Richard Deschanet Dissesart was illustrious Grand Master, and the Grand Recorder was instructed to correspond with Sir Knight Thos. Smith Webb, Deputy General Grand Master, resident at Boston, requesting that this Grand Encampment may be favored with copies of the constitution of the General Grand Encampment of the United States, for the purpose of so modifying the constitution of this Grand Encampment that it may conform thereto. A new constitution was accordingly framed, when the Grand Encampment of New York became a constituent body of the General Grand Encampment of the United States. The Grand Recorder, at a special conclave held in June, 1821, was directed to transmit copies of the constitution to Columbian Encampment No. 5, Indivisible Encampment No. 6 at New Orleans, and to each of the Encampments at Albany and Stillwater in the State of New York, which would imply at least that these Encampments had come under its jurisdiction. In the minutes of 1823 Morton Encampment No. 4 was created, and this record duly made, "It being stated that at the formation of this Grand Encampment Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 of subordinate Encampments were left unemployed and held in reserve, for certain connections previously established under the old system, provided they should cause petitions to be duly presented therefor. No. 2 has been the only one applied for and granted to Temple Encampment at Albany. The rest, Nos. 1, 3 and 4, remain unemployed; and in order that there may not exist any irregularity in the classification of subordinate Encampments hereafter, it was resolved that Nos. 1, 3 and 4 may not, as a matter of right, be claimed by any sovereign Encampment after the regular sitting of this Grand Encampment in December next, and that those Encampments for which they were held in reserve shall after that day forfeit all right thereto, unless sooner applied for in a constitutional manner.

Maryland, 1790.

Our investigation in the early history of Templarism in this jurisdiction is materially lightened by the labors and researches of Sir Knight Edward T. Schultz, whose valuable History of Freemasonry in Maryland contains a very interesting sketch of Maryland Commandery No. 1.

At the very outset, however, we are met with a very discouraging remark. After quoting from Mackey's Encyclopedia that the English Masonic Templars are most probably derived from the body called the Baldwin Encampment, he adds, "Brother Mackey does not in-

form us in what manner the Templars of the United States were derived from the Baldwin Encampment, and much less does he trace the connection between the Templars of England to that Encampment, nor does he or any of the many writers upon the subject of American Templarism inform us at what period, by what authority or under what peculiar circumstances the Encampments were first established in this country." During his investigation into the origin of Maryland Encampment No. 1, he was fortunate in obtaining documents which clearly established the date of its organization, and many interesting facts in reference to its early history, but he did not succeed in obtaining any authentic information in regard to the source whence it emanated, and consequently he had nothing but theories to offer in regard to that important subject. Upon the organization of the second Grand Encampment in Pennsylvania in 1814, Maryland Encampment No. 1, on the 20th of that month, at St. John's Lodge Room, passed a resolution asking of the Grand Encampment of Pennsylvania a charter of recognition. We present the full text of the corresponding officer's letter on the subject:

GEORGE A. BAKER, ESQ.

DEAR SIR,—Agreeable to a resolution entered into at a meeting of our Encampment held this evening, April 20th, 1814, at St. John's Lodge Room, I have the honor to enclose to you ten dollars, five of which is to satisfy the claim of the Grand Encampment for a Charter of Recognition, and the balance to go into a fund to provide for the needful expenses of said Grand Encampment hereafter.

I am induced to state that this Encampment insists in receiving its number and rank according to the date of its institution, the complete organization of which took place in the year 1790.

You will please fill the warrant as follows: Philip P. Eckel, Grand Master; Peter Galt, Generalissimo; Adam Denmead, Captain General. I also enclose you a copy of our certificate, with list of members.

I have the honor to be,
With respect,
Your obedient servant,
ARCHIBALD DOBBIN.

Agreeably to the foregoing request a charter of recognition was issued by the Grand Encampment of Pennsylvania to Maryland Commandery No. 1, which original charter is carefully preserved in the archives of that old Encampment, bearing date May 2nd, 1814, signed Wm. McCorkle, General Grand Master, attest, Geo. A. Baker, Grand Recorder.[1] The officers named in this warrant or charter of recognition are the same as those named in the foregoing letter.

As the Grand Encampment of Pennsylvania recognized the right of Maryland Encampment to its old number, 1, it was equivalent to an acknowledgment that it was entitled to

[1] COPY OF CHARTER. We, the Most Eminent Sir William McCorkle, General Grand Master of the "Pennsylvania Grand Encampment of Knight Templars, and the appendant Orders."

To all whom it may concern:

Greeting.

Whereas by the Constitution of the said Pennsylvania Grand Encampment of Knight Templars and the appendant Orders, it is provided that the several Encampments which were represented in the Grand Convention at the establishing the said Grand Encampment should be furnished with Charters of Recognition, etc. As by the said Constitution reference being thereunto had will fully appear.

And whereas an Encampment of Knight Templars, held at the City of Baltimore in the State of Maryland, was represented in the said Convention, and by their petition they have prayed US to grant them a charter of Recognition conformably to the said Constitution. Now know Ye, that WE, the Most Eminent Sir William McCorkle, General Grand Master aforesaid, in virtue of the Powers and Authorities in US Vested, Do by these Presents Recognize Sir Knights Philip P. Eckel, Grand Master, Peter Galt, Generalissimo, and Adam Denmead, Captain-General, and the other Officers and present Members of the said Encampment as a legal Encampment under the Jurisdiction of our said Grand Encampment, to be

it because of its complete organization as an Encampment in 1790. That Encampment, located in Baltimore City, has had a continued existence to the present date. In the history referred to we find a fac-simile of a Templar diploma issued by this Encampment to brother and companion Sir Edward Brynan, stating that he had been dubbed and admitted as a Knight Templar and a Knight of Malta. No reference is therein made to the Order of the Red Cross. This diploma is dated at Baltimore, January 16, 1782, and shows upon its face that the Encampment was attached to Washington Lodge No. 3, a confirmation of the fact everywhere patent at that time that the Royal Arch Chapters and Encampments of Knights Templars were held under warrants of Master Masons Lodges. It is to be regretted that the early records of this Lodge were destroyed at the time the British troops burned the town of Havre De Grace in the war of 1812, which renders it impossible to obtain any information regarding this and other Encampments existing at that period in Maryland. The seal attached to this diploma is enclosed within a triangle, the passion cross in the upper angle, with the skull and cross bones underneath, the outer circle Knight Templars, Maryland, Baltimore, and is signed Philip P. Eckel, H.P., John Nelson, G.M.; David Gedds, C.G.; John Ogston, Recorder. A similar diploma was issued to Philip P. Eckel May 18th, 1812, having the impression of the same seal attached. In 1814 a new seal was made, differing from the former one in the lettering, having upon it Encampment of Knights Templar No. 1, Baltimore.

Sir Knight Schultz remarks that, "A number of Diplomas, seals, etc., have of late years been brought to light, showing that the Orders of Masonic Knighthood were conferred at very early periods in this country, but the source from whence they emanated, or under what authority the early Encampments were established, is involved in the greatest obscurity, inasmuch as the most valuable testimony thus far brought to light in regard to the origin of one, if not the earliest, Encampment established in this country, is presented in one of these diplomas." We propose to make reference to some others as possibly tending to show, if not the origin, at least the fact that the authority for this Encampment came from the old country. Sir Knight Macoy, in his interesting sketch of the history of Knights Templar in New York, presents this theory on this subject: "that a few Sir Knights having received the Order in England, Scotland or Ireland, and having emigrated to this country, met together as they became known to each other by appointment in a secluded place in New York and other parts of the country, and after testing each other by the best evidence in their possession, organized themselves into Encampments or Conclaves, and assumed control of territorial jurisdictions,

held in the City of Baltimore in the State of Maryland, and to be called and known by the name of "Encampment of Knight Templars No. 1, Maryland" held at Baltimore, with full and adequate powers to confer the Orders of Knights of Malta and Knights of the Red Cross, with continuance to their Successors in Office, and Members for Ever. PROVIDED, NEVERTHELESS, that the said Sir Knights Philip P. Eckel, Grand Master, Peter Galt, Generalissimo, and Adam Denmead, Captain-General, and the other Officers and their Successors and Members, pay due respect to Our said Grand Encampment and the Regulations thereof, otherwise this Charter of Recognition to be of no Force or Effect.

Given under Our Hand and the Seal of our Grand Encampment at the City of Philadelphia, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, this Second Day of May, in the Year of Our LORD, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Fourteen, and of Our ORDER, Six and Ninety-Six.

[SEAL] WM. MCCORKLE,
General Grand Master.

Attest:
George A. Baker,
Grand Recorder.

Recorded in Book of Records of Charters, Folio 29, &c.
GEORGE A. BAKER.
Grand Recorder

conferred the Orders, elected officers, issued diplomas, etc. For the present, and until something more reliable than any statement yet presented can be accepted, we can offer nothing better as authentic history for the introduction of the Order of Knights Templars upon this continent." Sir Knight Schultz adds that, "After a careful examination of what has been said by numerous writers upon this subject, we are inclined to think that the theory of Brother Macoy is the most worthy of acceptance." In every instance in which there is a mention of the Templar degree being conferred in this country prior to the year 1800, it is in connection with the Master Mason's Lodge, or a Chapter working under a Lodge warrant. To our mind this last statement, which is undoubtedly true, completely upsets Sir Knight Macoy's theory, to which Sir Knight Schultz gives in his adhesion. The statements referred to by Sir Knight Macoy and the old diplomas, seals, etc., all go to show that the Knight Templar degree was conferred in and under the sanction of a warrant of a Lodge even many years later than the period assigned for their independent existence by Sir Knight Macoy, Schultz and others,—to wit 1800.

The Grand Lodge of Iowa is the possessor, through the purchase of the Bower collection, of a large number of old diplomas, seals, etc., some of which bear directly upon this subject, and to which we will make a proper reference.

The earliest reference to the issuance of diplomas by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, as we learn from Dr. Murray Lyon's History, was in 1768, at which time the Grand Lodge, upon the suggestion of Joseph Gavin, Master of Mary's Chapel, which was a Lodge composed of both the operative and speculative element, adopted the practice of issuing diplomas. The Atholl Grand Lodge of England, however, as early as 1755, ordered that certificates granted to brothers be sealed with the seal of Masonry and signed by the Grand Secretary. We have before us one of these documents signed James Haseltine, Grand Secretary, issued at London, April 11th, 1780. No reference is made in this document to either Royal Arch or Templar Masonry. One issued the 7th of September, 1797, by the H.P., R.A.C., G.M., D.G.M., under the sanction of Lodge No. 828 at Drumguin, in the county of Tyrone, on the registry of Ireland, certifies that Brother Edward Kinchella had been duly initiated into the Sublime Secrets and Mysteries of Royal Excellent, Super-excellent Masonry, and is issued under the hand and seal of our Royal Encampment, from which it appears that there was an Encampment in connection with this Lodge and working under its warrant. The seal is so obliterated that we are unable to decipher it. We have another issued on the 7th day of March same year, 1797, to the same brother, certifying that he is a regular Master Mason in the Lodge. These two diplomas are signed by the same individuals. The signatures to the Lodge diploma are John O. Hull, M., John Ralston, S.W., James Wiley, J.W., Bryan Kelley, Secretary. To the Encampment diploma there is an additional name, Nilston Barton, who has the letters D.G.M. attached to his name, while the initial letters following the other three are 2 S., H.P., R.A.C., G.M. These two diplomas show that the old Lodge on the registry of Ireland in 1797, while officered by the same individuals, worked in different degrees and issued diplomas certifying the degree which the candidate had received. Another issued by St. Mungo Lodge, No. 28, Glasgow, on the registry of Scotland, reads that the High Priest, Captain General and Grand Master of the Grand Royal Arch, Super-excellent Encampment, etc., grant to Brother Wm. Williams, certifying that he is regularly entered an apprentice, passed fellow craft and raised Master Mason in said Lodge, and for his good character and behavior has had conferred upon him the honor of passing the chair

and consequently the Royal Arch, Excellent and Super-excellent Mason, and as such is commended to the Illustrious Orders round the Globe. A blue and a scarlet ribbon are attached to this diploma, on which is an impression in wax of the seal of a Chapter. We have another issued in 1800 from the same City, Glasgow, under the sanction of a warrant of Lodge No. 611, which, however, recites that it is issued as a Grand Chapter; the words Encampment and Orders do not appear in this diploma. Another issued March 4th, 1800, under the seal of Unity Lodge, No. 137, at Plymouth, England, which certifies only to the bearer having received the sublime degree of M.M. in our Lodge. In addition to these there is in the collection a large number issued during the years ranging from 1800 to 1816, the date of the organization of the Grand Encampment of Knights Templars of the United States. It is quite curious to note the differences in the phraseology of these instruments. Some commence with—"The undersigned Master, etc., of the Lodge;" others with—"The High Priest, etc., of the Chapter, holding under the sanction of the Lodge No. —"; others with—"The High Priest, Captain General and Grand Master of the Grand Royal Arch, Excellent, Super excellent Encampment, held under the sanction of Lodge No.— on the registry of —;" some are given "Under our hands and the seal of the Lodge;" others, "In testimony whereof we have hereunto our hands with the triangular seal of our Encampment;" some have a single seal, that of the Lodge; others have two, either the seal of the Lodge and the Chapter, or of the Chapter and the Encampment, and yet all belonging to one and the same body and signed by the same set of officers, with different official rank attached thereto, showing plainly that the Chapters and Encampments, as late at least as 1814, worked under the sanction of Lodge warrants, conferred the Royal Arch, the Knight Templar and Knight of Malta degrees. In none of them do we find any recognition of the degree of the Red Cross Knight, and in some the degree or reference thereto of Malta is omitted. There are two others, one issued as early probably—though we cannot determine—as 1805, another in 1811, by bodies working under the authority of the Grand Lodge of Ireland. We have heretofore expressed our opinion that the Knight Templars degree was introduced into this country at Boston by a military Lodge holding a warrant under the sanction of the Grand Lodge of Ireland; therefore these two diplomas possess no little interest. One is engraved and upon parchment, having at the top two flying angels, one on the right blowing a trumpet, the one on the left holding in her hand a scroll inscribed "Glory to God in the highest;" in the centre is a seven-pointed star with a circle, in the outer rim of which is inscribed "In hoc signo vinces," with the passion cross within the inner circle; at the base a serpent, skull and cross bones; suspended to this is a triangle with inscriptions upon it "Mors aut victoria;" the caption reads "In the name of the Holy Undivided Trinity, the three Persons and one God, Amen," commencing with—"The Grand Master, D.G. Master, Captain General, G.M., D.G.M., S.B., etc., of the Magnanimous and Invincible Order of High Knights Templars dedicated to Moses and King Solomon in the Ancient and Sacred Law, and to the Faithful Soldiers of St. John of Jerusalem in the Gospel Dispensation." Its attestation reads—"In testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hands with the triangular seal of our Encampment," the official titles attached to which are G.M. and Grand Secretary. Numerous engravings surround this diploma on either side and at the bottom. The seal is a well-executed impression in black wax attached to a black ribbon, and inscribed on the one side "High Knights" and on the other "Templars Encampments;" at the bottom, Dublin; within the triangle No. 1, a triangle with lights; skull and cross bones at the

right, sun at the left; and the cross and the serpent at the top. The diplomas issued later than 1800 all bear inscription in some form or other recognizing the Trinity of the Godhead. Sir Knight Carson, in his report to the Grand Conclave of Ohio for '86, remarks that, "The second section of the code of By-laws adopted by the Grand Encampment of Knights Templar of Pennsylvania in 1814, for the government of the Grand and subordinate bodies, had in it the following:—'As the institution of the Most Illustrious Order of Knights Templars acknowledges revealed religion and positively inculcates the devout worship of Almighty God, being the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity, three in one and one in three, Father, Son and Holy Spirit,' which words, he says, need no notes to explain their language, and this was two years before the organization of the Grand Encampment of the United States."

Illustrative of the position we have assumed, that all Masonic bodies trace their origin directly to Lodges and Grand Lodges, we have an original Charter issued by the Grand Lodge or probably provincial Grand Lodge of Lancashire, England, dated May 12th, 1769, authorizing the parties therein named to work as a Chapter. This document is signed Blaney, who was Grand Master, during the years immediately preceding the date of this document. It is also signed by John Allen, who was Provincial Grand Master for the Province of Lancashire, and to it is also appended the name of James Heseltine, who was later, in 1780, Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of England. If Grand and Provincial Grand Lodges issued warrants to the members of the Lodges to open and work as a Chapter, there can be but little doubt that at about the same time they issued similar warrants authorizing their Lodges to confer the degrees of Knight Templar and Knight of Malta.

As coins and medals in later years become possessed of great value in construing the political history of countries in earlier years, so do we regard these old diplomas and seals as possessed of great value in determining many of the intricate problems touching the early history of Templarism in this country and in England; and yet after much study and research we find ourselves in many respects almost as ignorant of the facts we sought as when we began.

We have in our library a small pamphlet of twenty-five pages containing the rules, etc., of Grand Encampment No. 3 of the City of Dublin, to which is prefixed a short account of the High Knight Templars, Dublin, 1804. Prefacing the rules we find a series of charges such as are given to officers of our Grand and Subordinate Commanderies at the present date upon their installation, and also to the newly created Templar. Throughout the rules no reference is made to Knights of Malta or the Red Cross Knights; everywhere we find Sir Knight Companion and High Knights Templar. In the introduction, however, allusion is not only made to, but a historical sketch is given of, the Knights of Malta, otherwise called Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, which degree was undoubtedly conferred in the Encampment under the rules prescribed for its action as High Knight Templar.

Under the section prescribing punishment for members who shall act dishonestly, dishonorably, improperly or inconsistent with the rules of this Encampment, is added a further clause,—"or not agreeable to the general principles of Freemasonry," showing the intimate relation then subsisting between modern Templary and Ancient craft Masonry.

We present another old plate as being the oldest with the unmistakable Templary emblems upon it, so far as is now known in America. This plate was designed by the same Brother Hurd, heretofore referred to in 1791, and is still in possession of St Andrews

Chapter, Boston, an impression of which may be found in Brother Chapman's work before quoted. He describes the plate as 16x6½ inches; on either side is a column, the one on the right being surmounted by a king, the one on the left by a scribe (this is like some of the old Irish plates), while others have upon these two columns, instead of the king and scribe, a cock and a lamb. Springing from around these two columns is a flight of seven steps leading to a vault, illuminated by the sun on the top; above are the scythe, pick, spade and coffin; over or beyond these is a triangle surrounded by twelve burning tapers; resting on the apex of the triangle is a cross with a serpent entwined; above is the All Seeing Eye and the Paschal Lamb (these same emblems are also found on some of the old Irish plates); resting upon the abutments beside the steps, on the right, is an altar of incense; on the left a bee-hive; and from the same base rises an arch with the keystone, standing on which is the High Priest; within the triangle are the skull and cross bones, beside other emblems familiar to Knights Templar, Royal Arch Masons and Master Masons; at the bottom, flanked by the bases of the two columns, is a notice or summons to attend a meeting of the Chapter. In that same year, 1791, August 25th, a committee was appointed to prepare the form of certificate to be given to any brother who might apply, and the following form was accepted at the meeting in September:—

"Now, brethren, behold what glory,
And see the people that come from the East!"

"We, the High Priest, First and Second Kings and Scribe of the Royal Arch Chapter held at Boston, and under the sanction of St. Andrew's Lodge No. 82, of the Registry of Scotland—Do hereby certify and attest to all Men enlightened that the bearer hereof, our true, faithful, and well beloved Brother A. B. was by us received as a Master Mason, and as a Mark due to his diligence and Zeal, did on the — day of — in the year of our Lord 1791, exalt him to the degrees of Excellent, Super-excellent and Royal Arch Mason and Knight Templar, worthy to be received as such at all Royal Arch Chapters: And as such we recommend him to all Royal Arch Lodges on the face of the Globe. Given under our hands and the seal of our Royal Arch Lodge in Boston, this — day of —, 1791, And of Royal Arch Masonry 3291, and in the year of Masonry, 5791.

Subsequently, however, and not likely till after the Chapter ceased to confer the Order, the words "And Knight Templar" and "And" in the attesting clause were erased by drawing a pen through them. Compare these with the following one issued in the same year by an Irish Lodge, the other by an Encampment in Philadelphia three years later, when it had become practically independent of the Lodge and assumed the name of Encampment:

"We, the Captain General, etc., etc., of the General Assembly of Knights Templar and Knights of Malta, do hereby certify that A. B. was by us dubbed a Knight of the Most Holy, Invincible and Magnanimous Order of Knights Templar, the true and faithful Soldier of Jesus Christ, as also of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, now Knights of Malta, etc., etc., held at Newry, under the sanction of Lodge 706, on the registry of Ireland, May 11th, 1791.

"We, the Chiefs of the Encampment No. 1, Philadelphia, of the Most Sublime and Ancient Order of Knights Templar, Free and Accepted Masters of Masonry, do hereby certify that our well beloved Brother A. B., is with us a regular registered Knight Templar and Knight of Malta, and that he has valiantly supported and maintained the great principles of our Order, during his stay amongst us, to our great satisfaction. Therefore, we do most heartily recommend him to all the sublime and respectable Encampments in the Universe; hoping they will cheer a pilgrim on his way; and that this certificate may not be of service to any other person we have caused our said Brother to set his name adjacent to the seal Ne Varietur.

"In testimony of which, being assembled, we have delivered unto him this certificate, under our hand and seal of our Encampment, No. 1, Philadelphia, June 24, 1794, at the East End of the Universe, under the azure arch at high noon."

The theory advocated by Brother Schultz as to the source from whence the Order emanated, is based upon the traditions among the old members of the Commandery that the Orders were brought to Baltimore from St. Domingo. To the correctness of that theory he was led to entertain a doubt from the discovery of the diploma of 1802, which indicated that at that time the Encampment was held under the charter of the Master Masons' Lodge. This Encampment was represented in the Grand Convention of Knights Templar convened in Masonic Hall in the city of Philadelphia, February 15th, 1814, for the purpose of forming a Grand Encampment of Knights Templar in Pennsylvania, that jurisdiction belonging thereto, and also over all such Encampments in other States as may agree to come under the jurisdiction of the same. The delegate from this Encampment was Sir Henry A. Keatinge, the author of the "Ahiman Rezon," published by the Grand Lodge of Maryland in 1797, who continued to represent his Encampment in the new Grand Encampment thus organized up to the year 1823. In the following year, 1824, it ceased to exist. "The degree of Knight Templar," Brother Schultz states, "was conferred at an earlier date than the earliest known to have been in Maryland, 1790, but it is not conceded that the proofs offered in support of the claim to priority of date for the formation of either of the Encampments referred to, are equal to those of Maryland No. 1." The proof of this is not quite so clear to our mind, for while the diploma of 1802 recognized the Encampment of Knights Templar, which shows upon its face that it was connected with the Lodge and worked under a Lodge warrant, we have shown elsewhere, in our discussion of the early history of Encampments, that an Encampment existed in Charleston, S. C., as early as 1783, if not 1780, which date is inscribed upon its seal. The earliest document, however, bearing an impression of that seal, is dated in 1783, and this Encampment, like that of Maryland Encampment No. 1, worked under the warrant of a Lodge of Master Masons, and until some evidence can be adduced to show that Maryland Encampment No. 1 threw off its leading strings, established itself as an independent body and cut loose from all entangling alliances with a Lodge of Master Masons, we are as yet without authentic evidence as to which of the early Encampments of that day is entitled to priority of date.

Pennsylvania, 1794.

For most of the historical data tending to lighten up the history of Templar Masonry in the State of Pennsylvania, we are indebted to the history of Knights Templar of the State of Pennsylvania from February 14th, 1794, to November, 1866, by Alfred Creigh, Historiographer of Knights Templar of Pennsylvania. In his annual address to the Grand Commandery in 1858, R. E. Sir Benjamin Parke predicts that "Masonic Knighthood in America was destined to occupy an elevated position," and in that connection he made this suggestion in regard to the history of Knighthood in the United States, expressing a confident belief that when that history shall be written Pennsylvania Knighthood like Pennsylvania Masonry will stand the grandest and the firmest if not the loftiest column of the Nation; and that as Templar Knighthood has at all times in this country been in alliance with Masonry, and for a while in this State was considered to be under its



PROMINENT FREEMASONS OF WESTERN STATES.

GILBERT W. BARNARD, 33°, G ∴ REC ∴ G ∴ COM ∴ K ∴ T ∴ OF ILLINOIS.
T. S. PARVIN, 33° P ∴ G ∴ REC ∴ G ∴ ENCAMP ∴ OF K ∴ T ∴ OF THE U. S. A. A. T. DARRIAH, P ∴ G ∴ M ∴ G ∴ L ∴ OF ILL.
ROBERT C. JORDAN, 33°, K ∴ T ∴ P ∴ G ∴ M ∴ G ∴ LODGE OF NEBRASKA.
CHARLES SPALDING, 33°, K ∴ T ∴ OF TOPEKA, KANSAS.

protection and care, it is most likely that its early history in this State may be clearly traced in the well and carefully kept records of our Grand Lodge, and he asks that application be made to the R. W. Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania for permission to examine her records for that purpose, and to copy therefrom any items of Templar history which may be found therein. Since that date, to wit in 1877, the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania has published Volume 1 of its early history, constitution, minutes and proceedings from 1780 to 1808 inclusive, in a large octavo volume prepared under the direction and personal supervision of Sir Knight Chas. E. Myers, who is himself a Masonic and Templar student, having access to the large and valuable library of his Grand Lodge. He presents a very interesting and valuable sketch of the early history of Freemasonry in Pennsylvania, fully substantiating the claim previously made in behalf of that old jurisdiction of having had established within its borders the first Lodge of Freemasons at Philadelphia in 1730, but we do not find in this introduction any reference to Masonic Knighthood, and after a careful reading of the entire volume, we find but two or three references thereto.

In 1795 the Grand Lodge resolved that it is the acknowledged right of all warranted Lodges, so far as they have ability, to make Masons in the higher degrees; and we learn from the history of that jurisdiction that the Royal Arch degree was first conferred in a Chapter under a Lodge warrant in Philadelphia in 1758, and the degree of Knight Templar as early as 1794. Prior to the year 1786 the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania had been a provincial Grand Lodge, under the jurisdiction of the Atholl Grand Lodge of England. In this year it became a sovereign and independent Grand Lodge under its original charter, granted in 1764. It had vested in it full power and authority to grant warrants and dispensations for holding Lodges, to regulate all matters pertaining to Masonry, and to do and perform all and every other act and thing which could be usually done and performed by other Grand Lodges. Under this and similar warrants the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania and other jurisdictions and their subordinates exercised the prerogative of conferring the higher degrees, as that of Royal Arch Masonry and subsequently Knights Templar.

We learn from the minutes of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania of 1803 that Encampments as well as Chapters met in the Grand Lodge Hall, paying the annual rent of $20 for the privilege. The same year a communication was received by the Grand Lodge from the Sublime Lodge at Charleston, S. C., upon which the committee reported that, "As far as respects the establishment of Lodges for sublime or high degrees your committee are of opinion that the R.W. Grand Lodge has no jurisdiction above Royal Arches." No action was had upon this report, nor could the Grand Lodge have concurred in the views of the committee, as we learn from another communication addressed to it in 1807 by George Green, who applied to the Grand Lodge for the return to him of a certificate which he had received from the Grand Lodge of London, and intrusted to the care of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. In this communication he adds, "Although you disavow taking any cognizance of the proceedings of the society of people called Knights Templar, who meet in one of your rooms, I beg leave to inform you that they imposed upon Masons and drew them into their society under pretense of its being a high degree of Masonry, and that they are sanctioned by a warrant given by you to Lodge No. 9." We do not find that the Grand Lodge took any action upon this communication, and the conclusion seems to be irresistible that the Grand Lodge did by its warrant sanction its Lodges at that

date as it had in previous years to confer the degree of Knights Templar, and it was not until 1857 that the Grand Lodge renounced its authority over the Knight Templar degree.

Inasmuch as the minutes and proceedings of the Grand Lodge are so full and complete during these early years, we are surprised that the data tending to lighten up the history of Templar Masonry in the jurisdiction is so very meagre. Sir Knight Creigh, in the preface to his first volume, says that "The lapse of time, the decease of the Sir Knights who inaugurated the Orders of Knighthood in this State, the destruction of the minutes by fire, and the persecuting spirit of anti-masonry, were the originating causes which led to the destruction of many valuable papers." From MacCalla's "Philadelphia, the Mother City of Freemasonry in America," we learn that a dire calamity occurred to the craft on March 9th, 1819, by which the Masonic Hall was destroyed, together with many valuable Lodge minute books, papers, etc. This is much to be deplored, and yet we have no explanation as to how or why the Grand Lodge minutes should have been preserved while those relating to Templarism were destroyed.

Sir Knight Creigh has been very indefatigable in his efforts to rescue from oblivion much valuable material touching Templar history in Pennsylvania, and it is much to be regretted that he has detracted very much from its interest and value by his gross adulation of his State and the stilted style which so universally abounds throughout his work. "To Pennsylvania and Pennsylvania alone are we indebted," he says, "for the first Grand Encampment which was ever constituted in the United States. She therefore has no competitor for the honor, the glory, and the immortality which is emblazoned upon her Temple history, and the 12th day of May, 1797, when the convention met in Philadelphia and organized the Grand Encampment, should be held as sacred as the 4th of July, 1776." The history received the unqualified endorsement of the Grand Commandery, and its thanks were unanimously voted Sir Knight Creigh for his untiring zeal and the great ability manifested by him in the discharge of his duties as historiographer. This historian, writing at a time prior to the introduction of much valuable evidence touching the early history of Templarism in America, falls into the common error of his predecessors, and avers that the Masonic Knighthood of to-day was the lineal descendant of the Templars of the Crusades, but admits that, "We have no old or authentic documents to show when the present Templary was first formed in England, and look in vain for any authentic relics of Masonic proceedings which show the precise time when the Order of Knight Templar as now recognized in our land placed itself under the authority of the Grand Lodge." To Pennsylvania is due all the honor Brother Creigh claims for her in the establishment of the first Grand Encampment of Knights Templar in 1797, but the historiographer is greatly mistaken when he claims that such organization breathed into American Masonic Knighthood the breath of life. It had existed many years in several of the States at a much earlier date, and even in Pennsylvania as early as 1794. The Grand Body of 1797 was constituted by four subordinates—Philadelphia No. 1, whose warrant dates back February 14, 1795; Philadelphia, No. 2, 1795; Harrisburg, No. 3, 1795; Carlyle, No. 4, 1796. In the first year of the existence of this Encampment it issued to its members certificates printed from a copper-plate engraving 16×20 inches, in which are two columns surmounted by an arch, and on the arch the motto "In hoc signo vinces;" on the keystone of the arch is the Ark with two cherubims, and above all the All Seeing Eye; the top of the left-hand column is surrounded with the sun, trowel, and gage;

on the right column the moon and stars with the square, compass and maul; under the arch are tents and a triangular table with lights thereupon, while seven steps are placed between the two columns. These emblems show conclusively, we think, that the Encampment in connection with the Chapter was working under and by authority of a Lodge warrant, and that it was not until a later period that it stood up as an independent body for itself.

Historiographer Creigh claims that this certificate is another link in the chain of argument to elucidate the fact that the present degree of Knights of the Red Cross never had any connection with the Templar Order and Knights of Malta, but that it is an interpolation unworthy of the high character of the Christian Orders of Knighthood. Sir Knight Creigh died before the diploma or certificate from South Carolina was brought to light, else he would have been surprised to learn from this document that the Red Cross was conferred in an Encampment of Knights Templar as regular as any in Pennsylvania, and more than a decade earlier. There is also a form of certificate in existence issued by the assembly of Knights Templars in Ireland about 1791. We find from this that inasmuch as both certificates from Pennsylvania and Ireland include the degrees only of Knights Templar and Knights of Malta, that either Pennsylvania derived her Knighthood from Ireland or else both from the same source, while the Encampment of South Carolina, having the degree of Red Cross in addition, must have derived its authority from some other source, or else added the degree to the Ritual previously received.

We learn nothing from Brother Creigh's history in regard to the four Encampments constituting the first Grand Encampment of Pennsylvania or of the United States in 1797. His history also is equally silent as to the subsequent proceedings of that Grand body. Not an officer is named, or the proceedings of the convention constituting it given, nor anything whatever of its subsequent history, and we must conclude therefore that its duration was only for a short period.

Encampment No. 1, constituted in 1794, presents the oldest record in the possession of the Grand Commandery of Pennsylvania. Its light has never been extinguished, not even in the persecuting days of anti-masonry although it is true the light shown dimly and its rays were occasionally obscured.

Near the close of his volume Brother Creigh puts in a claim for the earlier introduction of Templarism into the State, that as early as the seventh day of February, 1779, Thomas Proctor received all his Masonic degrees from entered apprentice to Knight Templar in and continued a member of Lodge No. 2 until May 18th, 1779. This Lodge was warranted by the Grand Lodge of Atholl Masons, England, in 1758, bearing upon its register No. 69. Brother Creigh introduced in support of this claim of the earlier introduction of Templarism a poem which was published in the "Ahiman Rezon" in 1782, written by Lieut. Col. John Parke and addressed to Brother, Col. Proctor K.T., who was at the date Master of the Lodge in which he received his degrees, and in which Sir Knight Creigh says he was made a Knight Templar, although he does not refer to any record or produce any authority beyond this poem, the dedication of which to him proves, he says, that he was a Knight Templar. The last line of the fourth verse states that Proctor was Master, while the last line of the third verse declares that Washington was Grand Master. Now the proof of Proctor being a Knight Templar from this poem is of no higher character than is the proof that Washington was Grand Master, as the poet makes him to be. All Masonic history proves the falsity of this plea, and we can deduce from it no

higher evidence in support of the claim that Brother Proctor was made a Knight Templar in that Lodge in 1779. Nowhere else, not even in the second volume, does Brother Creigh refer to this statement, although he recalls a great many other matters thoroughly discussed in the first volume, nor does he state that any other than Col. Proctor was made a Templar in this Lodge between 1779 and 1794, when the old Lodge No. 1 was organized, whose record is the oldest now possessed by the Grand Encampment. In 1812, Encampments Nos. 1 and 2 effected a union, and the first Grand Encampment of 1797 having been dead for some years, a Grand Convention of Knights Templar convened in Philadelphia on the 15th of February, 1814, and organized a second Grand Encampment of Knights Templar in Pennsyvania, with jurisdiction belonging thereto and also over all such Encampments in other States as may be agreed to come under the jurisdiction of the same. In this convention were delegates from Philadelphia Encampment No. 1, from Pittsburg Encampment No. 2, Rising Sun Encampment No. 1, New York City; Washington Encampment No. 1, Wilmington, Delaware; Maryland Encampment No. 1, Baltimore, which was represented by Sir Henry A. Keatinge. The officers of this Body are given in full. At this convention charters of recognition were issued to all of the Encampments represented, including that of Maryland No. 1, Baltimore, of which we have made mention in our reference to the early Templar history of that State. These charters gave full powers to the Encampments to confer the Orders of Knight Templar, Knights of Malta and Knights of the Red Cross, showing that at this date the degree of Red Cross was recognized as valid by the Grand Encampment of Pennsylvania.

In 1824 this second Grand Encampment adjourned, or, as Brother Creigh says, closed its labors, and has never been reopened. The old Encampment No. 1 again sought the protecting ægis of its mother Lodge, in which it again became merged. The General Grand Encampment of the United States took possession of the State of Pennsylvania according to the terms of its constitution, which claimed the right of establishing Encampments in States and territories where no Grand Encampment existed. The Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, however, as we have elsewhere stated, continued to exercise jurisdiction over its original Encampments until after the union of the two rival Encampments, one holding authority under the Grand Encampment of the United States, the other under the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, both established in the same year, 1854. This old Encampment, under its Lodge warrant, continued to meet from 1825 to 1835, when it adjourned and did not re-assemble until 1848, when it revived and became one of the constituents in '54 of one of the rival Grand Encampments of the State. Sir Knight Creigh, however, claims to date Templary from the organization of the first Grand Encampment, and would render it immortal by printing upon all documents issued by the Grand Encampment the written words, "anno equitum ordinis Pennsylvaniæ," instead of the words "anno ordinis," which is a general term and applies to no Order, hence it should be written æop 69 for the year 1867. Other State Commanderies he says date their origin from the constituting of their first Grand Body, and to me it appears reasonable and just that we should do the same. Justice to the founders of our Order, sanctioned by usage, nay, gratitude, demands the immediate action of this Grand Body upon this important question." The Grand Commandery of Pennsylvania gave no heed to his advice, but dated the history of their Encampment or Commandery from 1854, when the third or last Grand Encampment was formed.

In stating that other Grand Commanderies dated their origin from the constituting of

their first Grand Body, Sir Knight Creigh overlooks the fact that no other State had two distinct Grand Commanderies, while Pennsylvania had not less than four. Grand Master Gardner, of the Grand Commandery of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, in his address to that Grand body in May, 1865, after remarking that he was aware that in Pennsylvania there was a Grand Encampment in the earlier part of this century, and that it professed to confer the Order of The Temple, "that Commandery," he says, "faded away." He further remarks, "We have then for our gratification not only the fact, which is now universally conceded, that this Grand Encampment is the oldest Body of Masonic Knighthood upon this continent." This claim of Sir Knight Gardner seems to have roused the ire of the Pennsylvania champion, and he devotes many pages to the refutation of this statement, overlooking his own in reference to the history of the first Grand Encampment. He had stated "How long it continued in existence we have no means of ascertaining," and again —"But when this Grand Body ceased we do not know, but certainly it did cease to exist, and a few years after its organization;" but Grand Master Gardner did not claim that the Grand Encampment of Massachusetts had a prior origin to that of Pennsylvania. His remark that there was a Grand Encampment in the early part of the century is a sufficient proof of the fact, independent of another that the Pennsylvania Grand Encampment was organized in 1797, while that of Massachusetts was not until 1805. When we read the controversy between those two States, so long and bitter in regard to the organization of the first Lodge in America, we are reminded of the dispute between Brutus and Cassius, in which Brutus had understood his friend Cassius to say that he was a better man, when in fact Cassius had only remarked, "I am an older not a better man than you."

In 1865, when Grand Master Gardner delivered his address, it was, as he says, a universally conceded fact that the Grand Encampment of Massachusetts, which has had an uninterrupted existence since 1805, has required at no time any revival to stimulate it into life. Its assemblies have been regularly held, notwithstanding the bitter persecutions of the anti-masons in their day. The Grand Encampment or the Grand Commandery of Pennsylvania was really only eleven years old in 1865, while the Grand Commandery of Massachusetts had reached its sixtieth year. From 1803 or '4 to 1814, and again from 1825 to 1854, two interregnums of thirty years, there was no Grand Encampment in Pennsylvania. On the 13th and 14th days of June, 1816, a convention was held in Philadelphia for the purpose of organizing the Grand Encampment of Knights Templar for the United States of America. At this date there were existing three Grand Encampments, that of Massachusetts, the oldest organized, May 6th, 1805, the Grand Encampment of Pennsylvania, organized February 15th, 1814, and of the State of New York, organized June 18th, 1814.

Sir Knight Thomas Smith Webb, had been knighted in one of the Encampments in Philadelphia, the date of which cannot now be ascertained, but it was, as all writers agree, some time immediately preceding the year 1802. In this convention there was a great diversity of views between the representatives of the Pennsylvania Grand Encampment and those of Massachusetts and New York, styled by Sir Knight Creigh "the New England Delegation," implying that they worked together at least. We will give the causes of difference in behalf of each in their own language: M. W. Sir Thomas Smith Webb communicated to the Grand Encampment over which he presided at Boston the following report —"June 11th, 1816, the Pennsylvania Grand Encampment appointed a committee to report upon the establishment of a General Grand Encamp-

ment, and they gave it as their unanimous opinion that the establishment of a General Grand Encampment for the United States would greatly tend to promote union, order and strength amongst Knights Templars. They appointed Sir Wm. McCorkle, who was its Grand Master; Archibald Hamilton of Wilmington; G.G. Alphonso G. Ireland and Sir Knight Edes, delegates clothed with full powers to carry the same into effect. Creigh says: "Is it not, therefore, false that the Pennsylvania Grand Encampment was averse to the union?" The Pennsylvania delegates met in convention with the Massachusetts and New York Grand Encampments, and in their report they stated that "it was impossible to carry their designs into execution without making a sacrifice upon the part of this Grand Encampment and its subordinate Encampments, which was considered to be unwarranted by every principle of Masonry, which was made a *sine qua non* by the delegates from New England, who having seceded from the convention it was in consequence dissolved." Sir Knight Creigh adds, "We have now given the facts, indisputable facts, that the seceders went to New York, and then and there organized the General Grand Encampment." This is not true, for the entire New England and New York delegations denied the charge "that they, the seceders, went to New York and then and there organized the General Grand Encampment." Creigh continues: "Pennsylvania, however, true to her teachings, true to primitive Masonry, which is based upon the Old Testament, would not consent that the old work which she had received from the hands of her Fathers should become interpolated or amended, and therefore regarded the Webb work as a New England heresy, requiring the degree of Mark and M.E. Master as prerequisite for all Knights Templar. One principal reason why Pennsylvania refused to acknowledge the work of Webb and his associates (Fowle and Snow), was that they had in the Mark degree connected two events which transpired at a distance of 1025 years from each other, one happening in the time of King Solomon at the erection of the Temple and the other during the mission of our Saviour while on the earth, the one under the Jewish the other under the Christian dispensation. But another insuperable objection was the degree of Knights of the Red Cross, formed, fashioned, manufactured for New England and its dependencies, and our illustrious Brother Gardner has well said that the Grand Encampment of Massachusetts and Rhode Island has furnished the Ritual, which is now used in all the Templar Orders of the United States. We shall have more to say of the degree of the Red Cross hereafter.

Connecticut, 1796.

Templary was introduced into Connecticut in July, 1796, at Colchester, as we learn from a quotation in the sketch of the history of the Order of Knight Templars prefacing the reprint of the proceedings of the Grand Commandery of Connecticut, extracted from a small pamphlet published at New London in 1823, which declares that "three regular Knights Templars, hailing from three different Commanderies, formed an Encampment at Colchester in the State of Connecticut, and conferred the Order of Knighthood on several Royal Arch Masons. In June, 1801, a charter was obtained from London, and an Encampment was held at New London in this State, its officers being Eliphalet Bulkley, C.G., James Backster first Capt., Ebenezer Perkins first Marshal, who held their office until 1810. At its next meeting, November, 1801, three Royal Arch Masons were severally advanced to the high degrees of Knights of the Red Cross,

High Priest and Sir Knights Templars, and afterwards received the degrees of Knights of Malta and Mediterranean Pass." Here again we find the Red Cross Knight conferred at about the time, if not before Webb received the degree of Knight Templar. This Body held meetings in '98, '99 and 1801. In 1819 it received a charter from the General Grand Encampment. No written records of the first three meetings of this old Encampment are in existence, the only evidence we have of them is found in this old pamphlet. We learn also from another small pamphlet, published in Newfield, 1799, entitled "A hint to Freemasons as to the organization of the Institution at this time." This pamphlet contains this paragraph,—"In the year 1796 at Colchester were introduced three degrees, namely,—Knights Templar, Knights Malta, etc., of which the author knows nothing, only that he has been informed by one of the Order that they exercise the power without constitution or warrant." There seems to be a conflict between the first pamphlet mentioned and the Charter, the pamphlet stating that a Charter was received from London in June, 1801, while the Charter makes the date September 5th, 1803.

The "Connecticut Gazette," of July 2d, 1800, recites the order of procession for the dedication of Freemason's Hall, at New London, which took place June 24th, 1800, in which Knights Templars were assigned a place in the line. April 6th, 1810, the Encampment again elected officers with the same titles, who held their offices till April 28th, 1819, when the Encampment came under the jurisdiction of the General Grand Encampment of the United States.

It would seem from the records of that Body that their authority to confer the degrees had been called in question, for at an Assembly held April 6, 1810, the following was passed,—"Voted, that this Encampment do establish the Charter both received from London, to be the authority by which they hold and exercise their right of making Knight Templars."

In 1819, this Encampment was presided over by Thomas Smith Webb, with Henry Fowle as Generalissimo. And in Connecticut, as in every other State where an Encampment had existed, they have put in a claim as having the oldest regular chartered Encampment in the United States, claiming that those having a prior existence, received their authority, if they had any, from the Supreme Council of the 33d, or some other unauthorized source.

Sir Knight Lucius E. Hunt, the writer of the sketch, does not inform us from what body in London the Charter he refers to was obtained, much less does he satisfy us as to its authority for issuing such a Charter.

We have an old copy of the by-laws of Washington Encampment No. 1, being that of Colchester, in which the names of the members from July, 1796, are published. At that date there were six members. Prior to 1800, six additional ones were added, and there were thirty-six additional Knights created and admitted to membership previous to its passing under the jurisdiction of the Grand Encampment of the United States.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

GENERAL GRAND ENCAMPMENT, 1816–1856.

THE History of this National Body, as presented in the proceedings of its formation, are quite as brief and unsatisfactory as that of the organization of the Grand Encampment of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. The General Grand Encampment of Knights Templar of the United States of America was formed by a convention held at Masons Hall in the city of New York on the 20th and 21st of June, 1816, consisting of delegates, knights, or companions, from Eight Councils and Encampments of Knights Templar and the appendant orders, namely: Boston Encampment, Boston; St. John's Encampment, Providence; St. Paul's Encampment, Newburyport; Washington Encampment, Newport; Darius Council, Portland; Ancient Encampment, New York; Temple Encampment, Albany; Montgomery Encampment, Stillwater. A constitution was formed, adopted and ratified. The General Grand Encampment then proceeded and elected officers as follows: M. E. Hon. DeWitt Clinton of New York, G. G. Master; Thomas Smith Webb, Esq., of Boston, D. G. G. M.; Henry Fowle of Boston, G. G. G.; Ezra Ames of Albany, G. G. C. G.; Rev. Paul Dean of Boston, G. G. P.; Martin Hoffman, New York, G. G. S. W.; John Carlyle, Providence, G. G. J. W.; Peter Grinnell, Providence, G. G. T.; John J. Loring, Boston, G. G. R.; Thomas Lowndes of New York, G. G. W.; John Snow, Providence, G. G. S. B.; Jonathan Schieffelin of New York, G. G. S. B. The Body then adjourned to meet in New York on the third Tuesday of September, 1819.

We have already shown conclusively that a Grand Encampment existed in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, of which five of these bodies were constituent members, owing to it fealty and allegiance, and that it was impossible for them lawfully to be represented in any body save that of their own State Grand Encampment. Also that there existed a Grand Encampment in and for the State of New York, exercising jurisdiction over the other three of these bodies, wherefore they also were precluded any representation in this National Body.

Judging from the record alone it would appear that the General Grand Encampment of the United States was illegally founded and was the fruit of a revolt. But happily this apparent stain upon its origin has been removed through the indefatigable efforts and researches of Past Grand Master Gardner, who presided with distinguished ability over the Grand Encampment from 1868 to 1871 inclusive. From his invaluable history of the Grand Encampment of Massachusetts and Rhode Island we glean such facts as prove that the General Grand Encampment was duly and legally constituted.

We have presented the data elsewhere showing that the Grand Encampment of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and of New York, two of the three then existing State Grand Encampments, appointed delegates to meet in convention and constitute a General Grand Encampment. The delegates so chosen by these bodies were present, took a part therein and were elected to office; and although the record is defective in not showing it, yet it is a fact that they appeared in said convention as the delegates from their respective Grand Encampments, and not from the subordinate Encampments of which they were also members, as the published proceedings would lead us to believe.

Sir Knight Gardner made an examination of the records of Boston Encampment, the first on the list, and found that it did not send any delegate or delegates to the convention of 1816. Sir Knight Thomas Salisbury, of St. John's Encampment, Providence, R. I., afterwards Grand Commander of that old Grand Encampment, examined its records and reported that he found no mention of the appointment of any delegates to any convention in 1816, nor the report of any delegates. The records of Newburyport Encampment previous to 1820 are lost, therefore the facts cannot be verified as to that body, though there can scarcely be a doubt that it sent no delegates to the convention. Past Grand Master Gardner also examined all the records of Darius Council, and no reference to the appointment of any delegates could be found. Sir Knight N. R. Gould, of Newport, carefully examined the records of Washington Encampment, Newport, and reported that no delegates were appointed to attend the convention from that body. We have no doubt that it is equally true as to all the other Encampments, that not one of them was represented. On the contrary, the representatives who took part in the proceedings of that convention were the accredited delegates from their respective Grand Encampments. Past Grand Master Gardner in his history says, "The tenth section of the original constitution adopted in 1816 provides that 'the Jurisdiction of the several State Grand Encampments shall not extend beyond the limits of the State in which they shall respectively be holden, except in case wherein, before the formation of this constitution, a Grand Encampment had been formed by a united representation of the Encampments in two adjoining States.'" "Is there any doubt as to the two States referred to in this section?" inquires Past Grand Master Gardner. We think there can be none, inasmuch as the only Grand Encampments represented in the convention were those of the Grand Encampments of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and of New York, and which formed the General Grand Encampment.

In this connection he propounds the following query: "Was there any other Grand Encampment formed by a united representation of the Encampments in two adjoining States except in Massachusetts and Rhode Island?" We answer, yes. The Second Grand Encampment of Pennsylvania formed in 1814 was composed of Encampments in Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland and Delaware. Inasmuch, however, as the Grand Encampment of Pennsylvania was not represented therein, the language could not possibly refer to that organization. The Grand Encampment of Massachusetts and Rhode Island was present and represented at the organization of the General Grand Encampment in 1816, and has been represented by its delegates at every session since.

At the date of the organization of the General Grand Encampment in 1816, there were Encampments in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, in New York, Pennsylvania, Maine, Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina and Louisiana, and there were Grand Encampments in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, in New York and Pennsylvania.

The second conclave was held September 16, 1819, in the city of New York, Sir Henry Fowle, G.G.G., presiding. The Grand Encampments of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and of New York, were represented. The Grand Generalissimo informed the Knights that since the last assembly of the General Grand Encampment, the death of M. E. Thomas Smith Webb, Deputy General Grand Master, had occurred. On this announcement the following was adopted:

"Resolved, that our late M. E. Sir Thomas Smith Webb, by his unwearied attentions and indefatigable exertions in the service of Freemasonry generally, but more especially to the magnanimous Orders over which this General Grand Encampment has jurisdiction, is entitled to our most grateful recollection, and that his memory shall be cherished with the warmest and most lively affection of this General Grand Encampment and by the Knights of the Order generally."

A Charter of Recognition was granted to the Encampment at Colchester in Connecticut, and Sir John Snow, the General Grand Standard Bearer, a resident of Ohio, reported that the Deputy General Grand Master had granted a dispensation for a new Grand Encampment to be formed at Worthington, Ohio, under the title of Worthington Encampment. This was the first body created by the Grand Encampment. Sir DeWitt Clinton was re-elected G.G. Master, and Sir Henry Fowle, of Boston, was elected Deputy General Grand Master, John Snow, of Worthington, Ohio, G.G.G. Sir Knights Fowle and Snow were the leading spirits of the Body and in Templar History for many years thereafter. Under the provisions of the constitution the General Grand Encampment did not assemble again until the 18th of September, 1826, at which time Sir John Snow, G.G.G., presided over the Body.

The Grand Encampments of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and of New York, were again represented. We find South Carolina Encampment No. 1 of Charleston, S. C., duly represented in this body by Sir John Barker, prox. for Sir Moses Holbrook, Grand Master, the same whose name appears on the famous circular of 1823, announcing that a Charter of Recognition had been received from the General Grand Encampment. The records, however, of the Grand Body fail to show the fact. The State of New Hampshire was represented in this assembly by Sir Joseph W. White, Grand Generalissimo, and also by Jonathan Nye, prox. for the Grand Capt. Gen., and the State of Vermont by proxies for the Grand Master, and by Daniel S. Potter, Grand Gen., who was also prox. for the Grand Capt. General.

A committee was appointed to wait on his Excellency DeWitt Clinton, General Grand Master, and inform him that the General Grand Encampment was in session. And, being announced, he was received with the usual ceremonies, and took his seat, but was not present later in the session. The record contains no report from the General Grand Officers, who undoubtedly made such report, as the committee to whom they referred the proceedings of the General Grand Officers since the last meeting submitted a report from which we learn that Encampments had been established in New Hampshire, Vermont, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia as follows:

"That the G.G. Master has granted a dispensation for an Encampment at New Haven, Connecticut, November 5, 1825.

"That the Deputy G.G. Master, has granted Charters to the following Encampments, *viz.*: Vermont Encampment, at Windsor, Vermont, February 23, 1821; Fayetteville Encampment, at Fayetteville, North Carolina, December 21, 1821; Green Mountain Encampment, at Rutland, Vermont, March 12, 1823; Richmond Encampment, at Richmond,

Virginia, May 5, 1823; Georgia Encampment, at Augusta, Georgia, May 5th, 1823; Mount Calvary Encampment, at Middlebury, Vermont, February 20, 1824; Trinity Encampment, at Hanover, New Hampshire, March 24, 1824; Washington Encampment, at the city of Washington, January 14, 1825; LaFayette Encampment, at Georgetown, South Carolina, March, 1825; DeWitt Clinton Encampment, at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, January, 1826; Mount Horeb Encampment, Hopkinton, New Hampshire, May 1, 1826; and Charters of *Recognition* to Columbia Encampment, at Columbia, South Carolina, January 24, 1824; Warren Encampment, at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, July 4, 1824; Winchester Encampment, at Winchester, Virginia, July 4, 1824.

"That the General Grand Generalissimo has granted the following Charters, to wit: Webb Encampment, at Lexington, Kentucky, January 1st, 1826; Miami Encampment, at Lebanon, Ohio, March 14, 1826; and a Charter of *Recognition* to South Carolina Encampment, at Charleston, South Carolina, September 23, 1823."

The resignation of Sir Oliver M. Lowndes, the representative from the Grand Encampment of New York in the convention which constituted the Grand Encampment, was announced, and suitable resolutions in recognition of his services were passed. An application was at that early day presented and considered from the city of Mexico, praying the establishment of an Encampment of Knights Templar in that City, but no action was taken. Applications have been made from the same City from 1826 to the present period, and with no better success.

It was voted that Encampments holding Charters from the General Grand Encampment in the several States where there are no Grand Encampments may be represented in this General Grand Encampment, as some of them were, from which we learn, as also from other sources, that Charters in most instances at that early day were granted, rather than Dispensations. Indeed, with the exception of the dispensation issued in 1817, and another in 1825, Charters direct were issued to the first twenty-six Encampments created between the years 1817 and 1835.

The M.E., His Excellency DeWitt Clinton, Governor of New York, was re-elected G.G.M., and R.E. Jonathan Nye, of Claremont, New Hampshire, Deputy General Grand Master.

The fourth assembly was held in New York, September 14, 1829, Deputy General Grand Master Nye presiding, James Herring of New York, General Grand Recorder *pro tem.* The Deputy General Grand Master delivered a brief address, which, however, does not appear in the records, directing the attention of the General Grand Encampment to the loss they had sustained since their last meeting by the death of the Most Eminent General Grand Master Sir DeWitt Clinton. A committee was appointed to prepare suitable resolutions to be spread on the minutes of the General Grand Encampment, expressing their respect for his memory and sorrow for his loss. The deceased Grand Master had been very prominent in public as well as in Masonic affairs. He had presided over the Grand Lodge of the State of New York for many years, was Grand Master and Governor of the State at the time the Morgan excitement began. He was succeeded in office by the Deputy General Grand Master Sir Jonathan Nye, of New Hampshire, and James Herring, of New York, was elected General Grand Recorder, both of whom were present at the next triennial meeting.

At the next conclave, being the 15th, held in Baltimore November 29, 1832, Maryland Encampment No. 1 at Baltimore came under the jurisdiction of the General Grand Encampment, and had its Charter duly endorsed by the Grand Officers. The Grand Master

and General Grand Recorder were both re-elected, they being present, the other proceedings being very brief and of no general interest.

At the session held December 7th, 1835, in the City of Washington, District of Columbia, it was reported that several of the General Grand Officers, and among them Sir Henry Fowle, Past Deputy General Grand Master, were delinquents to the General Grand Encampment in a large sum. A motion was submitted for his expulsion from *Masonic privileges*, it does not say Templar privileges. This is another evidence of the close connection between the Templar and the Masonic bodies and their privileges. The resolution, however, was modified in consequence of the report made that "he was in reduced circumstances and poor health, and that in all probability his existence in this world would soon terminate."

Sir James M. Allen, of New York, was elected General Grand Master; Joseph K. Stapleton, Deputy; James Herring, of New York, General Grand Generalissimo; Sir Joel R. Poinsett, of South Carolina, G.C.G.; and Chas. Gilman, of Baltimore, General Grand Recorder.

The thanks of the General Grand Encampment were voted to the most eminent Sir Jonathan Nye, late G.G. Master. In subsequent years he visited and died at Fort Madison, Iowa, during the period of his visit. At this session the constitution was revised, amended and adopted with few additions or changes.

The next Triennial meeting was held in the city of Boston, September 12th, 1838, presided over by General Grand Master James M. Allen. At this session the General Grand Encampment appointed a committee to take into consideration all matters presented on the subject of Masonry, to act in concert with a committee on the same subject in the General Grand Chapter, thus again showing the very close connection existing between these two bodies and between Templary and Masonry. At this session the General Grand Encampment took official action in reference to the existence of a spurious Grand Lodge in the City of New York, and declared that there could be no Masonic connection between them and any one connected with the spurious Grand Lodge. Here we find the General Grand Encampment placing itself directly upon record in its support of legitimate Freemasonry in other branches of the Institution.

The committee reported further, that while they might entertain a doubt as to the proper action for the General Grand Encampment to adopt in the matter, which might not be construed as an interference with the lower degrees of Masonry, they could entertain no doubt that it was the bounden duty of the G.G.E. to express its reprobation of the conduct of those individuals, and to adopt such measures as will prevent the uninitiated and unwary from being misled. The principal officers were re-elected, except that Sir Wm. J. Reese, of Ohio, was elected to succeed the Hon. Joel R. Poinsett, Gen. Gr. Capt. Genl. The thanks of the Grand Body was voted the retiring officer for the services rendered the Order, and his steadfast adherence thereto, during its days of persecution and trial.

The succeeding conclave was held in the City of New York, September 14, 1841, General Grand Master Allen presiding.

The only report or address presented was by the Gen. Gr. Capt. Gen'l. Sir Kt. Reese, of Ohio. This is the first official report presented in writing, an illustrious example soon to be followed by his friend and distinguished fellow-citizen Judge Hubbard, of Ohio. This report is of much interest, and presents a favorable view of the state and progress of Templary in the great West, where he resided. For this he was complimented by the

committee on the doings of the General Grand Officers. The Gen. Gr. Master and Deputy were re-elected, and the Gen. Gr. Capt. Genl. promoted and elected Gen. Gr. Generalissimo, and Sir Wm. H. Ellis, of Connecticut, elected Gen. Grand Captain General. The Encampments in Ohio were authorized to form a Grand Encampment.

General Grand Encampment met in triennial conclave September 10th, 1844, at New Haven, Conn., Sir Joseph K. Stapleton, D.G.G. Master.

A written report from the General Grand Master containing an apology for his non-attendance was presented by the G.G. Rec. This, however, does not appear of record or in the published proceedings.

The Deputy G.G. Master also presented a brief report of his doings. The committee, through Sir Archibald Bull, presented a revision of the Constitution, which was adopted. It is essentially the same as that of 1835, and is published with the proceedings.

A Charter of *Recognition* was granted to the old South Carolina Encampment No. 1, whose existence we have elsewhere traced back to 1780.

Indivisible Friends Encampment No. 1 at New Orleans, which had been chartered by the Grand Encampment of New York before the organization of the General Grand Encampment, was at this conclave enrolled upon the roster of the G. G. Encampment and came under its jurisdiction. General Grand Generalissimo Sir Wm. J. Reese, of Ohio, presented another characteristic report. He mentions that "the great valley of the Mississippi has as yet been only explored as a Masonic field of labor. There is a vast territory and abundance of material to be occupied, and there should undoubtedly be opportunities afforded, facilities granted and preparations made adequate to the expected demands." What vast changes have taken place in this great valley in the forty-five years that have elapsed since the presentation of that report! The thanks of the General Grand Encampment were presented to Sir Knight Reese for the faithful and able manner in which he had discharged the various duties connected with the several offices he had held in the General Grand Encampment. He appears indeed to have been the most efficient officer connected with the body up to that date. At this session a resolution was adopted declaring that Past General Grand Master James M. Allen, for his conduct in withholding funds which came into his hands in the discharge of the duties of his office, merits the censure of the General Grand Encampment, and that he be notified to pay the amount in his hands before the next triennial meeting, or appear at that time and show cause why he should not be expelled. Not appearing at the next conclave, he was duly expelled.

Sir Archibald Bull, of Troy, New York, was elected General Grand Master, the Deputy re-elected, General Grand Captain General promoted, and Sir Wm. B. Hubbard, of Columbus, Ohio, elected General Grand Captain General, and the General Grand Recorder reëlected.

Judge Hubbard, from Ohio, now for the first time puts in an appearance, and his coming was destined to work wonders in the organization, and infuse into it system, order and new life. The General Grand Recorder reported he had devised and caused to be engraved a Seal for the Body, which was adopted. The design is nondescript, and not adapted to the purpose for which it was intended. Strange to say, however, it is retained to the present day, and every attempt of his successors to introduce a heraldic design has been frowned upon by those who have no taste in such matters.

The tenth triennial meeting, as the conclaves were then called, was held at Columbus,

Ohio, Sept. 12, 1847, and presided over by Sir Archibald Bull, and all the elective Officers being present. Four Grand Encampments were represented: Massachusetts and Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York and Ohio, and Subordinate Encampments from Georgia, Kentucky and Virginia. Public exercises, the nature of which is not stated, were conducted under the superintendence of the *Grand Lodge and other Masonic bodies of Ohio.*

The Deputy and General Grand Captain General submitted brief reports of their doings, *viz.*: the granting of dispensations for the forming of New Encampments. The Grand Recorder reported that he had prepared a register of all the Encampments known by him to be in existence in the States and Territories. This was published with the proceedings, and from it we learn that they were distributed through thirteen States and the District of Columbia.

The committee on the doings of General Grand Officers reported that the Grand Encampment of Virginia was irregular and *unmasonic;* the Sir Knights of Virginia were censured and condemned in the strongest terms for having acted without the consent and approval of the General Grand Encampment; and the Encampment at Wheeling was commended for continuing faithful among the faithless, all of which was accepted and adopted.

Resolutions in memoriam of Sir Knight John Barney, the Great Masonic Lecturer, were reported and adopted.

The General Grand Encampment voted that it could not constitutionally interfere with the jurisdiction of a Subordinate Encampment in any State or Territory where there is a Grand Encampment; this was re-affirmed in 1886. An appropriate jewel was voted the General Grand Master. At the election of officers Sir Wm. Blackstone Hubbard, of Ohio, was elected General Grand Master, Deputy and Generalissimo re-elected, and Sir Knight Charles W. Moore, of Boston, elected General Grand Captain General.

We have now come to an eventful period in our history. The General Grand Encampment had for the first time in its history elected a veritable Grand Master. Sir Kt. Hubbard was an eminent jurist, a Mason, the first among his equals, a man of marked character and great ability, and, pugnacious to aggressiveness, he at once stamped his character and the influence of his energy and example upon the general body, over which for twelve years he was to preside with an intelligence and ability unequaled before or since. To his energetic spirit the Grand Encampment of to-day owes, if not its existence, at least the high character it has attained.

The new presiding officer was installed into office by Grand Master Hammett, of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and this is the first recorded instance we believe of the installation of such an officer in the Body.

At the next meeting, 1850 (the eleventh), held Sept. 10th in the city of Boston, all the General Grand Officers were present except the Recorder, whose place was filled by the appointment of Sir Chas. W. Moore. Five Grand Encampments and Subordinate Encampments from seven States and the District of Columbia were represented.

The General Grand Master presented an elaborate report of eight pages of "his doings," for he had done something to report upon.

A communication from E. H. Gill, G. M. of the G. E. of Virginia, was submitted, declaring that the Grand Encampment of Virginia "declines any further recognition of, or allegiance to, the Gen. Grand Encampment, either expressed or implied," etc. This was referred to a committee.

A proposition was at that early day considered to select a permanent place for holding the meetings of the General Grand Encampment. This failed as it did again in 1886.

The work was exemplified before the Grand Encampment by the E.·. Masters of DeMolay and Boston Encampments of Boston upon actual candidates in their Asylum. In the case of the Grand Encampment of Virginia, the Gen. Grand Encampment resolved to maintain the same position and relation toward it as had been done in previous years. A communication from Pittsburgh Encampment No. 1, working under Charter from the General Grand Encampment, was presented, reciting that a clandestine Body of Templars was working in Philadelphia under a revived warrant granted by the Old Grand Encampment of Pennsylvania of 1814, which really had ceased to exist for twenty or twenty-five years. The Gen. Grand Encampment sustained its subordinate, and refused to recognize the validity of the other.

The committee on the doings of the General Grand Officers reported that the Gen. Grand Master had submitted to the committee all his official correspondence, consisting of the letters and communications received by him, and his letter-book containing copies of the letters he had written, and noted the fact for the purpose of expressing their approbation of the careful and business-like manner in which the G.G.M. had performed his duty. The committee commended his example to his successors. He had indeed in one triennial period brought order out of confusion. G.G.M. re-elected; Sir Knight Ellis, of Connecticut, D.G.G.M.; Sir Kt. Chas. W. Moore, of Mass., G.G.G.; Sir Wm. T. Gould, of Georgia, G.G.C.G.; and Sir Benjamin Brown French, G.G. Recorder, who became the active associate and fellow-laborer of the G.G. Master, and in 1859 succeeded him as G.G. Master.

The meeting of the year 1853 (the twelfth) was held Sept. 12th, at Lexington, Ky.,—the first time G.G. Officers were all at their posts. The Grand Encampment of Kentucky, in addition to those of the last meeting, was reported present, and an Encampment from Indiana and Past Grand Masters from Massachusetts, New York, Connecticut and Kentucky were also represented.

The report of the Gen. Grand Master covers fourteen pages. He reports having issued dispensations for the formation of twelve Encampments located in ten different States. In speaking of Templary he always and everywhere calls it *Templar Masonry*, which is worthy of note, as in these latter days we have new lights who declare there is no connection between the two organizations. He reported that the Grand Encampment of Virginia had receded from its position of non-allegiance. He recommended an amendment to the Constitution, so as to avoid the unnecessary prefixes to the officers; this was done in 1856. He reported the death of Sir Knight Joseph K. Stapleton, of Maryland, who for fifteen years had filled the position of Deputy G.G.M. Brief reports were presented by the other officers. The General Grand Officers were re-elected. Sir Knight Tucker, of Vermont, presented a very full report upon the elaborate report of the G.G.M. which proved of equal interest. The reports of the several committees show a manifest improvement over corresponding documents of the previous meetings, a result doubtless due to the example set them by their great chief.

The work was again exemplified upon an actual candidate, this time by Webb Encampment No. 1, of Lexington. The most important labor of the meeting was the appointment of a committee consisting of Sir Knights Gilman, of Maryland; Moore, of Massachusetts and Rhode Island; Gould, of Georgia; Mackey, of South Carolina, in addi-

tion to the General Grand Master, to report a new Constitution. Out of this a new creation was to emerge.

The first thirty years, 1816 to 1847, of the history of the Gen. Grand Encampment presents few subjects of interest even to Templars, and none to the general reader. The body did not rise to the dignity of a State body of the present day. Save the two reports of Sir Wm. J. Reese as General Grand Capt. General and Generalissimo, and those of the General Grand Master Hubbard, the reports of Gen. Grand Officers were so meagre as to possess no interest.

In 1847 the new Gen. Grand Master inaugurated a new era by presenting an historical account of the doings of himself and the body over which he presided, which at once commands our attention, as it did that of the Templars of that day. He was destined to hold office for twelve years, as had his first and most illustrious predecessor, Hon. DeWitt Clinton; but, unlike him, to fill the office, discharge its duties and give the Gen. Grand Encampment a name and position among men, Masons and Templars.

CHAPTER XL.

GRAND ENCAMPMENT OF THE UNITED STATES FROM 1856.

AT the 13th conclave, which assembled at Hartford, Conn., on the 9th day of September, 1856, ten Grand Encampments were represented, *viz.*: Maine, Massachusetts and Rhode Island, Vermont, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana and Texas, and the following States by Subordinate Encampments: New Hampshire, Maryland, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, California and the District of Columbia, twelve. A number of new members entered the body for the first time, some of whom were then, and others at a later period became, prominent lights in the Order. One, Sir Kt. Fellows, of Louisiana, Grand Master in 1871; Simons of New York, for twenty-one years Grand Treasurer; and Parvin, of Iowa—fifteen years Grand Recorder—who wrought a great change and improvement in the office in the style of its published proceedings and other needed changes.

The Grand Master read an address of seventeen printed pages, reporting in detail his official acts and views of Templar Masonry. He reported that he had made a personal visit to the Grand Encampment of Virginia, and had succeeded in harmonizing the antagonism so long existing between that body and the G.G. Encampment. Also that he had prepared the way for the union of the two rival Grand Encampments in Pennsylvania, one composed of Encampments holding allegiance to the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, and the other by those organized by the General Grand Encampment. He reported having issued twelve dispensations for the forming of new Encampments in eight different States in the South and West.

Among the valuable subjects reported was a "Digest of Decisions," which went through a second edition, and became the basis upon which Gr. Recorder Parvin, in 1871, published a Code of the Decisions of Grand Masters Hubbard, French, Palmer and Gardner. He reported that he had exercised a supervision over the whole of the Subordinates, whether State or otherwise, ignoring the fact that the State bodies were constituent and not subordinate bodies. His iron will overcame all opposition; this, however, did much to arouse a spirit of jealousy and hostility to the National Body, ever since entertained by many leading Templars and Grand Commanderies. He reported that there was no Rule establishing a uniform dress for the members at large, and deemed the present time demanded the correction of the evil. This was an entering wedge to the inauguration of that feature in Templary since styled "fuss and feathers." He reported that no unlawful competition

or collision or even unkind or uncourteous feelings had been manifested on the part of any of the Subordinates, but, on the contrary, the most fraternal and truly knightly courtesy had distinctly marked the course and character of all. The conclave was begun, continued and closed in a love-feast such as has not been equalled since in any meeting of the Gr. Encampment.

The Gen. Gr. Master and Recorder reported that they were unable to procure copies of the published proceedings prior to 1826. Able committees were appointed upon all the leading topics: Morris, of Kentucky, chairman of the committee on doings of G.G. Officers; Gilman, of Maryland, on Finance; Morgan Nelson, of Virginia, Dispensations and new Encampments; Mackey, of South Carolina, on Grievances, and the veteran Tucker, of Vermont, on Jurisprudence, all of whom presented full reports.

T. S. Gourdin, of South Carolina, offered the following resolution, which was adopted, and he made chairman of the committee.

Whereas, A correct history of the Knights Templar, subsequent to the martyrdom of our revered Grand Master, Jacques De Molay, has never been written; and whereas such a history would greatly tend to produce unanimity of sentiment among the Brethren of the various Masonic Rites and to place our illustrious Order in its true position before the world, and whereas, also, the materials for such a work can only be obtained in Europe,

Be it therefore resolved, that a committee be appointed, whose duty it shall be to report, at their earliest convenience, concerning the feasibility of producing an accurate history of the Order of Knights Templar from the death of the Martyr to the present time; and the best method of accomplishing this object.

Sir Knight Gourdin at that date was misled, as were all his associates, in the absence of authentic and reliable data for Templar history, and entertained the belief that the Templary of the United States was identical and in continuation of that of the Templary of the Crusades. As chairman of that committee, he, at the succeeding conclave, presented a most interesting report, now classed among the rarities of Templar literature.

Gr. Master Hubbard, chairman of the Committee on Constitution, reported that the committee had been aided in their labors by Sir Rob. Morris, of Kentucky, and suggested that he be added to the committee, which was agreed to; and later, Sir Kt. Morris submitted the draft of a Constitution substantially as it was adopted and first published in 1856.

The famous Charter Oak of Hartford blew down during the week of the conclave, and the Hon. Isaac W. Stewart, owner of the property, presented the Gen. Grand Encampment with a fragment, which the Grand Body ordered to be made into a Cross and deposited with the G. G. Treasurer.

The G.G. Encampment further resolved that it "could not entertain Masonic communications of any kind from a body of clandestine Masons unrecognized by the Grand Encampment of New York (in which the body was located.)" Here the principle is fully recognized that a G. Grand Body of Templars may take cognizance of the legitimacy of the Masonry or degrees of a Body Grand or Subordinate—a position which in these latter days is denied by some and doubted by other orthodox Masons and Templars. Sir Knight Morris, from the committee on the doings of the G. G. Officers, submitted a lengthy and valuable report on the G. G. Master's Address. "Comparing it with all the official statements that preceded it, from the origin of this governing body of Sir Knights to the year 1847, what a revolution has your active, talented and distinguished Chief Officer effected

in all the departments of his duty as its executive head!" Words well and truly spoken, and in no wise overwrought. Sir Knight Morgan Nelson, of Virginia, declined to be installed as G. G. Master, and Sir Knight Hubbard continued in office another period of three years. In consideration of the regard and esteem entertained for him by the Sir Knights, and for his eminent devotion to the cause, a testimonial was voted him, not by way of reward, but as a remembrance of the many warm and devoted friends with whom he had been associated. A committee was appointed, who procured a medallion in the form of a patriarchal cross of gold, with a suitable inscription, which was presented in the name of the Grand Encampment to Sir Knight Hubbard. His was a case of genuine merit deserving the honor.

The digest of Decisions and the new Constitution, published with the proceedings, enlarged the pamphlet to one of over 100 pages. The new Constitution is divided into four articles. The first relating to the Grand Encampment of the United States; here, as in the title of the Grand Officers, the prefix General was dropped.

State Grand Commanderies (no longer Encampments) is the subject of Article second. Article third is devoted to the consideration of Subordinate Commanderies, and clearly refers and relates to those Commanderies created by the Grand Encampment. Article fourth, entitled Miscellaneous, treats of several minor subjects, and provides how the instrument may be amended.

The leading and important subjects of legislation vested in the Grand Encampment are three in number: 1, Dress (uniform, costume); 2, Work (Ritual); and 3, Discipline (forms of trial) of Templar Masonry.

Of these three subjects, the first, "Dress," was not legislated upon until the conclaves of 1859 and 1862; in the latter year the famous "Edict on the Uniform of a Knight Templar" was issued, and until the conclave of 1886 remained the common law. Now the whole matter is relegated to the Grand Commanderies.

2. Work. No Ritual for either of the Orders had been promulgated by the Grand Encampment till 1883, when a Ritual for the Order of Malta was adopted and distributed; and in 1886 a Ritual for the Red Cross and Knight Templar was also adopted and distributed to the Grand and Subordinate Commanderies.

In 1880 the Grand Encampment acted upon the third subject, and promulgated authoritatively the Form for Templar Trials. Also, Forms for constituting new Commanderies and for Installation services of Grand and Subordinate Commanderies.

In 1874 the Grand Encampment adopted a Code of Statutes, largely compiled from the decisions of the several Grand Masters, collected and published in 1871 by the Grand Recorder, together with the Constitution, in the proceedings of that conclave.

Though late, better than never, the Grand Encampment has at last legislated upon each of these important subjects, and now the Ritual and Forms of Trial and Punishment are uniform everywhere.

The contentions, growing out of the adoption of the new Constitution relative to the conflict of powers and privileges as between the Grand Encampment and its constituent Grand Commanderies, and the change of nomenclature of the Grand Bodies and Officers, cannot now be considered. The latter was finally put at rest during the administration of Grand Master Gardner, 1868-71, but the former continues to haunt the bodies, and is likely to for years to come, like the old question of State Rights in the politics of the nation.

FOURTEENTH TRIENNIAL CONCLAVE, CHICAGO, ILLS., SEPTEMBER 13TH, 1859.

Being the first held under the new constitution, its presiding officer was Wm. Blackstone Hubbard Grand Master. Fourteen Grand and eleven Subordinate Commanderies were represented. At this session the subject of Templar Uniform came up for discussion, and a costume was adopted for the first time in the history of the Grand Encampment. The proceedings from 1816 to 1856 were ordered reprinted.

Sir Benjamin B. French, of Washington, D. C., was elected Grand Master, and Sir Saml. G. Risk, of Louisiana, Grand Recorder.

FIFTEENTH TRIENNIAL CONCLAVE, NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 1ST, 1862.

The city of Memphis, Tenn., had been selected as the next place of meeting, but owing to the Civil War in progress at that time, the session was called by the Gr. Master to meet in the city of New York, and a special meeting held there September 1st, 1862.

Sir Knight Benj. B. French was reëlected Grand Master, and John Day Caldwell, of Cincinnati, Grand Recorder, vice Risk, deceased.

Only eight, all Northern, Grand Commanderies were represented, and subordinate Commanderies from two States and the District of Columbia. The Grand Commanderies of the Southern States had withdrawn from the Grand Encampment, which was referred to by the Grand Master, and his circular, with his views and actions in the matter, were fully sustained.

The subject of Templar Uniform came up again, as it has done regularly at every Encampment since, and the famous "Edict of 1862" was issued, with cuts illustrating the costume agreed upon.

A devotional service was ordered prepared for the next triennial conclave, which it was agreed to hold at Columbus, Ohio, September 5, 1865. The Grand Master and Grand Recorder were re-elected.

The SIXTEENTH TRIENNIAL CONCLAVE convened in 1865, at Columbus, Ohio, the Grand Master Benjamin B. French presiding. The Grand Encampment met in the Capitol and marched in procession to the Congregational Church, escorted by a Commandery from Washington, in full costume. The devotional service prepared by Sir Robert McMurdy, D. D., was appropriately rendered.

The members of the Grand Body were handsomely entertained by their distinguished Past Grand Master, Sir Wm. Hubbard.

Grand Commanderies and subordinates from four States were represented. Sir Knight Henry L. Palmer, of Wisconsin, was elected Grand Master, and the Grand Recorder was re-elected.

The Grand Encampment convened in its SEVENTEENTH TRIENNIAL CONCLAVE for the first time west of the Mississippi River at St. Louis, Mo., September 15th, 1868, Grand Master Henry L. Palmer presiding.

Twenty-four Grand Commanderies were represented and four States by subordinate Commanderies.

This Session is noted as that at which "fuss and feathers" held sway, and inaugurated an era when pleasure and not business ran riot—sad departure from the good old ways of the Fathers in Templary.

But little business was done—nothing indeed for so grand a gathering of representative men and masons from all parts of the land.

The Grand Encampment accepted the invitation of the Sir Knights of Maryland, and voted to hold its eighteenth triennial at Baltimore. Sir Wm. Sewall Gardner, of Massachusetts, was elected Grand Master, and Sir John D. Caldwell was re-elected Grand Recorder.

The Eighteenth Triennial Conclave was held in Baltimore, September 19th, 1871. The order of exercises was varied from former occasions.

The Grand Encampment was cordially welcomed in an elegant Address by Hon. Bro. John H. B. Latrobe, M. W. Gr. Master of Masons of Maryland, to which Grand Master Gardner responded in suitable terms.

Grand Master Gardner delivered also an Introductory Address before the reading of his triennial report, much more voluminous than those of his predecessors. The entertainments, parade, etc., provided by the Local Committee, were also far in excess of those inaugurated at St. Louis. An interesting report was presented by Sir Jas. H. Hopkins, who had been commissioned to investigate the subject of the origin, etc., of the Modern Order of the Temple during his late visit to England and the Continent.

The Memorial of the Grand Commandery of Virginia presented by Sir Kt. Robt. E. Withers, since Grand Master, asking leave to withdraw from the Grand Encampment, was rejected. John Q. A. Fellows, of Louisiana, was elected Grand Master, and Theodore Sutton Parvin, of Iowa, Grand Recorder. Both these Sir Knights entered the body at Hartford, Conn., in 1856, memorable as the year of the adoption of the new Constitution. There was no business of general or special interest transacted at this meeting.

Nineteenth Triennial Conclave.

The Grand Encampment met in triennial Conclave in New Orleans December 1st, 1874, Grand Master Fellows presiding.

The two important subjects of legislation at this conclave were the adoption of the Code of Statutes, and further legislation on the subject of Uniform, authorizing the Grand and subordinate Commanderies, using the black or old costume, to continue its use and so have uniformity in variety.

Sir Jas. H. Hopkins, of Pennsylvania, was elected Grand Master, and the Grand Recorder re-elected.

Twentieth Triennial Conclave, Cleveland, Ohio, August 28th, 1877.

Sir James Herron Hopkins, M. E. G. M.; Sir T. S. Parvin, Grand Rec.

The Grand Encampment was cordially welcomed in appropriate addresses by the representatives of the Grand Lodge and Grand Encampment of Ohio, appropriate reference being made by the Grand Master and by the Committee on his address to the part which the Knights Templar of the United States took in the patriotic exercises of the Centennial year of American Independence, and the National Exposition at Philadelphia, in commemoration thereof—

Several proposed Amendments were made to the Constitution and Code. The Finances were reported by the Committee in a healthy condition, and the recommendation of the Grand Master to increase the tax and establish an Endowment Fund rejected, as it was thought that the amount already assessed against the Grand Commandery would be more, as subsequent experience has proved, than sufficient to meet all the necessary expenses of the Grand Encampment.

The Grand Encampment, as heretofore, declared against the proposition to make the Cryptic degrees essential to the reception of the Orders of Knighthood.

The Committee on Ritual reported a ritual for the Knights of Malta, etc., and was continued, the whole subject being referred back to the Committee.

All efforts to effect a change in the Costume or Uniform of the Order from that of the Edict of 1862 failed.

A Committee was appointed providing for an interchange of negotiations with a similar Committee relative to a "Treaty of Amity" between the Convent General of England, Wales and Ireland" and the Grand Encampment of the United States.

A Committee was appointed to report "Forms and Ceremonials for constituting new Commanderies, etc.," and also under the provision of the Constitution Section 13, providing that the discipline of Templar Masonry everywhere shall be uniform throughout the jurisdiction, another Committee was appointed to formulate Forms for Templar Trials, thus showing that the Grand Encampment construed the word *discipline* in the clause quoted to refer solely and alone to the trial of delinquents and the infliction of penalties for the violation of Templar laws, and had no reference to Tactics and Drill.

The Form of the Jewel for Past Grand Masters of Templars of the United States was adopted.

Sir Vincent L. Hurlbut of Chicago, Ills., was elected M.E.G.M., and T. S. Parvin, of Iowa, re-elected Grand Recorder.

Chicago, Ills., and August 17th, 1880, were designated as the place and time for the next meeting of the Grand Encampment, and met at that place Aug. 17th, 1880.

The Twenty-first Triennial Conclave, Chicago, Ills., Aug. 17th, 1880.

Sir Vincent Lumbard Hurlbut, M. E. G. M.

Representatives from all the thirty-one Grand and twenty of the twenty-four Subordinate Commanderies were present.

Addresses of welcome were delivered the evening before at places designated, by the Governor of the State, Mayor of the city and the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Illinois, and the Grand Commander of the Grand Commandery, and responses made by Sir Knights deputed by the M.E.G.M. for that purpose.

The Foreign Relations of the Grand Encampment were reported unchanged.

The vexed question of Templar Uniform was again up for consideration, and again deferred to a more convenient season.

So with the subject of Ritual, that of the Knights of Malta being referred back to the Committee, while that portion of the report in referring to the 5th * * * was adopted. The report of the Committee on Forms for Templar Trials having been submitted during the recess to the Grand Master, and by him approved, were in his general Order No. 3, promulgated to the Grand and Subordinate Commanderies for use, etc.

The Committee on Forms and Ceremonials for Constituting New Commanderies, etc., had further time given them. Soon after the close of the Conclave, they submitted their report to the Grand Master (Dean), who, after approving them, issued his General Order declaring them to be the only Forms and Ceremonials sanctioned by the Grand Encampment.

Five hundred dollars was voted Grand Treasurer Sir John W. Simons, as a slight token



Fraternally, Yours

J. W. Mutbeck

M.M.R.A.M. and Grand Treasurer of the Grand Commandery
of Knights Templars of Illinois.

of the high appreciation entertained for his faithful and efficient service as Grand Treasurer for twenty-one years.

The Conclave of 1880 was the occasion of the assembling of the largest number of Sir Knights ever before gathered together, and the number of their visiting friends was far in excess of those ever before attending such a meeting.

Sir Knight Benjamin Dean, Boston, Mass., was elected M.E.G.M , and T. S. Parvin. Iowa, re-elected Grand Recorder.

San Francisco, California, was designated as the place, and August 21st, 1883, as the time for the next meeting.

Twenty-second Triennial Conclave, San Francisco, Cal., Aug. 21st, 1883.

Sir Benjamin Dean, M. E. G. M., Presiding.

Here the Grand Encampment met a most cordial and royal welcome at the hands of the people and the Sir Knights of the Pacific Coast.

On Sunday Religious services were held in the large Asylum, which was suitably decorated for the occasion, and a sermon was preached by the Rev. Grand Prelate, Sir Knight Clinton Locke of Chicago, listened to by thousands of Sir Knights and citizens.

At or rather preparatory to the opening of the Grand Encampment, addresses of Welcome were delivered by the Governor General Stoneman and others, to which Grand Master Dean responded. Notwithstanding the great distance a very large delegation of Sir Knights, representing the Grand and Subordinate Commanderies were present, thirty-two of the former and nineteen of the latter.

The Grand Master presented an address of unusual length, incorporating many facts of great historical interest, relative to the early introduction of Templary into the United States. He also presented a lengthy correspondence with the Convent General of England, and the causes of the failure to negotiate a Treaty of Amity between it and the Grand Encampment. He fully discussed the subject of the Ritual, and presented that of the old Grand Encampment of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. In speaking on the subject of Discipline, he construed it to refer to field exercises, tactics and military discipline, declaring the order to be a *military organization*—this, contrary to the whole constitutional and legislative history of the Grand Encampment, and the uniform testimony of all writers on Templary in the United States.

The subjects of Templar Uniform and Ritual were again uppermost in the deliberations of the body; that relating to Uniform was again deferred, as was also that of the Ritual of the Order of the Temple.

The Ritual of Malta was accepted and adopted as reported by the Committee.

The several proposed Amendments to the Constitution and Code were not acted upon, but the Committee, R.E.G.M. Hopkins chairman, reported that "it is the unanimous opinion of the Committee that these propositions cannot be legally acted upon at this Conclave." The Constitution, Section 67, prescribing the method of amending that document, and the Statute contains this qualifying clause: "Provided, however, that any member intending to submit a motion relative to a change of the Constitution, Statutes, or *Ritual*, shall give notice, etc., and notice thereof shall be inserted in the summons; *otherwise no such motion shall be entertained.*" No summons had been issued, the Grand Master having failed to issue one, as had all his predecessors; since the term of Grand

Master Hubbard, who originated the system, there is no law requiring the Grand Master nor any one else to issue a Summons.

The Grand Encampment took an official part in the laying of the Corner Stone of the Monument, to commemorate the virtues and deeds of Sir Knight, the late President of the United States, James A. Garfield.

Sir Robert E. Withers of Virginia was elected M.E.G.M., and T. S. Parvin of Iowa, re-elected Grand Recorder.

St. Louis, Mo., and September 21st, 1886, were designated as the place and time of the next meeting of the Grand Encampment.

Twenty-third Triennial Conclave, held at St. Louis, Mo., Sept. 21, 1886.

Sir Charles Roome, V. E. Deputy Grand Master, presided in place of Grand Master Robert E. Withers, who had soon after the close of the last Triennial Conclave received the appointment of U. S. Consul to Hong-Kong, China, and departed for his post. Before leaving he issued a General Order announcing the foregoing fact, and devolving the government of the Grand Encampment upon Deputy Grand Master Sir Charles Roome of New York.

Grand Master Withers returned to the United States from China, arriving in St. Louis during the Conclave, but too ill to preside over the Grand Encampment, except for a brief period during the election of his successor, Sir Charles Roome, whom he installed into office, and then retired with the sympathies and good will of the Sir Knights.

Brief addresses or reports of both Grand and Deputy and acting Grand Master were presented to the Grand Encampment.

But four subjects were considered during the Conclave, *viz.*, Amendments to the Constitution, Statutes and Rituals, Conflict of Jurisdiction between the Grand Encampment and the Grand Commanderies of Indiana and Michigan, involving the same principle,—The Work or Ritual of Knights Templar and Templar Uniform.

In the cases appealed by the Subordinate Commanderies to the Grand Encampment, from the action of the Grand Commanderies of Indiana and Michigan, the Committee on Grievances and Appeals unanimously reported, that the Grand Commandery of Indiana had violated the plain letter of the Statutes of the Grand Encampment of the United States. Nevertheless the Grand Encampment refused to sustain the Report of its able and learned Committee, by adopting a substitute for its resolution "as the easiest way to rid the Grand Encampment of an ugly case."[1]

Some of the amendments proposed to the Constitution were intended to more clearly define the authority of the Grand Encampment and of its Constituent Grand Commanderies in the *exclusive* right of the latter to govern and control their own Subordinates. But upon a vote the majority of the members of the Grand Encampment rejected all such propositions.

The Ritual of Knight Templar and Red Cross Knights, reported by Sir Knight Carson from the Committee having this work in charge since the Conclave of 1874, was adopted by the Grand Encampment, and since promulgated to the several Grand Commanderies and the Subordinate Commanderies holding Charters direct from the Grand Encampment.

[1] Carson's Report, Ohio, 1886.

The subject of Dress or Templar Uniform, after having been a bone of contention since the Enactment of the Edict of 1862, was *remitted* by almost universal consent, to the several Grand Commanderies. And before this action was officially promulgated the Grand Commanderies commenced to legislate and adopt for their respective jurisdictions uniforms after their own desire and pattern, some of which present scarcely a similarity.

Two thousand dollars was voted by the Grand Encampment to the sufferers from the earthquake in Charleston, South Carolina.

Sir Knight Charles Roome of New York was elected Grand Master, and Washington City, D. C., was designated as the place, and the 2d Tuesday in October, 1889, as the time for holding the next Triennial Conclave.

The Grand Encampment also voted, that the M. E. Grand Master be authorized to change the place of the next Triennial Conclave, provided that he give three months notice of such change.

The Grand Parade which was to have come off on Tuesday the first day, was on account of the rain postponed to Wednesday the third day, and the Grand Encampment adjourned, giving up most of the day to witnessing the grand array of Sir Knights.

With the adoption of the Constitution of 1856, at the Fifteenth Triennial Conclave, which made radical changes in the government of the Grand Encampment, rendering it more centralizing than before, as well as changing the nomenclature of the State Grand Bodies, opposition on the part of some of the Grand Commanderies began, which has manifested itself more or less ever since.

The Grand Encampment of Massachusetts and Rhode Island refused to adopt the new name of Commandery, and all the power of Grand Master Hubbard, the ablest of all the Grand Masters, failed to bring it in. It was not until the election of her own able officer, Sir Wm. S. Gardner, to the Grand Mastership in 1868 that this Grand Commandery yielded to his gentle and persuasive methods, and changed her name and title to conform to the law.

The Grand Commandery of Ohio made a feeble rebellion against the centralized power vested in the National Body; this, however, being the home of Grand Master Hubbard, he was enabled by the force of his character to control opposition and secure obedience.

It cannot be gainsaid that the National Body has had the effect of centralizing authority and nationalizing Templary, and given it such an impetus that it has gone out through the land, becoming a power for good and the occasion for great rejoicing among its friends. Yet its rapidly increasing membership, encouraged by the Grand Commanderies and tolerated by the Grand Encampment, is, we fear, too much given to public show and parade, to the neglect and indifference of the far weightier matter, the observance and enforcement of the great principles of the Order, having for its foundation the Christian Religion and the practice of the Christian Virtues. In conclusion we would express the wish that all minor points of controversy have been settled, and that now the supreme efforts of the Grand Encampment will be devoted to those ends so devoutly wished for by all true Templars, and which actuated and controlled the Fathers of Templary upon its introduction into America.

INTRODUCTION.

By Chas. T. McClenachan 33°, G.·.M.·.Gen.·.of Cer.·.,A.·.A.·.S.·.R.·.,N.·.M.·.J.·.U.S.A.

So conspicuous have been the events in the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, on the American side of the waters, in relation both to the early and to the more recent period in its history, that it is eminently proper the Historian of this Department of Gould's great work, should be one long and actively identified with the system in the United States. It is perhaps needless to say that a more earnest and thorough searcher after the truth of history could not have been found than Brother Enoch Terry Carson, and I may be pardoned in the expression that a thrill of pleasure was experienced when I heard of his selection for and acceptance of the labor of writing the History of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite.

Associated with him in this branch of Masonry for more than thirty years, I was well aware of his familiarity with numerous important matters that were rapidly passing from the memory of those still living, and which were so essential to a full appreciation of the system. Patient anxiety gave place to admiration upon examining the advance sheets of the history and my hopes were fully realized.

The positiveness of Brother Carson's mind is characteristic, and the clearness as well as fairness with which he expresses his facts, are worthy of all commendation.

There never has been written a truthful and succinct history nor presented a connected compilation of incidents and facts of the origin and progress of the Scottish Rite until now.

Many brethren have written fragments, generally for local and special purposes, these, with the jetsam and flotsam without measure, were of no value except where supported by unquestioned evidence and facts. It is to be regretted that Brother Carson in the pages following had not greater space in which he could have indulged in matters of important detail. He has necessarily been compelled to omit these, and yet in the space occupied by him there is crowded a wonderful amount of most important and valuable matter, so clearly and logically placed, as to call forth our earnest and well deserved praise.

Honest bluntness and frankness of expression add piquancy to many facts and avowals, characteristic of outspoken truth.

The prominence given to Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite Masonry as presented by Brother Carson in his History is eminently deserved. Judging from knowledge obtained

from many quarters of the world the advance of the Rite throughout the nations evidences that its position is growing stronger every day, and that as years roll by it will become grander and more pre-eminent. In no nation is the Rite receding, on the contrary, rapid progress is apparent everywhere; its beautiful ritual and logical system, limitless in its intellectual teachings, appealing to every moral and esthetic human sense as well as to the divine instinct in man, insures its welcome acceptance among the able and thoughtful of the confraternity.

Organized and instituted for the improvement of the human race, its ritualistic ceremonials overflowing with intellectual and spiritual attractiveness, its future is assured. It therefore became eminently proper that some capable and scholarly mind, an adept in the workings of the Rite, as well as a student of its history, an active participant in many of its gloomy as well as brilliant periods, should engage in placing on permanent record a truthful and connected account of its origin and progress unto its present day of glory and renown.

As an evidence of the stability and the permanence of this Department of Masonry, we may with pardonable pride point to the costly Cathedrals, Temples and Homes of the Rite which are dotting the cities of our land, dedicated to the principles of the brethren, demonstrating its present and their faith in its future success, and exhibiting the determined character of those who are its followers. The history of the founders and their actions in this spreading society therefore merits record.

Brother Carson's extensive library of books and valuable manuscripts and his access to almost every known Masonic work has peculiarly adapted him in that regard to the labor accepted by him. His work bears the impress of honesty, is convincing, and must be so admitted by all who permit acknowledged facts and reason to govern their judgment; and while some may differ with him in his conclusions they must concede that they are presented without intentional offence. Nevertheless the compiler had many difficulties to overcome, arising from the necessity of weeding out countless assertions made by unsupported and prejudiced writers, whose effusions had been thrown into the arena of contest and which at times have disturbed this great philosophic Rite. The fact stands signally forth that until the present day and till the issue of this work, no history of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite has been written. The task was a delicate one, requiring candor, earnest study and unwearied patience. In this labor the readers of this history, the devotees and learned of the Rite, will award the compiler all honor for his deserved success.

PART IV.

HISTORY OF ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED SCOTTISH RITE MASONRY IN THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER XLI.

ORIGIN OF HIGH-GRADE MASONRY.

THE CHAPTER OF CLERMONT OR RITE OF PERFECTION OF HEREDOM AND COUNCIL OF EMPERORS OF THE EAST AND WEST.

IT is not our purpose to attempt to write a full history of Scottish Rite Masonry. We shall have to confine ourselves to a mere sketch, in which the endeavor will be to state facts rather than our own personal sentiments or conclusions. Especially shall we strive to be governed by this rule when we come to treat of the Rite in the United States, being well aware of the fact that there has been much, and there still exists more or less, diversity of opinion among the best-informed members of the Order as to many important events and transactions connected with the introduction, progress and present condition of this great Masonic Rite, in the United States.

We would not mar the value of Mr. Gould's great history, nor injure its popularity and usefulness to the entire Masonic fraternity of the United States, by adding to it anything of our own not fully substantiated by documentary history. If such a presentation of Scottish Rite Masonry shall prove offensive to some, and no one who writes history can hope to please all, we shall not feel individually responsible.

We have frequently been asked to refer parties to some good and reliable history of the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite, and have been compelled to answer that there is no such work. Most of those who have treated the subject historically, have written blinded by prejudice and bitter enmity against any and all kinds of High Grade Masonry, more especially against the Scottish Rite. Most prominent among these writers are Clavel,[1] Ragon,[2] Findel,[3] Rebold[4] and Folger.[5] (See page 502 for Notes.)

These writers attribute nearly all the ills that have affected Masonry to the influence of High Grade Masonry. One of them (Ragon) says,

"Schism indicates the darkness of any system not founded on truth; there can be no schism in mathematics. The three symbolic degrees, having for their basis nature, never have and never can produce a schism."

This pretty rhetorical flourish is not supported by the historical facts. The greatest

Masonic schism ever known, and the one of longest duration, that of the Grand Lodge of England, which began about the middle of the last century, and only ended with the Union in 1813, was confined exclusively to symbolic degree Masons. The schism in South Carolina, which ended in the Union in 1817, and those in the Grand Lodge of New York in 1823, 1837 and 1853, were begun, carried on and ended by the symbolic or three degree Masons themselves. High Grade Masonry did not figure in any way as the cause of these celebrated Masonic feuds.

All who have written upon the subject agree, that what is generally known as High Grade Masonry originated shortly before and about the middle of the last century.

The organization of the Grand Lodge of England, the first in the world, occurred in 1717. There is no satisfactory evidence that there was more than one degree of Masonry prior to that date. In fact the weight of testimony shows that there was little more in the ceremony of making a Mason than an obligation, a very simple one too, and the investing of the candidate with the "Mason's Word," accompanied with a very short crude dialogue or catechism.

With the great change made in the distinctive character of the Order at the organization of the Grand Lodge of England, sometimes called the "Revival," when Masonry assumed its cosmopolite form and became purely philosophical, or in Masonic parlance "Speculative" in its character, came also the multiplication of degrees, and additions to the primitive, uncouth jargon known as the "Mason's Catechism."

We have no evidence of any other than the three Craft degrees being known or practiced in England, Ireland or Scotland until about 1740 when the Royal Arch made

(Notes to page 501.)

[1] "Tels sont, en substance, les mystères de l'ecossisme, masse informe et indigeste, monument de déraison et de folie, tache imprimée à la franc-maçonnerie par quelques trafiquants éhontés ; et dont le bon sens des maçons eût depuis longtemps fait justice, si leur vanité n'eut été séduite par les titres et les croix qui eu forment le cortége obligé."

Historie Pittoresque de la Franc-Maçonnerie, Paris, 1844.

[2] Les hauts grades (la Maçonnerie dite Supérieure) sont donc faux et dangereux, puisqu'ils donnent lieu a des schismes, à des inimités, à des procès. aux libelles excusables des Barruel et autres et aux persécutions de l'autorité ; productions etrangères, indignes, qui, d'un lieu de paix, d'union et d'amour, font un objet de discorde et de haine.

Orthodoxie Maçonnique, Paris, 1853.

[3] History of Freemasonry, Leipzig, 1866.

[4] Ces prétendus hauts grades dans lesquels on a introduit les rêveries Templières, les spéculations Mystiques, les déceptions de l'alchemie, de la magie et de taut d'autres sciences plus on monis mensongeres, et dont la plupart reposent sur des legendes en partie absurdes ou contraires à la vérité de l'histoire son en substance une masse informe et indigest ; ceux du Rit Ecossais notamment sont un monument de deraison et de folie.

Histoire des Trois Grandes Loges, Paris, 1864.

[5] They (the Scottish Rite degrees) are simply modern trash, without a single feature or quality in them which would recommend them to the favorable consideration of worthy and sensible brethren. This is the opinion which we entertain now, and have entertained for long years concerning these degrees.

Composed as they are of a little Judaism, a great deal of the science of the Gnostics, and the doctrines of the Manichæans, a little of the Eastern Philosophy, so-called, and a few startling misrepresentations of Christian doctrine, and a parcel of fables, too silly to be repeated.

The Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite in Thirty-three degrees by Robert B. Folger, New York, 1881.

its appearance as a Masonic degree—the first mention of which, so far as known, was in a pamphlet published in 1744.[1]

We accept it as an axiom, that our modern system of Freemasonry had its origin in England early in the last century, and that there was but one degree; we use the word degree as it is now understood, a particular ceremonial, something more than the mere investing of the neophyte with a sign, a grip or token, and a word, or words.

The beginning of evolution in both ritual and degrees was nearly contemporaneous with the beginning of modern Freemasonry.

Anderson, in his Constitutions, makes mention of the "Master's Part," but whatever there was of it, it was only given in the Grand Lodge, until 1725, when the Master of each Lodge was authorized to make Masters with the consent of his Wardens and the majority of the brethren being Masters, at their discretion.

We do not believe that there was any distinctive three degree rituals or ceremonials until between 1725-30. About that time evolution had fairly begun its work with the rituals, and in producing degrees.

The Sloane MS., 3329, gives us a pretty good idea of the extent and style of the "Mason's Catechism," in the latter quarter of the seventeenth century. The first printed catechism or exposure so far known, appeared in the *Flying Post*, London, 1723, the same year in which Anderson's Constitutions were first published. Mr. Gould reprints it in the appendix to his last volume. Compare this with the Sloane MS., and the evolution that was going on in the catechism or ritual is most apparent. Then compare the latter with the Grand Mystery, 1724, and Masonry dissected, 1730.

In 1732-4 the rituals were revised and greatly enlarged by Martin Clare. In 1770 Dunckerly was commissioned by the Grand Lodge to revise the rituals of the three degrees, which he did to its satisfaction.

About the year 1777 Preston gave to English Masonry his revised, enlarged, and floreated rituals of the first three degrees. Then again, the English rituals were revised by Dr. Hemming and associates, at the time of the Union in 1813.

In this country the rituals in the old Grand Lodges, except perhaps Pennsylvania, have been revised time and time again, and many of the ceremonials now in use, which are regarded as "Landmarks" in the ritual, were invented and placed there by that renowned professor of Masonic ritualism, Thomas Smith Webb, or by his illustrious successor in the same line, Jeremy L. Cross.

When we compare the Ohio or New York rituals of the symbolic degrees of to-day with those in use in England in 1723-30 we begin to realize the great work that evolution has done with the rituals of the symbolic or Craft degrees. We have said the work of evolution in Masonic degrees was almost contemporaneous with the beginning of philosophic or speculative Freemasonry in England in 1717. At that time there was but one degree; shortly thereafter, certainly within ten years, two degrees were evolved from the original one, and added to the English system, making the three degrees of symbolic or Craft Masonry—Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft and Master Mason. These were followed as before stated with the Royal Arch about 1740, and about the same time or soon thereafter the Knight Templar was practised in England and Ireland as a Masonic degree.

With the creation of the system of three degrees in Craft Masonry, and the addition

[1] A Serious and Impartial Enquiry into the Causes of the Present Decay of Freemasonry in the Kingdom of Ireland by Dr. Fifield Dassigny, Dublin, 1744.

thereto of the Royal Arch and Knight Templar, degree-making in England, Ireland and Scotland came to an end. We do not regard the degree of Mark Master of sufficient importance to more than mention it, although it is of undoubted English origin.

No High Grade system of Masonry except the Royal Arch and Knight Templar met with any favor in England until a very recent period: the Supreme Council of the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite was not established there until the year 1845.

The same may be said as to Scotland. Notwithstanding the Continental grades of the last century had so much about "Ecossais" and "Heredon" in Scotland, there is no evidence of any High Grade Masonry having been practised in that country, except the Royal Arch and Templar, until a very recent date.

Ireland, however, appears to have been a more congenial clime for the high grades, for in addition to the Royal Arch, which they had in the early part of the last century, and the *Masonic* Knight Templar, which was in use there very soon after the Royal Arch, they had an Illustrious College of Heredon, Knights K. H., and a "Chapter of Prince Masons" in Dublin, certainly as early as 1806; how much earlier we cannot say.

We now come to the country where High Grade Masonry took root and flourished in great vigor, and whence it spread over the world. Freemasonry was introduced from England into France in 1725. It became popular at once, and numerous Lodges were established in Paris and throughout the kingdom; it is said that in 1742 there were more than two hundred Lodges in France.

Almost as soon as the first Lodge was established in France, evolution began its work in the rituals and the degrees, as had been the case in England. English Masonry, at the revival in 1717, began with one degree; in France it began with three.

In a pamphlet published in Paris in 1744, the author states:

"It is said among the Masons that there are several degrees above the Master, some say six, others carry the number to seven. Those who call themselves Scotch Masons (Maçons Ecossais) claim to be the fourth grade. This Masonry, differing from the other (the three symbolic degrees) in many points, is becoming popular in France, therefore the public will not be displeased if I communicate what I have read," etc.[1]

There were great numbers of detached Masonic degrees, so-called, floating through France about the middle of the last century, some being conferred by their inventors, who roamed from Lodge to Lodge. Sometimes they were conferred by Lodges. These degrees were claimed by their propagators as being higher than that of Master; however, there was no sequence in the order of conferring them.

There is a popular tradition that the Chevalier Ramsey was the inventor or author of the first of the so-called High Grades in France, and that he it was who introduced that ubiquitous name into French Masonry, "Ecossais." There is no authentic evidence, however, in support of this statement; it is simply a myth, and a very clumsy one at that, and yet it has been and is still accepted by nearly all Masonic writers as true. Mr. Gould exposes its absurdity.

Ramsey was a Scotchman by birth, a gentleman of some rank, and highly educated. We cannot believe that he ever wrote or gave countenance to the puerile trumpery legends

[1] Le Parfait Maçon, ou les Veritable secrets des quatre Grades d'Apprentis, Compagnons, Maîtres ordinairés, and Ecossais de la Franche-Maçonniere, etc., 12 mo. Imprimé cette Anneé (1744). This is probably the first printed book on Masonry in which there is any allusion to the "Ecossais" degrees.

and traditions, with which many of the grades "Ecossais" were filled. Some of them contained nonsensical and transparent historical anachronisms, too contemptible for consideration. They were equally defective in their geography. Does any intelligent Scotchman believe that Ramsey ever invented that cock-and-bull geographical fanfaronade about that mountain "Heredon" sixty miles north of Edinburgh?

Ragon credits him with having invented a system composed of three degrees, (1) L'Ecossais, (2) Le Novice, (3) Chevalier du Temple. This author was influenced by unreasonable prejudice against all kinds of High Grade Masonry, he gave a political interpretation, sometimes ridiculously absurd, to almost every symbol and allegory contained in the rituals.

The author of the travels of Cyrus never could have been the author of the Masonic stupidities contained in many of the grades attributed to him.

Some of the grades of the Rite of Perfection, however, would do no discredit to him, had he been their author.

Masonic High-Grade making in France was a flourishing, thriving business for about fifty years after the introduction of Masonry into that country in 1725. During that period hundreds of so-called Masonic degrees were invented and hawked over the Continent by their authors. Most of them were damned at their birth, others had an ephemeral existence, and are only known now by manuscript copies in the collections of the curious; a few however, having merit, survived, and being generally accepted, they were conferred in the regular Masonic bodies (if there were any such?) or by *self-constituted* Chiefs in High-Grade Masonry.

Most of the degrees included in the Ineffable Series (II), also the degrees of Knight of the East or Sword, Prince of Jerusalem, Rose Croix, and Chevalier Kadosh, became very popular and universal; they were conferred indiscriminately on Master Masons, without the slightest attempt or pretense at observing any kind of sequence in the order of conferring them.

The ambition of the recipients appears to have been to get as many Masonic (?) degrees as they could, without regard to the order in which they received them; the vendors of the grades were only too ready to meet their views.

The manuscripts of the time all differ as to the order in which the degrees were arranged, numbered and conferred. Thus in one we find a particular degree called the seventh, while in another we may find the same degree called the fourth. From 1725 to about 1760, chaos reigned supreme not only in the High Grades, but in all kinds of Masonry in France, and throughout the Continent.

From this chaos of grades Masonic systems or rites finally began to emerge about the middle of the last century.

Ragon, in his "Orthodoxie Maçonnique," enumerates several systems or rites that made their appearance on the Continent, beginning with the mythical Ramsey's system of three degrees, added to the symbolic degrees.

We shall refer to only two of these systems. In 1754 the Chevalier de Bonneville established a Chapter of the high degrees at Paris in the College of the Jesuits of Clermont; the organization was called the Chapter of Clermont. This system of Masonry, introduced and practised by him, received the name of the Rite of Perfection, or Rite of Heredom, it consisted of twenty-five degrees as follows:

1. Apprentice.
2. Fellow Craft.
3. Master.
4. Secret Master.
5. Perfect Master.
6. Intimate Secretary.
7. Intendent of the Building.
8. Provost and Judge.
9. Elect of Nine.
10. Elect of Fifteen.
11. Illustrious Elect, Chief of the Twelve Tribes.
12. Grand Master Architect.
13. Royal Arch.
14. Grand Elect Ancient Perfect Master.
15. Knight of the Sword.
16. Prince of Jerusalem.
17. Knight of the East and West.
18. Rose Croix.
19. Grand Pontiff.
20. Grand Patriarch.
21. Grand Master of the Key of Masonry.
22. Prince of Libanus.
23. Sovereign Prince Adept.
24. Illustrious Knight Commander of the Black and White Eagle.
25. Most Illustrious Sovereign Prince of Masonry, Grand Knight Sublime Commander of the Royal Secret.

Most of these degrees, possibly all of them, had been floating about in France, detached from each other for many years before. The Chevalier de Bonneville or the Chapter of Clermont simply arranged and grouped them together.

Little is known of the history of this organization. It had but a brief existence, giving way in four years to another, which was destined to play an important part in the history of High Grade Masonry.

In 1759 the Council of Emperors of the East and West was organized in Paris; its members styled themselves Sovereign Prince Masons, Substitutes General of the Royal Art, Grand Superintendents and Officers of the Grand and Sovereign Lodge of St. John of Jerusalem.

The Rite or System consisted of twenty-five degrees, divided into seven classes. The degrees were the same as those of the Rite of Perfection, which organization it appears to have succeeded.

This body constituted Lodges of sublime Freemasonry, chapters and colleges. The first three degrees, the symbolic, were conferred in symbolic Lodges. From the fourth to the fourteenth (eleven) were the ineffable or sublime degrees conferred in Lodges of Perfection; the fifteenth and sixteenth were historic of the period of Cyrus and Darius, and were conferred in Councils; the seventeenth was mystical, founded on incidents related in the Apocalypse; the eighteenth founded on the Passion of Christ, as related in

the Evangelists, were conferred in Chapters; the nineteenth to the twenty-third, inclusive, were traditional, historical and allegorical; the twenty-fourth related to the vicissitudes of the Templars, and the twenty-fifth was philosophical, historical and executive. The degrees from the nineteenth to the twenty-fifth inclusive were conferred in a Council of Princes of the Royal Secret.

In 1759, it is alleged that this Council founded a Council of Princes of the Royal Secret at Bordeaux.[1]

In 1761 this Council granted a patent to Stephen Morin, deputising him as a Grand Inspector of the body, with authority to establish "Perfect and Sublime Masonry" in all parts of the world. This document is most important in the history of the introduction of High-Grade Masonry into this country. Mr. Gould prints a translation of it.[2] Thory also prints a copy of it in French. The Carson collection also contains a copy in manuscript of the date of 1767, made at Albany, N. Y. This was the copy given to the Lodge of Perfection in that city by Andrew Francken, its founder. He had it from Morin, as the MS. itself states. More of this as we proceed. A rival body to the Council of the Emperors of the East and West was organized in Paris, July 22, 1762, by one Pirlet; it took the name of "Council of Knights of the East."[3]

In 1762, the Grand Constitutions in thirty-five Articles were adopted by nine commissioners from the Council of the Emperors of the East and West, of Paris, and the Council of Princes of the Royal Secret of Bordeaux (?).[4]

This document being signed by Chaillon de Joinville, Substitute General of the Order, and others of the Grand Lodge of France, has given rise to the theory, for it is only a theory, that it was a "Joint Authority" from the Council of the Emperors of the East and West, and the Grand Lodge.

Mr. Gould says that in this year (1761), the faction (or Grand Lodge), headed by Lacorne and Joinville, held a joint meeting with the Emperors, which resulted in the grant to Morin of his famous patent.[5]

If such a meeting was held we take it that each body acted for itself, the faction of the Grand Lodge intending to give Morin authority for establishing Lodges of the *first three degrees*, and the Emperors authorizing him to establish the High-Grade bodies, and confer the degrees from the 4th to the 25th inclusive. There is no evidence whatever that the Emperors made any compromise or concession of control over their grades—neither body made any waiver of their respective rights to the other. The arrangement, if made at all, was for the purpose of introducing and propagating their respective systems or rites in America, neither to be in conflict or antagonism with the other.

As evidence that the Grand Lodge did not claim to exercise any control over the degrees of the System or Rite of Perfection, or those of the Emperors of the East and West, which were the same, we need only refer to the fact that on the 14th of August, 1766, it issued a circular *forbidding its Lodges to have anything to do with any high grades whatever.*

At a meeting of the Grand Lodge October 2, 1766, this decree was repealed, and a

[1] Thory, Acta Latamorum, T. I. p. 76.

[2] Gould, vol. iii., p. 379.

[3] Histoire du Fondation du Grand Orient, p. 121.

[4] The Morin Patent of Albany, MS. in the Carson Collection has a copy of these Constitutions appended.

[5] Gould, vol. iii., p. 400.

motion was carried that it was necessary to be incorporated with the Council of the Emperors. The proposition was placed before the Lodges by circular, etc.

In 1767, owing to the quarrels and actual brawls that had taken place in the Grand Lodge, a Royal Order was issued, forbidding further meetings of the body;[1] this of course prevented the consummation of the proposed union or amalgamation with the Emperors.

There was really no governing head of the Lodges (symbolic) in France from February 21, 1767, to April 5, 1772. On that day the Duc de Chartres signed a document in which he said, that in view of a resolution passed in Grand Lodge June 24, 1771 (the Paris Masters of the dormant Grand Lodge met on that day), and in the Sovereign Council of the Emperors, August 26, 1771, he accepted the *offices* of Grand Master of all regular Lodges in France, and Sovereign Grand Master of all Councils, Chapters and Scots Lodges of the Grand Globe of France (*sic.*).

This indicates most clearly that the Symbolic and High-Grade system, as represented by these two bodies in France, were up to this date separate and distinct organizations—the Duke accepted the *offices*, that is, *chief office of each*. We have still further and later proof: July 26, 1772, a meeting of the Emperors of the East and West was held, and a deputation consisting of four was appointed to wait on the Grand Lodge and *renew* the proposals of fusion made October 2, 1766.

On August 9, 1772, the deputation of the Emperors appeared in the Grand Lodge, was heard, and it was unanimously and irrevocably decided that the bodies be united, etc.[1]

At the same meeting a joint committee of eight was appointed to revise the statutes, the revision to be approved at a joint meeting of the two bodies. Mark, this was the revived Grand Lodge, not the one over which the Duc de Chartres accepted the Grand Mastership, October 14, 1773, not the *Grand Orient.*

December 10, 1772, the *last meeting* of the revived Grand Lodge was held, the one with which the Emperors was united in 1772, and none was subsequently called, under the pretense of "Superior Orders." [2] As a matter of fact the decree against the meeting of the Grand Lodge had never been revoked. Can any of the meetings of this body after the Royal edict of February 21, 1767, ordering it to cease to meet, be regarded as legal regular meetings?

On March 9, 1773, the Commissioners and Provincial Deputies met, and the sole and only tribunal of the Order was proclaimed, with the title of National Grand Lodge of France, afterwards the Grand Orient of France.[2] This was really only preliminary to the organization of a new Grand Lodge, or governing body. There was much strife and controversy among the members at this time; many of them, in fact nearly all of the Paris Masters, claimed that the committee had exceeded its powers. The result was that the Paris Masters called a general assembly of the Grand Lodge (old), and they by resolution withdrew, or assumed to withdraw, the powers granted to the eight commissioners (August 9, 1772), and a protest was drawn up against the action of the committee, also against the authority of the new Grand Lodge (the Grand Orient). They assumed to revive the old Grand Lodge, the one that made the union with the Council of the Emperors of the East and West; they claimed the Duc de Chartres as Grand Master, he having been elected by the short-lived revived Grand Lodge June 24, 1771. The Grand Orient also claimed him as its Grand Master under the same election. The history of

[1] Gould, vol. iii., p. 404.

[2] Gould, vol. iii., p. 405.

Masonry in France at all times is indescribably perplexing and confusing, but it is especially so during the period from 1760 to 1786.

It is not our purpose to attempt to give a general history of the Masonic troubles and dissensions in France during this period. We confine ourselves to so much of the history as directly relates to the Rite of Perfection and its *legal* successor, the Council of Emperors of the East and West, if there was any kind of legal Masonry, high or low in France, during the last century.

Mr. Gould has given the general history of Masonry in France in a very able, exhaustive and satisfactory manner in Chapters XXII. and XXIII., and we have made liberal use of the same in our attempt to bring together a chronological sketch of the history of the beginning and first foundation of the systems of the Rite of Perfection and of the Emperors of the East and West.

We have verified most of the historical statements made by Mr. Gould relating to these subjects, comparing them with the original authorities quoted, and we have always found him correct.

We, however, do not always agree with him in his deductions as to the cause of the wars and strifes in Masonry in France during the last century. He attributes them unqualifiedly to the "High Grades." It is true that almost continual internal discord and wrangling and anarchy prevailed in Masonry in France from about 1760 down to the beginning of the French revolution in 1789. Is there anything surprising in this, when we take into consideration the fierce political and religious turmoil which was raging in the country during that time.

The condition of France was most deplorable, the struggle between the downtrodden, oppressed people, and an insolent overbearing nobility and corrupt judiciary and clergy, was going on and gaining in intensity day by day; political, religious and social anarchy prevailed, ending in that fearful and bloody period of modern history, the French Revolution. Is it reasonable to assume that Masonry should have maintained itself pure amid such surroundings?

Freemasonry in France, even with all its turmoils, feuds, and bitter strifes, had as much peace and order in it as had any political, religious, scientific or literary organization of that unhappy country during that troublesome period.

High-Grade Masonry has been made the scapegoat, by most Masonic writers great and small, for all the miseries with which French Masonry, indeed the Masonry of all countries, has been afflicted. The "sheep walking" paths in this line have been so much and so long travelled by all classes of Masonic writers, that they have become great canyons in the granite mountain of truth. The charge however is not founded in fact. Wherever there has been disturbance caused, as may be alleged by High-Grade Masons or High-Grade Masonry, it will be found upon close investigation that there was no legitimate or regular High-Grade Masons or organizations connected with it, but rather some *self-styled, self-created, schismatic body, or individuals claiming to be High Grade.*

Up to October 14, 1773, the Grand Master, the Duc de Chartres, had refused to receive the deputation from the Grand Lodge (Grand Orient). On that day, however, he received them, and a date was appointed for his installation.[1] Therefore, this date may be regarded as the legal beginning of the Grand Orient of France; the Duke was installed Grand Master eight days thereafter (October 22).

[1] Gould, vol. iii., p. 410.

December 27th, the Grand Orient appointed a committee to *revise and examine all the high degrees*, and all of its Lodges were directed TO WORK MEANWHILE IN THE THREE SYMBOLIC DEGREES ONLY.[1] This committee was replaced by another March 24, 1776. Notwithstanding the Duc de Chartres had accepted and been installed as Grand Master of the National Grand Lodge (Grand Orient), the old Grand Lodge on the same day (December 27, 1773) met and also claimed to work under the auspices of the Duc de Chartres, etc.

1782, January 18. The Grand Orient erected a Chamber of Grades, to continue and conclude the work of the committee previously appointed (in 1773).[2]

1783, May 16, the Grand Orient issued a circular calling upon its Lodges to send copies of all High-Grade rituals in their possession to the Chamber of Grades, as a help to its labors in arranging them. This certainly indicates that the high grades had not yet been formulated into a system by the Grand Orient, and that it was not working the twenty-five grades of the Emperors of the East and West.[3]

We have traced the history of the Rite of Perfection, with its twenty-five degrees, from its beginning (1754) as the Chapter of Clermont, and in its second period under the name of Council of Emperors of the East and West, down to about 1780, when its history becomes lost in the general disorder and confusion prevailing in France, not only in Masonry, but in everything else at that memorable period in that country's history.

There is great diversity of opinion among Masonic writers as to what became of the Council and its grades. Thory says that, in 1780, the Council took the name of Sublime Mère-Loge Ecossais du Grand Globe Francais, Souveraine Grande Loge de France, and that having fallen into bad repute through some of its own unmasonic acts, it soon after ceased to exist.[4]

In another place he says there was in 1785 in Paris a body of Masons called the Grand Chapitre General de France. It was formed from the *débris* of the Ancient Council of Emperors of the East and West and some Masons who possessed the high grades.[5]

Rebold repeats this in Thory's very words, showing that he was "sheep walking." It is a mere statement—no evidence whatever is produced to verify it.

Mr. Gould's cullings from the best authorities, chief among whom is Dr. Kloss, produce a different story. He says the Chapter was projected by Monteleau, and organized February 2, 1784, by seven Rose Croix Chapters of the city of Paris.[6] There is not a shadow of "*débris*," from the Emperors of the East and West in Mr. Gould's account. Ragon says that in 1781 the Council of Knights of the East, and that of the Emperors of the East and West, having fallen into disgrace, went into rapid decay, and soon disappeared from the Masonic scene to return to the nothingness whence they came.[7]

He does not unite the defunct organization with any one Masonic body; he may do so in some other part of his work—it would be very like him. However, what we quote is undoubtedly the true story.

Woodward says, "In 1780 the Grand Council des Empereurs seems to have adopted as a new title that of Sublime Mère Loge Ecossais du Grand Globe Francais, Souveraine Grande Loge de France, but all in vain. It was an *expiring effort*. In 1781 it seems to have *vanished from the scene*, though from its ashes, like a new Masonic Phœnix, a Grand

[1] Gould, vol. iii., p. 410.
[2] Ibid, vol. iii., p. 413.
[3] Ibid, vol. iii., p. 414.
[4] Acta Latamorum, T. I., p. 144.
[5] Acta Latamorum, T. I., p. 165.
[6] Gould, vol. iii., p. 414.
[7] Orthodoxie Maçonnique, p. 138

Chapitre Generale de France, mainly composed of Chevaliers de l'Orient, etc., came to the front." [1]

The Grand Chapter General was not created until February 2, 1784. It was formed by Rose Croix Masons, and not by Knights of the East. If the Council died in 1781, where was the twenty-five grade system during the intervening three years? Then the Council of the Emperors of the East and West being dead, *it* could not have transferred its powers and degrees to the Grand Chapter.

Folger informs us that "the Council of the Emperors of the East and West was united with the Grand Orient in 1772."[2] In another place he says "United with the Grand Lodge in which body it had always before its chambers, and they became one body, controlling the Rite of Perfection from the first to the twenty-fifth degree. The Grand Lodge of France, in its turn, united with the Grand Orient of France by treaty, in 1786, and also renewed in 1799, relinquishing all its powers to that body. And from the broken remains of the Ancient Council of the Emperors of the East and West, and of the Council of Knights of the East, there arose in 1784, with the assistance of many brethren of those high degrees and officers of the Grand Lodge of France, a Grand Chapter General of France, which, in its turn, became united with the Grand Orient of France by treaty of February 27, 1786."

We have shown that the Grand Lodge, with which the Emperors of the East and West was united in 1772, *ceased to meet after December 10th of that year;* therefore that faction of a Grand Lodge could not, did not, unite with the Grand Orient in 1786. It follows therefore that, if the Grand Orient's claim of jurisdiction over the degrees of the Rite of Perfection is based upon no better title than this, it utterly fails. And we believe this is as good as any other of her absurd trumped-up claims. Then we have this important fact in refutation of Mr. Folger's story about the Grand Orient's title: *There was no union between any Grand Lodge and the Grand Orient of France in* 1786. However, this was not material with Mr. Folger. The foregoing is only a sample of the kind of history with which his book is filled.

In 1775, the Grand Orient reconstituted the Lodge St. Lazare in Paris. Afterwards this Lodge, wishing to work the grades Ecossais (High), applied to the Mother Lodge of that Rite at Avignon for authority, and a constitution was accorded it under the title *Saint Jean d'Ecossais du Contrait Social,* this name being substituted for that of Saint Lazare. It was necessary that this change of name should be approved by the Grand Orient, from whom the Lodge had its Charter. Application was made to that Grand body for that purpose, also its sanction for the change to Saint Jean d'Ecossais du Contrait Social, to which was added *Mère Ecossaise.* The Grand Orient required them to erase from the title the words "Mère Ecossaise."

In discussing the question, the Commission said, "The Grand Orient has never prevented any of her Subordinates from practising the Superior Grades, but being *limited* herself *to the* SYMBOLIC DEGREES, SHE HAS NO POWER TO AUTHORIZE ANY TITLE RELATING TO THE CONFERRING OF THE HIGH GRADES," etc.

In the further discussion of the case, for a controversy grew out of it, the Commission said, "our Grand Orient had no knowledge then (1775) nor has it now (1779) of any other than the *three first degrees.*" [3]

[1] Kenning's Masonic Encyclopædia, p. 197. [2] Folger, Documents, p. 19.

[3] Etat du Grand Orient de France, 1779, T. III., pp. 28, 55.

Certainly the Grand Orient itself would have known if it had taken control of the High Grades. Can there be any stronger proof than this, that it did not control nor officially recognize High-Grade Masonry?

In 1786, the Grand Orient of France, after a committee had devoted several years to the labor, produced and adopted what has since been known as the French Rite, by adding four degrees to the Symbolic, making a total of seven. The added degrees were Elu, Ecossais, Chevalier d'Orient, and Chevalier Rose Croix. And it was at the same time decreed that *these were the only degrees that should be recognized and worked in the Chapters attached to the Lodges in its jurisdiction.*

Certainly there is no recognition of the system of the Rite of Perfection, or of the Emperors of the East and West, nor of the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite, in this condensing act.

In 1787, the Grand Orient entered into a treaty of fusion with the Grand Chapter. The Chapter brought no new degrees; it had only four, and they were substantially those adopted by the Grand Orient the year before.[1]

There is nothing in this fusion indicating that the Grand Chapter brought to the Grand Orient the twenty-five degree system of the Rite of Perfection, or of the Emperors of the East and West. The Grand Orient already had the four chapter degrees. The transaction was simply a fusion of rival bodies practising the same grades. It is true that the four grades were an attempt at a compression of the twenty-five degrees into four. How did the Grand Orient or the Grand Chapter become possessed of the twenty-five degrees for this condensing process? Simply by usurpation, or by right of conquest: each found the degrees without owner, the Council of Emperors of the East and West having disappeared, and they seized them, as the latter body had done in 1758, when it formed itself out of the *débris* of the Rite of Perfection.

We have in this sketch tried to place before our readers the following historical facts:

1st. That at the organization of the Grand Lodge of England in 1717, there was but one degree of Symbolic Masonry in England, Ireland and Scotland.

2d. That within eight years thereafter, evolution had added two degrees, with a much enlarged ritual.

3d. That within another fifteen or twenty years two more degrees, the Royal Arch and Knight Templar, were evolved.

4th. That in 1725, the three Symbolic degrees were introduced into France from England.

5th. That the work of evolution in the making of Masonic degrees went on in France much more rapidly than it had done in England; that hundreds of degrees and rituals, good, bad and indifferent, were produced and floating about on the Continent, being conferred by their inventors, who assumed to themselves high-sounding Masonic titles and authority.[2]

6th. That in 1754, the Chevalier de Bonneville organized a system in twenty-five degrees, known as the Rite of Perfection, under the title of Chapter of Clermont.

[1] Mr. Gould gives a brief account of this affair, vol. iii. p. 416.

[2] The Carson Collection contains some 300 continental manuscript rituals of the last century. Thory, in his Acta Latamorum, gives a catalogue of many hundreds, and M. Fustier, in a manuscript in the Carson Collection, gives a list of 429 degrees; some, however, are repeated. Nearly all of these degrees and rituals were prepared before or about 1750, very few of them much later than that date.

7th. That in 1758, the System, or Rite of twenty-five degrees, known as the Council of Emperors of the East and West, was organized. In some way it became possessed of the same grades, and was successor to the Chapter of Clermont.

8th. That in 1761, this body granted the celebrated patent to Stephen Morin, by authority of which he introduced the Rite (twenty-five degrees) into the West Indies and America.

9th. That August 9, 1772, the Council of Emperors of the East and West united itself, not with the Grand Orient of France, but with a *faction* of the *Grand Lodge* of France, styling itself the Old Grand Lodge.

10th. That four months thereafter (December 10, 1772) *that* factional *Grand Lodge ceased to exist.*

11th. That in 1779, the Grand Orient made official announcement that its power was *limited to the Symbolic degrees,* that it *knew nothing of High degrees,* consequently it *claimed no control over them.*

12th. That in 1786, the Grand Orient formally promulgated what has since been known as the French Rite, four degrees added to the three Symbolic, making a total of seven, and these were the only degrees recognized, and *no others were permitted to be worked in the Chapters or Lodges.*

This brings us down to about the beginning of the French Revolution, when all Masonry in France, with infinitesimal exceptions, became dormant, say from 1789 until October 17, 1796; at the latter date the Grand Lodge held a meeting. In 1799, the Grand Lodge and Grand Orient united. Some say that this union brought to the Grand Orient, through the Grand Lodge, the twenty-five degrees of the Council of the Emperors of the East and West. There is nothing in this statement, however, for the Grand Lodge could not bring or deliver what it did not have. With this chronological arrangement we close the first part of our sketch, and in the next chapter will endeavor to give some account of the introduction of the twenty-five degree system into America, by Stephen Morin, and what followed from it.

CHAPTER XLII.

INTRODUCTION OF THE RITE OF PERFECTION INTO AMERICA.

THE first three or the symbolic degrees of Freemasonry were introduced into this country in the early part of the last century, probably about 1730. The earliest account that has yet been discovered relating to the subject, is of a Lodge in Philadelphia in 1731. It is more than probable that it was irregularly organized, if we are to test its legality by our modern rigid rules in such matters; at that date, however, and for many years thereafter there was a great laxity in Masonic law and usage in this country. It is probable that the first Masonic Lodge in America was organized by some seven or eight Masons from the old country, who happened to meet together, and recognizing that they were Masons, and some one or more of them having the "Master's part," they without hesitation formed themselves into a Lodge of Masons, believing they had the right to do so.

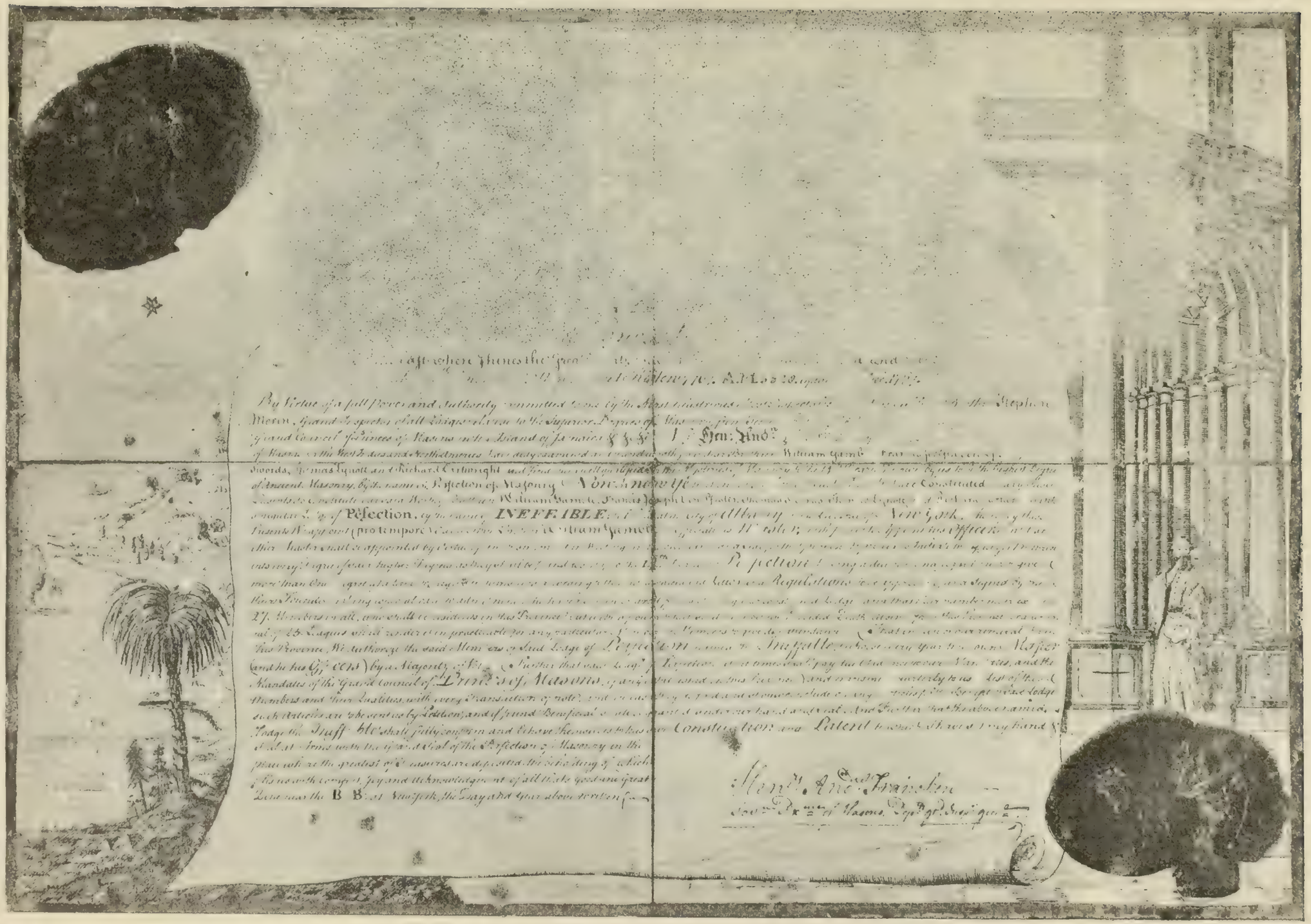
Mr. Gould, in his XXIst Chapter, gives a full and most satisfactory account of the question of the priority of date of the beginning of Masonry in this country, as between Boston and Philadelphia, awarding seniority to the latter city.

As a good typical illustration of the loose manner in which Lodges were organized in the colonies during the last century, we quote the following curious and interesting account of the beginning of Union Lodge No. 1, City of Albany, given in the early history of the Grand Lodge of New York:[1]

Previous to and during a part of the year 1759, Lodge 74, Registry of Ireland, in the Second Battalion Royal, holding a warrant from the Grand Lodge of Ireland, dated October 26, 1737, was stationed in the City of Albany. Being about to leave that city, they were petitioned by the resident members for authority to hold a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons in said city, whereupon the Lodge prepared a fac-simile of their warrant endorsed as follows:

We the Master, Wardens and Brethren of a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons No. 74, Registry of Ireland, held in the Second Battalion Royal, adorned with all the honors, and assembled in due form, do hereby declare, certify and attest that Whereas, our body is very numerous by the addition of many new Members, Merchants and Inhabitants of the City of Albany, they having earnestly requested and besought us to enable them to hold a Lodge during our absence from them, and we knowing them to be men of undoubted reputation, and men of skill and ability in Masonry, and desirous to promote the welfare of the Craft, We have, therefore, by unanimous consent and agreement, given them an exact and true Copy of our Warrant as above, and have properly installed Mr. Richard Cartwright, Mr. Henry Bostwick and Mr. William Ferguson, as Assistant Master and Wardens of our body, allowing them to sit and act during our absence, or until they by our assistance can procure a separate Warrant for themselves from the Grand Lodge in Ireland.

[1] Vol. i., p. 18.



Fac-simile of the Patent of the Lodge of Perfection, Albany, N. Y., 1767.

Given under our hands and seal of our Lodge in the City of Albany, the eleventh day of April, in the year of Masonry 5759 and in the year of our Lord God, 1759.

Signed.

JOHN STEADMAN, *Secretary.*
No. 74 of Ireland,

ANIAS SOUTHERLAND, *Master.*
CHARLES CALDER, *Senior Warden.*
THOMAS PARKER, *Junior Warden.*

We shall not dwell upon the history of Symbolic Chapter, or Templar Masonry in this country, as that has been satisfactorily treated by Mr. Gould in the body of the work, and by Mr. Drummond and Mr. Parvin in the additional chapters contributed by them.

It is sufficient for our purpose to say that, in this country as in Europe, the work of evolution in degrees began at an early day. The Royal Arch was practised as early as 1758, and the Masonic Knights Templar as early as 1769, and at the end of the last century we had our present "American system"—Symbolic Masonry in three degrees, Chapter Masonry in four degrees and Templar Masonry in three degrees, or a total of ten degrees.

We will now take up the history of the twenty-five grades brought to this country by Morin.

In the previous Chapter we gave a historic sketch of the Rite of Perfection in twenty-five degrees, and the Council of Emperors of the East and West, which we may assume to have been the same, from their rise in France, down to a period when their history was lost in the general "wreck of matter" that took place in that country in the latter part of the last century. We shall endeavor to give some account of the great results that followed in the "New World" from Morin's patent of 1761. No question has ever been raised as to the authenticity of that document. It has been published in all languages. We have examined several old manuscript copies in French, also a copy in English—probably the first in that language ever written—the one left with the Albany brethren by Henry Andrew Francken, in 1767. They all agree in every substantial particular. Morin went from Paris to San Domingo, and there, in accordance with the authority given him by his patent, he commenced to "multiply the Royal Order of Masons in all the perfect and sublime degrees."

The precise date of his arrival in the island is not known; it is probable, however, that it was in the latter part of 1761 or in the early part of 1762.

He established himself at Jackmel, and probably organized a Council of Princes of the Royal Secret there, though the date of such establishment is unknown. He made San Domingo his headquarters, or Grand Orient for High-Grade Masonry in the New World. He also established a Council of Princes of the Royal Secret at Kingston, Jamaica, in 1770, and appointed numerous Deputy Inspectors General for the purpose of propagating the Rite, granting them roving commissions with powers very similar to his own.

Some writers have said that Morin was not authorized by his patent to appoint Inspectors; this however is an error. The document says expressly, "We grant him with full and entire power to create Inspectors in all places where the Sublime degrees shall not be established."

We have but little reliable information as to Morin's doings under his authority. We have enough evidence, however, to trace the introduction of the sublime degrees

into the English colonies directly, through the Deputy Grand Inspectors General, holding their authority from him. We copy the following on this subject from Mr. Pike's "Historical Inquiry in regard to the Grand Constitutions of 1786," as it contains about all that is known relating to the Deputy Inspectors General, who came direct or by second hand from Morin.

We are not in possession of all the successive deputizations, or their dates, by which the powers of Stephen Morin were transferred, and successive Deputy Inspectors created. But there is a record[1] of the filiation of his powers. We learn from it that Stephen Morin, Inspector General of all the Lodges, Chapters, Councils and Grand Councils, etc., in all parts of the new world, gave the degree of Grand Inspector General, etc., to Brother (Andrew) Francken, at Jamaica; at what date we do not find [prior however to 1767].[2]

That the Bro. Francken communicated it to Bro. Moses M. Hayes at Boston; at what date we do not find.

That the Bro. Hayes communicated it to Bro. Barend M. Spitzer, at Charleston.

But the Bro. Spitzer, in the patent of Deputy Inspector General, granted by him 2d April, 1795, to the Bro. John Mitchell, states that he does so by authority of a Convention of Inspectors, convened in Philadelphia on the 25th day of June, 1781.[3]

That all the Deputy Grand Inspectors, met in Sublime Council at the Orient of Philadelphia, conferred it on the Bro. Moses Cohen. [But the Bro. Moses Cohen, in his patent of Deputy Grand Inspector to Bro. Hyman Isaac Long, himself claims by patent from Bro. Barend M. Spitzer, Deputy Grand Inspector, given at Charleston, on the 12th of January, 1794.][4]

That the Bro. Moses Cohen communicated it to the Bro. Hyman Isaac Long. [The copy of his patent is dated at the Orient of a Council of Princes of the Royal Secret N. Lat. 17, 42, the 11th day of the 11th month, called Thebat, of the Restoration 5554, and of the vulgar era 11th January, 1794, which is an evident error of the copyist, for 1795].[5]

Morin's patent was probably the first Masonic document of the kind ever issued. It was unique; it was the beginning of one of the greatest abuses with which Masonry has been afflicted. The placing of almost unlimited legislative, executive and administrative Masonic powers in the hands of irresponsible individuals, who too often used their authority for mercenary purposes and to subserve their own selfish ends, has been the cause of endless trouble to honest honorable High-Grade Masonry. If the powers of these Inspectors had been limited simply to the organizing of bodies to confer and control the degrees, it would not have proved so baneful in its results, but they were not. Any one of them clothed with the authority of a patent as a Deputy Inspector General could, and most of them did, roam over the country conferring degrees, and creating Deputy Inspectors General at their pleasure for a pecuniary consideration, seldom for "love or affection," either for their victims or for the Order. We shall have occasion to refer to this subject again.

Morin's patent had appended to it a list of the degrees, twenty-five in number, over which the Council of Emperors of the East and West claimed to have control, and which he was authorized to introduce into the New World. We have already given this list.

[1] Register of Delahogue, MSS. Charleston. Reading from the Livre d'Or of the Bro. De Grasse, by the Baron de Marguerittes, on the trial of De Grasse, Paris, 1818, p. 69.

[2] There is in the Carson Collection a manuscript copy of Morin's Warrant to Henry Andrew Francken and others, forming them into a Chapter of Sublime Princes of the Royal Secret at Kingston, Jamaica, April 30, 1770.

[3] Register of Moses Holbrook, MSS. at Charleston.

[4] Register of Moses Holbrook, p. 9, MS. at Charleston.

[5] Register of Aveilhe, pp. 8, 9, MS. at Charleston.

There was also appended to his patent, or it was sent to him shortly after his appointment, a copy of the Constitutions of 1762, as drawn up by the nine commissioners, etc. They do not purport to have been made until one year after the date of Morin's patent. Mr. Gould says they were never heard of in France until De Grasse produced them.[1]

The Carson Collection contains the original manuscript copy of these Constitutions in English, dated 1767; given to the Brethren organizers of the Lodge of Perfection in Albany, New York, in 1767, by Henry Andrew Francken, a Deputy Inspector appointed by Morin. Undoubtedly Francken had these Constitutions, together with the Rituals and the list of the degrees, from Morin himself.

This manuscript is authentic, there is not a shadow of doubt as to its date. It is absolutely conclusive evidence that the Constitutions of 1762 came originally from France, and that the Count De Grasse Tilley had nothing whatever to do with the making of them; he was only two years old when the Albany manuscript was written. Undoubtedly Francken received them from Morin before the Count was born; therefore the charge that he was the author of them is baseless—and yet how often this has been and is still insinuated and stated. It was through this same Henry Andrew Francken that the Rite of Perfection or Sublime Masonry, or Scottish Masonry in twenty-five degrees, was introduced into this country. The following extract, taken from the original Minute book of the Lodge of Perfection at Albany, N. Y., shows that Francken was in the City of New York in the latter part of 1767. How the Albany brethren obtained their knowledge of his Masonic qualifications does not appear from the record itself. We may fairly presume, however, that inasmuch as Mr. Francken was a Deputy Inspector, with powers "to multiply the Royal Order of Masons in all the perfect and sublime degrees in the New World," he sought for those whom he thought would be most likely to favorably entertain his plans and be most influential in "multiplying," etc. It is therefore probable that, not finding satisfactory material for his purpose in the city of New York, he opened a correspondence with some influential Masons in Albany, then a city of much importance in the Province of New York.

Sir William Johnson, a gentleman of great social and political influence in the province, resided near there. He was a Master Mason, the first W. M. of St. Patrick's Lodge, No. 8, at Johnstown, and inasmuch as Francken stipulated that Sir William should be the T. P. Grand Master of the Lodge of Perfection if he would accept, we may infer that it was with the design of procuring his powerful influence in behalf of his then entirely new system of Masonry that Francken directed his attention to Albany. This, however, is a mere supposition, supported only by slight circumstantial evidence. We know, however, that whatever may have been the circumstances which brought it about, it is a historical fact that Francken did found and establish a Lodge of Perfection in Albany, New York, in 1767. We make the following extract from the original Manuscript Record of that Lodge, giving an account of this most important event in the history of Scottish or High-Grade Masonry in this country:

About the 7th of October, 1767, Messrs. Pfister and Gamble were introduced at New York to Mr. Henry Andrew Francken, who a day or two after, by authority invested in him, initiated them in the II Degrees of Ancient Masonry, from the Secret Master, being the 4th, to the Perfection, which is the 14th, and known to be the utmost limits of Symbolic Masonry

[1] Gould, vol. iii., p. 383.

About a week after the above date Mr. Francken conferred on them the two first degrees of Modern Masonry or Masonry revived,[1] and proposed to them that, if they chose, he would erect a Lodge of Perfection at Albany, and appoint Wm. Gamble Master thereof (*pro tempore*) until Sir William Johnson should have the refusal of it. They thankfully accepted of his offer. On which he gave them a draft of a Constitution, whereof a fair draft was to be made when they arrived in Albany and five brethren should be initiated into the 14th degree.

About the latter end of October Mr. Sword and Mr. Lynot were introduced to Mr. Francken by Mr. Gamble, who conferred on them the degrees of Perfection, which completed the number to four; and as Mr. Sword's residence was at a considerable distance from Albany, Mr. Francken gave the above four a Dispensation to initiate at Albany Brothers Cartwright and Cuyler.

Mr. Richard Cartwright was initiated in consequence of the above Dispensation the 6th December, and considering of the inconveniences of Mr. Cuyler's situation, that he could not give that punctual attendance which will be absolutely necessary in the infancy of the Lodge, it was agreed that Mr. Gamble should write to Mr. Francken for a Dispensation in favor of Mr. Stringer, and at the same time enclosed him a fair copy of the Constitution to be signed and sealed by him; by the same post wrote to him for sundry Jewels, which I repeated in a letter of the 14th of December, in which letter a copy of the By-Laws of Union Lodge was inclosed with some Additional Articles for the Ineffable Body, and a letter from Bro. Cartwright to Mr. Weatherhead of New York, wherein Mr. Francken had credit for £8 10, being the cost of the following Articles per advice of Mr. Francken the 5th December:

One Seal for the Ineffable Lodge	2 10 0
Two do for Mr. Francken as the founder of our Lodge which we made him a present	5 00 0
A Register book of our Lodge	1 00 0
	£8 10 0

Which sum the brethren who have received prompt initiations are to pay share and share alike. Said letter to Mr. Weatherhead likewise contained a credit for Mr. Francken, for whatever Jewels and necessaries the Lodge may write for.

Saturday, the 26th of December, 1767, Mr. Francken sent us by same conveyance our Constitution signed and sealed.

Monday, the 28th (December, 1767), the members of the Ineffable Body that were in Town went in Procession with their Brethren of Union Lodge.[2] The members were Bro. Stringer, Bro. Lynott, Bro. Cartwright, Bro. Gamble and Bro. Pfister.

The Order of the Procession was:

Tyler
Musick
Apprentices
Fellow Crafts
2 Deacons
Masters
Past Masters
Wardens
Secretary
Master
Mason 9th Degree
do 14th do
Princes of Jerusalem and 2 Stewards.

[1] The following is written in the margin of the minutes. The writing appears to be contemporaneous with the minutes: "NOTE.—The degrees here alluded to are Knight of the East and Prince of Jerusalem: the degrees above that of Perfection being denominated degrees of Modern Masonry or Masonry revived. Bros. Gamble and Pfister walked in procession the 28th of December following, in the capacity of Princes of Jerusalem. See p. 3 of these minutes."

[2] The Lodge which had such a curious beginning, as before related.



Tracing Board of the 24th Degree Knight Kadosh,
Albany, N. Y., 1767.

This was the first Masonic procession in this country, the order of which mentions any High-Grade Masonry.

This Lodge erected a building for Lodge purposes, the corner stone of which was laid May 12, 1768, and was the second Masonic Lodge building erected in this country, the first having been built in Philadelphia in 1754.

On June 21st and again June 24, 1768, the Deputy, Henry Andrew Francken, was a visitor in the Lodge.

The Minutes show that on February 20, 1769, "Mr. Stringer presented a written submission to the Tribunal of the Grand Council of Princes of the Royal Secret from our founder, to be signed by the several members of this body."

This indicates most clearly that there was a real recognition of a high governing body or head; that although the Deputy created, he was not the head.

April 12, 1769, Sir William Johnson was raised to the Sublime Degree of Perfection. This was done *not in the Lodge room*, but at "Johnson Hall," Sir William's residence, in presence of Stringer and Gamble.

It does not appear from these minutes that he ever was Master of the Lodge of Perfection, though in the early History and Transactions of the Grand Lodge of New York the following passage occurs:

> On July 5, 1770, the Master (Sir William Johnson) addressed the Lodge (St. Patrick's), expressing his concern that his duty as Master of the Ineffable Lodge did not render it convenient for him to continue Master of the Lodge.[1]

There was probably some hitch that prevented him from becoming the Master.

March 27, 1769, Samuel Stringer produced to the Lodge a warrant from our Worshipful Founder constituting him a Deputy Inspector, which was read and approved by the Lodge.

Prior to this date all permissions for the conferring of the grades were issued by Francken; after this they were issued by Stringer, except in the case of Sir William Johnson, his permission having been granted by Francken.

The appointment of Stringer offended Gamble's pride, and he ceased attending the Lodge, and on the 17th of September, 1770, he was expelled for treating it with contempt.

Mr. Gamble had taken great interest in the organization of the Lodge, had copied all the rituals, constitutions, etc., and had executed a series of beautiful pen-and-ink drawings of the tracing boards of the various grades. These original drawings of the date of 1769 are still extant. The one illustrating the 24th degree, Knight Kadosh, is most interesting, the double-headed eagle on the apex of the ladder demonstrating that at that day the Sublime Lodges recognized the head as Prussian. We submit a facsimile of this drawing elsewhere.

> September 3, 1770, Deputy Inspector Stringer acquainted the body that he had received an order from the founder to transmit the minutes of the Lodge and the state thereof, to be forwarded to Berlin.

The minute-book from which the foregoing extracts are made ends with the meeting of December 5, 1774.

The history of the Lodge for many years thereafter is lost. The next minutes of its proceedings, so far as known, are dated October 5, 1821, when its labors were revived by

[1] Vol. i., p. 21.

Giles Fonda Yates and others. Like nearly all the Masonic bodies in New York, this body became dormant during the great Anti-Masonic excitement in 1826 and for many years thereafter. September 16, 1841, it was again revived, and it is still in existence, in full vigor, with a large membership, and is now, as it has been for more than sixty years, a subordinate of the Supreme Council of the 33° for the Northern Masonic Jurisdiction of the United States of America. It has had a continuous existence (excepting the suspension before noted) from 1767 to the present time. It is doubtful whether there is an older distinctive High-Grade organization of any kind in the world.

It does not appear that Francken organized any higher Scottish or Sublime Masonic bodies in Albany or in any other place in this country, though he conferred all the grades he possessed, twenty-five in number, except the Symbolic degrees, on several of the Albany members, and probably on many more in other localities, for we find upon the old minutes of the Albany Lodge, frequent entries of the names of "Visitors." Where did they come from?

We do not know how many Deputies he created; we know, however, that he appointed Samuel Stringer of Albany as one, with power equal to his own, and Stringer appointed Stephen Van Renselaer of Albany a Deputy in 1790, with similar powers.

The next organization of a body for the conferring of the Sublime or Scottish Degrees in this country was in Philadelphia, in 1781, the exact day being unknown.

Fortunately for the history of Sublime Masonry in America, this old Record book —imperfect though it is, with the evident breaks in it—of this Philadelphia Sublime Lodge of Perfection, was, a few years ago, unearthed from the rubbish where it had been lost and forgotten for more than half a century, and it is now in the library of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania.

It was first printed in the "Mirror and Keystone," Philadelphia, in 1854, and was printed in full by Philadelphia Consistory in 1878. This very rare and valuable historical manuscript has a title page as follows: "MINUTE BOOK FOR THE LODGE OF GRAND ELECT, PERFECT AND SUBLIME MASONS IN THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, 25TH JUNE, 1781."

We copy the following, which is the first entry after the title:

Philadelphia, 25th June, 1781.

At a Chapter held by the Order of the Deputy Inspector for Pennsylvania, in consequence of an advertisement by Mr. Ladroit Debussey, Sublime Grand Secretary, in the Pennsylvania packet of 23d June.

Bro. Solomon Bush, Deputy Grand Inspector for Pennsylvania, in the Chair.

Brother Isaac Da Costa, Grand Warden, Inspector General, for the W. I. and North America.

Members:

The Thrice Puisst. Simon Nathan, Deputy Grand Inspector for North Carolina.
The Thrice Puisst. Samuel Meyers, Deputy Grand Inspector for the Leeward Islands.
The Thrice Puisst. Barnerd M. Spitzer, Deputy Grand Inspector for Georgia.
The Thrice Puisst. Thomas Randal, Deputy Grand Inspector for New Jersey.
The Thrice Illustrious Benjamin Seixas, Prince of Jerusalem.
The Thrice Illustrious Moses Cohen, Knight of the Sun.
The Thrice Illustrious Myer M. Cohen, Knight of the Sun.

Six o'clock, a Lodge of Secret Masters was opened and proceeded to business. A Brother Ogilby requested admittance, reporting he was a Royal Arch; upon examination found he could not be admitted. After many debates in regard of establishing a Lodge of Perfection at this place, nothing decisive was concluded upon, excepting leaving the forming of a set of Rules and Regulations, which was to be done and presented at our next meeting by the Deputy Inspector for the State.

The next entry in the book is of October 23, 1782, sixteen months after the first meeting. Undoubtedly other meetings had been held between these dates and the organization of the Lodge of Perfection had been completed; the record, however, was not made in this book. The record of this meeting shows the proceedings of a regularly organized Masonic body. Petitions were received and acted upon, and the price for the various degrees was fixed, etc.

The following named Inspectors are recorded as being present:

The	Thrice	Puisst.	Isaac Da Costa in the chair, Inspr.
"	"	"	Sol'n Bush, Grand Warden, Inspr.
"	"	"	Jos. M. Myers, Sec'y *pro tem.*, Inspr. Maryland.
"	"	"	Thos. Randal, Inspr. New Jersey.
"	"	"	Simon Nathan " North Carolina.
"	"	"	B. M. Spitzer " Georgia.

This rare manuscript ends with the meeting of February 21, 1789. The history of this, the second Lodge of Perfection in America, after the last date given, is lost; what became of the organization is unknown. It is possible, and it is to be hoped, that at some day the missing records, like those from which we have quoted, will be found "among the rubbish."

We cannot omit referring to and copying one of the most curious and interesting matters recorded in this old minute-book. It is of great historical value, showing most conclusively, as it does, that this body of Sublime Masonry, like the one founded at Albany, recognized a Grand Council at Berlin, with Frederick the Great at its head, as the governing body of all sublime Freemasonry in "both hemispheres."

At the meeting November 2nd, 1785, the following was adopted:

On motion: That a committee be appointed to write to the Grand Council at Berlin and Paris, informing them of the establishment of this Sublime Lodge and the names of the several members who compose the same, and their several degrees, it was ordered that the following brethren be a committee for that purpose, *viz:* Charles Young, John Vannost, P. LeBarbier Duplessis, and the Thrice Puissant, and such committee was earnestly requested to have such letter prepared against the next meeting, that the same may be signed by the Thrice Puissant and transmitted as soon as possible.

At the next meeting, November 5, 1785, the following is the record:

The Thrice Puissant, as one of the committee appointed at our last meeting to write to the Grand Council at Berlin and Paris, informed the Lodge that the said committee had gone upon the business, but were not fully ready, but would make a report at the next meeting.

At the next meeting December 7, 1785, the following is the record:

A fair copy of the letter to the Grand Council at Berlin was then offered by the Secretary, agreeable to the order of last meeting; which being read, the same was ordered to be entered upon the minutes, and is as follows, *viz:*

Most Sublime and Powerful Sovereign:

Illustrious Chief of the Grand Council of Masons, in the dignified and exalted rank which you have done us the honor to maintain, in your general *Presidency* over the *Two Hemispheres* at the Great East of Berlin, allow me to approach your Royal Presence on a subject of the first moment to ourselves, and on a subject which, I would fain hope, will not sound unpleasant in the ears of our Great Thrice Puissant and Grand Commander, whom I take the liberty to address.

But with what language or sentiments shall I presume to introduce myself to so

splendid and illustrious a Sovereign, whom we have reason to consider as the best, the bravest, and brightest of mankind? In what manner, or in what language, shall I express myself to the glorious and renowned Frederick the Third, Sovereign of all Sovereigns, and Mighty Prince of Princes, whose Masonic fame has resounded through the Universe, as far as winds have blown, or waters rolled? The power of words can scarcely convey the distinguished feeling we entertain in your favor, and my humble pen, as conscious of its inabilities on such a topic, flows in a gentle and trembling style.

Possessing, however, every respectful and grateful idea which reverence can dictate and Brotherly love inspire; pleased above every consideration with your sovereign guidance of the Grand Councils of the spacious Hemispheres of Knights and Princes, I feel myself called upon, as well from duty as inclination, as well from a desire to advance and propagate the interests of the Royal Secrets, as from a conformity to the regulations and establishments of the Grand Council, and a compliance with the particular desires and partialities of the Sublime Grand Chapter, over which I preside, to acquaint our worthy and beloved brethren in Council convened at the Great East in Berlin, that under the smiles of heaven, and the direction of the Almighty Architect of all things, I, Solomon Bush, Grand Elect Perfect and Sublime Knight of the East and Prince of Jerusalem, Sovereign Knight of the Sun and of the White and Black Eagle, Prince of the Royal Secret, and Deputy Inspector General, the Grand Master over all Lodges, Chapters and Grand Councils of the Superior Degrees of Masonry, in North America, within the State of Pennsylvania, by letters patent from the Sovereign Grand Council of Princes, under their Hands and Seals regularly established by the Sublime Grand Council of Princes (to whom we look up with unspeakable reverence and adoration), pursuant to the power in me vested, have made, created, constituted and established a Sublime Lodge at the Great East of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania, in North America aforesaid, and on the twentieth day of September, in the presence of a great and numerous assembly of the fraternity, publicly consecrated the same, and set it apart for the purposes of Sublime Masonry forever.

Considering our infant situation, in a young and rising Empire, distant and remote as we are from the great East of Berlin, we feel ourselves peculiarly anxious uniformly to comply and pay a strict adherence to those salutary Rules and wise Regulations which have been framed and concerted for our better government; and not undeservedly have rose Masonry, Sublime Masonry, to a commanding eminence; which may be envied, but cannot be overreached.

For this purpose we most humbly solicit your Masonic intercourse and correspondence, to direct us in such a manner that we may not abuse the *old land-marks* or deviate from that regard which is so justly due to the will of our Sovereign and the measures they lay down for our regulation.

As these intercourses are essentially necessary to promote the grand ends of every Masonic Union, so we venture to hope, without presumption, that the great light of Berlin will condescend to shine upon us and dispel those mists of darkness which, from distance of situation and local circumstances, may otherwise surround us. Agreeably to the rules of the Grand Council, I now enclose you a list of the members of our Lodge in the prescribed form. We wish the Grand Council every success and prosperity in their illustrious pursuits for the honor and stability of the Royal Secrets, and wishing you, most respectable sovereign, that serene happiness and felicity which should adorn the remainder of your venerable days and gild the future prospects of our welfare, I remain, with the most sincere respect, love and esteem, your very humble and most affectionate Brother,

SOLOMON BUSH.

We notice another curious and interesting matter in connection with this Lodge of Perfection.

At a meeting held on March 11, 1788, one of its members was expelled for unmasonic conduct. In connection with this we find the following in the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, as published by authority, under date March 31, 1788:

Read, a letter from Peter Le Barbier Duplessis, Secretary of the Sublime Lodge of Perfection, informing the (G.) Lodge that Bro. B. N——, in consequence of charges entered and proved against him before the Sublime Lodge of Perfection, held in this city

on the 11th inst., was unanimously expelled from said Lodge, which was ordered to be filed and entered in the Minutes of the Grand Lodge.[1]

This, with many other similar incidents which might be produced, show that there was fraternal communication and recognition of High-Grade Masonry by the Symbolic Masons and Lodges in this country at this early day, even by that most conservative of all Masonic bodies, the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania.

Our limited space will not permit the making of further extracts from this valuable manuscript.

The next Sublime Grand Lodge of Perfection in this country was established in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1783, by Isaac Da Costa, a Deputy Inspector General, having his appointment or authority from Moses M. Hayes. June 13, 1796, its Lodge room, record, jewels and furniture were destroyed by fire and its history is lost.[2]

There is no evidence that it held any meetings after that disaster. July 5, 1801, the Grand Council of Princes of Jerusalem, at Charleston, granted a warrant for a Lodge of Perfection in Charleston. This would indicate that the old Lodge of Perfection of 1783 was extinct.

February 20, 1788, a Grand Council of Princes of Jerusalem was established in Charleston, S. C., by Joseph Myers, a Deputy Inspector General holding his authority from Moses M. Hayes.[3] The circular of 1802 says that Morin appointed Hayes Deputy Inspector General for North America. This is an error. Hayes was appointed by Francken, and in Boston, Mass.

This was the first and the only Council of Princes of Jerusalem as a distinct and separate body, organized in this country before the organization of the Supreme Council in Charleston, 1801.

A Sublime Grand Council of Princes of the Royal Secret was organized in Charleston, S. C , January 13, 1797, by Jean Baptiste, Marie de la Hogue, Auguste De Grasse Tilley, Saint Paul, Magnan, Petit, Robin, and Marie, under authority granted to them by Hyman Isaac Long, as Deputy Grand Inspector General, acting for the Princes of Masonry at Kingston. This was approved by the Grand Council of Sublime Princes of the Royal Secret at Kingston, Jamaica, August 10, 1797,[4] and was the first Consistory S. P. R. S. 25°, organized in this country.

The circular of 1802 says, "Prior to this date, as many brethren of eminent degrees had arrived from foreign parts, Consistories of the Princes of the Royal Secret were occasionally held for initiation and other purposes.

Mr. Schultz, in his valuable history of Freemasonry in Maryland, informs us that some old manuscripts have been found, which prove beyond a doubt that a Lodge of Perfection was established at Baltimore in 1792 by Henry Williams.

Among these manuscripts was the Constitution and By-Laws of the body, with the names of the members, seventy-six in number, appended. Mr. Schultz prints the document in full in his history.[5] This, therefore, was the fourth Lodge of Perfection organized in this country. How long it continued to meet and confer degrees is unknown, as

[1] The G. Lodge F. & A. Masons of Pennsylvania, its early history, &c. Vol. i. p. 75.

[2] Pike's Historical Inquiry, p. 188.

[3] Pike's Historical Inquiry, p. 188.

[4] Circular of December 4, 1802.

[5] Schultz's History of Freemasonry in Maryland, vol. i. p. 327.

its history is lost. These four Lodges comprise all that were organized prior to the establishment of the Supreme Council of the 33° in Charleston in 1801.

The minutes of the Lodge of Perfection in the City of Philadelphia show that at the general meeting of the Inspectors and Deputy Inspectors held in that city October 23, 1782, there were present Joseph M. Meyers, Inspector for Maryland; Thos. Randal, Inspector for New Jersey; Simon Nathan, Inspector for North Carolina; and B. M. Spitzer, Inspector for Georgia. We do not find that any of these Inspectors ever organized bodies of the Sublime degrees in any of the States to which they appear to have been nominally assigned, nor in any other States. It is probable, however, that some of them exercised their powers of conferring the degrees and appointing Deputies when opportunity offered.

Undoubtedly Francken was the medium through which the Sublime degrees were first introduced into the English colonies. He communicated them to Moses M. Hayes in Boston, Mass. The date is unknown, but it was probably between 1767 and 1770, inasmuch as we know that he was in New York at the former date and at the latter in Kingston, Jamaica, as it was in that year that Morin granted Francken and six others a patent for a Chapter of Sublime Princes of the Royal Secret in Kingston.[1]

[1] Copy of Patent granted by Morin to Henry Andrew Francken, for a Chapter of Sublime Princes of the Royal Secret in Kingston, Jamaica. MS. in the Carson Collection.

BY THE GLORY OF THE GRAND ARCHITECT OF THE UNIVERSE.

Lux ex Tenebris.

At the East, where shines the Great Light, and where reign Silence, Concord and Peace, the fifth day of the month called the year 1770, of the Creation 5531, equal to 30th of April, 1770.

Unitas, Concordia, Fratrum.

To our worthy and venerable brother, Henry Andrew Francken, Deputy Inspector; William Adams, Deputy Inspector; William Wynter, Gabriel Jones, John Prendergrast, Edward Bower and Martin Mathias, Princes of the Royal Secret, Greeting:

Whereas there is an absolute necessity to form a Grand Chapter of Sublime Princes of the Royal Secret in the Island of Jamaica and territories thereon depending, and by the power wherewith we are invested, we by these presents do appoint and constitute you, the said H. A. Francken, Wm. Adams, Wm. Wynter, Gabriel Jones, John Prendergrast, Edward Bower and Martin Mathias into a Grand Chapter of Princes of the R. S., and by these presents our Honorable Brother and Prince Wm. Wynter to be President and Grand Commander in all Grand Chapters, Grand Councils and Consistories; in his absence our Worthy Brother and Prince, Gabriel Jones, and in the absence of him, the Most Ancient Prince present, and that ye shall strictly behave yourselves to all the statutes, rules and regulations of the nine commissioners named by the Grand Chapter of the Sublime Princes of the R. S. at the Grand East of France and Prussia.

Consequently, by the deliberation dated the 7th of December, 1762, to be ratified and observed by the aforesaid Grand Chapter of Prussia and France, and by all the regular and particular Lodges, Councils, Grand Councils, Grand Chapters, Consistories, &c., over the surface of the two hemispheres, to govern and regulate all Lodges, Councils, Grand Councils, Grand Chapters, Consistories, &c., from the Secret Master to the Royal Secret, hereby empowering you and your successors finally to determine all causes, complaints, &c., and no appeal shall be had or made from your sentences, orders or decrees, but the same shall be final and conclusive to all intent and purposes whatsoever.

To which we, Stephen Morin, have hereunto subscribed our name and affixed our seal-at-arms, and also the Grand Seal of Princes of Masons, in the place where the greatest of treasures are deposited, the beholding of which fills us with joy, comfort and acknowledgement of all that is good and great near the B.B. in Kingston, the day and year above written.

S. MORIN, *G. Insp., G.S.P. of My., &c., &c., &c.*

MARTIN MATHIAS, *Grand Sec'y General, Sovereign P. of My., &c., &c., &c.*

Copied by I. D.,* D.G.M.P.R.S., as the original in his possession is much defaced and may be destroyed or lost. Date June 24th, 1794.

* May this not have been Isaac DaCosta ?

We have failed to discover any evidence that Morin was ever in this country at all, or that Francken was here after his return to Jamaica in 1770. Doctor Oliver, in his "Historical Land Marks," says that Moses M. Hayes visited Newport, Rhode Island, in 1780, and conferred the 33d degree on several persons.[1]

The Doctor does not give his authority for the statement; the only foundation for it that we have been able to trace is to be found in the Report of the Committee appointed by the General Assembly of Rhode Island to investigate the charges against Freemasonry and Masons in that State in 1831. A witness before that commission, one Nicholas G. Boss, testified:

In 1763 Moses M. Hayes arrived in this country with authority from Morin to establish them (the higher degrees), he being appointed Deputy Grand Inspector General.

About 1780 Mr. Hayes visited or resided in Newport, R. I., and conferred the degrees to the 33d, on several persons, who at that time were Master Masons; among them were Peleg Clark and Moses Seixas. His power as Inspector General was to confer all the degrees after Master Mason, unless in a place where a Chapter or Encampment was formed, a knowledge of these degrees being requisite. But when a Chapter or Encampment was in a place, they gave the degrees.[2]

In refutation of this it is sufficient to state, first, that Hayes did not get his powers from Morin, but from Francken, and not before 1767; second, Hayes could not confer more degrees than Francken gave him; third, "about 1780," was six years before the thirty-third degree was known or named in any Masonic system.

There is no foundation whatever for this story—it is a mere fabrication. Mr. Boss may have been innocent of any intended falsification of history. We are inclined to think that it was on this very flimsy statement that Doctor Oliver introduced the mischievous note (45) in his work. We have too much respect for the memory of the venerable author to believe that he ever intentionally misrepresented any historical fact. However, this note in his great work has been productive of much mischief in the discussions relating to the legitimacy of the High Grades in this country. It has proved the truth of the old adage that "A lie travels a league while truth is putting its boots on."

We have named four Lodges of Perfection and one Council of Princes of Jerusalem as having been organized in this country before the creation of the Supreme Council of the 33d degree in Charleston in 1801, and these were the only bodies of the Sublime or Scottish degrees established before that time. We copy the following from an old manuscript in the Carson Collection:

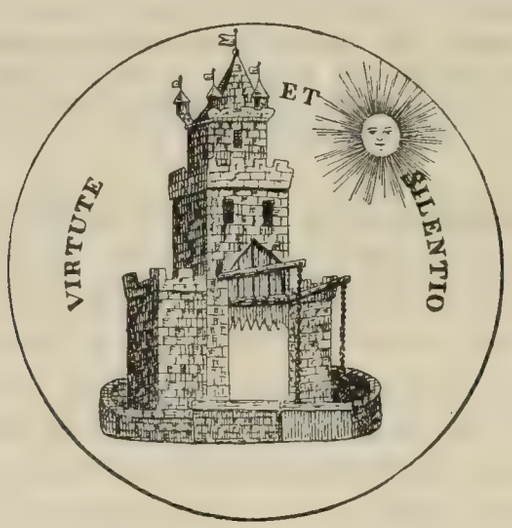
December 3, 1797, at New York City, was founded a Sovereign Chapter of Rose Croix of Harodim of Kilwinning in Scotland, under the distinctive title of "La Triple Union," by Illustrious Bro. Huet La Chelle (Wisdom), Grand Provincial Master, from the Petit Goave St. Domingo, under the old Scottish Rite of Heredom of Kilwinning, and the auspices of the Provincial Grand Royal Scottish Lodge of Kilwinning of Edinburgh (the Royal order of Robert Bruce of Scotland), sitting at Rouen in Normandy, established there by Edinburgh, on the first day of May, 1786. John Matthews (Relief), Knight of the Order of the R—y C—S; R. J. Vanden Broek (Strength); Anthony Stafford (Beauty): Chaylon Dayral (Wisdom) President; W. D. Olive (Recommendation); Jean Baptiste Desdoity (Loyalty); Jno. G. Tardy (Candor); Courbe (Humanity) Grand Secretary; Comte Duquesne (Bravery); Frignet (Goodness); Marex (Hope).

This organization had no connection whatever with the Sublime Masonry of the Rite

[1] Historical Landmarks, vol. ii., p. 52.

[2] Rhode Island Report, Appendix, p. 132.

of Perfection of twenty-five degrees, or with the Ancient Accepted Rite of thirty-three degrees. It was not a pre-requisite that the neophyte should possess the preceding grades up to and including the seventeenth of either of those Rites. Master Masons were eligible to, and did receive it. Its ritualistic ceremonies were entirely different from those of the Rose Croix, eighteenth degree, of Sublime Masonry or Rite of Perfection Series, or of the Rose-Croix eighteenth degree of the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite. So, too, were its signs, tokens and words. It had a particular seal as follows: A square castle with battlements, flanked by four turrets, surrounded with a moat. The draw-bridge down, the portcullis raised. To the right a sun. Exergue: Virtute et Silentio. This legend was also embroidered upon a garter which the members wore upon the left leg. It was the Second or Rose Cross degree of the Royal order of Scotland. It is not



probable that Huet La Challe had any legal authority from any organization of the Royal order for the establishment of this body in New York. In some way he had become possessed of the ritual, possibly had received the degree, and, like most Masonic degree peddlers of all times and countries, he made all he could out of it.

In 1809 the Cerneau Sovereign Grand Consistory claimed to have resuscitated and reorganized this Chapter, "the oldest Chapter of the grade in the United States."[1] What an absurd yet misleading statement this is! Its ritual was no more like the Rose Croix ritual of the Rite which Mr. Cerneau claimed to have introduced and founded in the City of New York, than one of the Encampment degrees of Odd Fellowship is like the ceremony of the Order of Knights Templar.

We have now reached a period in the progress of Sublime or Scottish Masonry in the United States when a most important event was about to occur, destined to affect its history not only in this country but throughout the entire world.

From the time when Morin landed in St. Domingo in 1763 clothed with his celebrated patent, down to the end of the last century, the appointing of Deputy Inspectors General, with plenary powers for the conferring of degrees and the appointing of other Deputies, had been going on. Innumerable Deputies had been created, and they were roving through the "New World" driving a thriving money-making business in peddling the degrees. Hayes received his degrees and appointment from Francken in Boston, and we next hear

[1] Statutes and Regulations, Supreme Council of the United States, Cerneau, 1862, p. 180.

of him conferring the degrees on a number of Masons in Newport, R. I. What other places he visited is unknown. It is not probable, however, that his Masonic labors were confined to Newport; we may reasonably assume that he exercised his powers wherever and whenever he found contributing victims. Francken himself was propagating the degrees in New York. At the meetings in Philadelphia, as early as 1781 and 1782, some dozen Inspectors were present. In 1790 Mr. Abraham Jacobs was created a Deputy by Moses Cohen, and he at once set about "establishing perfect and Sublime Masonry in New York." His favorite field, however, appears to have been Georgia. His Register shows that he was most active in his self-assumed Masonic missionary work. In 1792 he conferred the degrees on a large number of Master Masons in Augusta, Savannah and Washington, Georgia, for the ostensible purpose of organizing bodies of the Order in those places. Of course he, like all others in the same business, pocketed the fees; these were the perquisities of a Grand Inspector.

We must bear in mind, however, that during those times gross irregularities in the organizing of Masonic bodies and in the conferring of degrees were not confined to "Sublime Masonry alone." There were two rival Grand Lodges of Master Masons in England, two in Massachusetts, two in South Carolina, and there was but little uniformity as to the mode of organization of new bodies and their subsequent responsibility to any governing power.

We have thought that it was for the purpose of bringing order out of the chaos in which Sublime or Scottish Masonry was involved that John Mitchell and Frederick Dalcho organized the Supreme Council of the 33d degree for the United States of America. If such was their design, the result was not a success.

CHAPTER XLIII.

ORGANIZATION OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL 33° AT CHARLESTON, S. C.

ON the 31st of May, 1801, the *Supreme Council of the thirty-third degree, for the United States of America,* was opened with the high honors of Masonry at Charleston, S. C., by Brothers John Mitchell and Frederick Dalcho, Sovereign Grand Inspectors-General, and in the course of the year the whole number (9) of Grand Inspectors General was completed, agreeably to the Grand Constitutions.[1]

The announcement of the organization of this body was not made public until 1803, when it appeared in a printed circular, bearing date December 4, 1802.

This circular recognizes the Grand Constitutions of Berlin of October 25, 1762, "with the Secret Constitutions, which have existed from time immemorial."

It also recognizes the Morin patent of August 27, 1761, making him an Inspector General over all Lodges, etc., in the new world. It also recognizes the Grand Constitutions of 1786, in the following words:

> On the 1st of May, 5786, the Grand Constitution of the thirty-third degree, called the Supreme Council of Sovereign Grand Inspectors General, was finally ratified by his Majesty King of Prussia, who, as Grand Commander of the Order of Princes of the Royal Secret, possessed the Sovereign Masonic power over all the Craft. In this new Constitution this high power was conferred on a Supreme Council of *nine brethren in each nation,* who possess all the Masonic prerogatives in *their own district* that his Majesty individually possessed, and are sovereigns of Masonry.

The circular claims that the Supreme Council was organized under these Constitutions.

It is said by many writers that there were no such Constitutions enacted in 1786; that Frederick the Great had nothing whatever to do with High-Grade Masonry; that the Constitutions, so-called, were enacted at Charleston.

We shall not enter into a discussion of the question as to whether these Constitutions had the origin claimed for them or not; it is sufficient to say that they were recognized, and that under and by authority of them the Southern Supreme Council, at Charleston, the first in the world, was organized, and until 1813, possessed exclusive jurisdiction over the United States; and all other regular Supreme Councils from that day down to the present have, and still recognize them. If they (the Constitution of 1786) ever were irregular, they ceased to be so to any and every Supreme Council the very moment they recognized and adopted them. Without them there can be no thirty-third degree of the

[1] Circular of December 4, 1802.

Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite. The circular of 1802 contained a list of the degrees of the Rite, thirty-three in number. It was the old Rite of Perfection series of twenty-five degrees, heretofore enumerated, with eight degrees added. The twenty-third degree of the old series, Knight of the Sun, or Prince Adept, was made the twenty-eighth degree of the new Rite, and the twenty-fourth degree Kadosh of the old series was made the thirtieth degree of the new, and the twenty-fifth degree, Prince of the Royal Secret of the old series, was made the thirty-second degree. The following are the degrees that were added, with their numerical position in the new Rite:

23. Chief of the Tabernacle.
24. Prince of the Tabernacle.
25. Knight of the Brazen Serpent.
26. Prince of Mercy.
27. Commander of the Temple.
29. Knight of St. Andrew.
31. Grand Inspector Inquisitor Commander.
33. Sovereign Grand Inspector General.

It is not certainly known whether the eight added degrees were selected from those already existing, or whether they were created by the founders of the Supreme Council. We are inclined to the opinion, however, that they were selected, except the thirty-third degree, which we believe was an original creation by the founders of the Supreme Council at Charleston. The thirty-third degree of the Masonic System of the Scottish Rite in thirty-three degrees was never heard of until after the organization of the Supreme Council in Charleston; there was no ceremonial or ritual in connection with the office of Deputy Inspector General prior to that time. It was simply an appointment and not a degree, given to Princes of the Royal Secret of the twenty-fifth degree, the highest known before 1801. No manuscript or printed paper has yet been found, of an earlier date than this, containing any reference whatever to a thirty-third degree.

The Grand Constitutions of 1786, French version, the only one known at Charleston in 1801, now recognized by the Northern Supreme Council, and the Latin version now recognized by the Southern Supreme Council, purport to have been framed and engrossed in that year, yet no copy or part of a copy of the former, of a date earlier than 1802, nor of the latter prior to 1836, has yet been discovered.

There was no Masonic System or Rite known, with so many degrees as are contained in the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite, prior to the publication of the celebrated Charleston circular of December 4, 1802, proclaiming to the world the formation of the Supreme Council of Sovereign Grand Inspectors General of the 33rd degree.

The copies of the "Secret Constitutions," now extant, purporting to have been given to Stephen Morin, with his celebrated patent in 1762, names the 33d degree in several of its articles, and the names of De Joinville, St. Simon and the Count de Choiseul have each 33° appended to them. We do not believe that a copy of these Secret Constitutions exists, of a date prior to 1801, containing any mention whatever of a thirty-third degree.

Mr. Pike has published in his Constitutions a version of these Secret Constitutions, with French and English text, made from an old manuscript copy in his possession. There are two old manuscript copies of the same in French in the Carson Collection; they correspond almost literally with the copy as published by Mr. Pike.

Mr. Pike says, "If I have an opinion on these questions (the authenticity of these Secret Constitutions), I do not care to express it."[1]

We will venture to express our opinion on the subject.

We believe that some kind of Secret Constitutions did exist, and that they were of corresponding date with the Constitutions of 1762, and that the Secret Constitutions, as published by Mr. Pike, and contained in manuscript in the Carson collection, are copies of them, except that the words thirty-third degree, which occur in some half a dozen places in the copies now extant, are interpolations, made about the year 1801, to meet the change that had occurred. The trick was clumsily executed, and has given rise to much controversy. The Constitutions of 1762 make unequivocal reference to the "Secret Constitutions" of the Sovereign Grand Council.

When we read these Secret Constitutions, omitting 33rd degree wherever the same occurs, we find them in perfect harmony with the general spirit and text of the Constitutions of 1762, and the omission does not in any way affect the sense, as applicable to Grand Inspectors General, 25° Masons, under the old system.

We cannot believe that if the 33rd degree had existed or even been named in 1762, that it would have been possible to keep it a secret; it would have been mentioned in some of the numerous manuscript registers of the Deputy Inspectors that are in existence—certainly it would have demonstrated itself in some way.

If we had found a copy of these Secret Constitutions, with the Constitutions of 1762 left with the Albany Lodge of Perfection, by Francken in 1767, and if they had been signed by Morin 33d degree, it would have been conclusive that the thirty-third degree did exist at that date. However, there is no such evidence. If the G. Constitutions of 1786 were formulated in that year, as it is claimed they were, then that is the year in which the thirty-third degree was first named; no organization, however, took place under those Constitutions until 1801. It appears that previous to the formation of the Supreme Council of the 33d degree in Charleston, the Grand Council of Princes of the Royal Secret (25th degree), created by Hyman Isaac Long, Deputy Inspector General, in that city, recognized and acknowledged the Grand and Most Puissant Council of the Valiant Princes and Sublime Masons of the Royal Secret, at Kingston, Jamaica, as a regular organization of Sublime Masonry, and looked to it for recognition, having been organized by one of its deputies, for on August 10, 1797, and December 26th, 1798, the Council at Kingston issued a decretal ratifying the acts of Deputy Inspector Long, and the creation of the Grand Council at Charleston, but at the same time strongly censuring that body for some of its acts.[2]

This statement has led some writers to believe, or at least to say, that the Kingston Council was superior in authority to the Charleston body; in fact that the latter was subordinate to the former. We do not, however, concur in this view. The Kingston Council was simply making official recognition of the Charleston Council as a regular co-ordinate body, and while so doing, took occasion to criticise some of its alleged irregular doings, just as a Grand Lodge of the present day makes formal and official recognition of a new Grand Lodge, and might, if circumstances should seem to warrant it, criticise any alleged irregularities of the new body.

We have little authentic information as to the early doings of the Supreme Council, inasmuch as its records are lost. We know that on July 5th, 1801, the Grand Council

[1] Pike's Constitutions, p. 303, Articles XXVII. and XXXI. [2] Pike's Constitutions, p. 189.

of Princes of Jerusalem at Charleston, a subordinate of the Supreme Council, granted a warrant for a Grand Elect Perfect and Sublime Lodge of Perfect Masons in Charleston. This was the first Lodge of Perfection organized under the Supreme Council. The second, formed under the same authority, was that at Savannah, Georgia, on December 30th, 1802.

The Supreme Council appointed many Deputies for different localities and for different purposes, the most important of all these appointments, the one from which the greatest results to the interests of the Rite were to follow, was that of the Count Alexander François Auguste de Grasse Tilley. On the 21st of February, 1802, the Supreme Council granted him a patent certifying that he possessed the degrees from Secret Master to Sovereign Grand Inspector General inclusive; that he was a member of the Supreme Council of the thirty-third degree, and that he was Grand Commander for life of the Supreme Council in the French West India Islands, giving him power to constitute, establish, direct, and inspect all Lodges, Chapters, Councils, Colleges, and Consistories of the Royal and Military Order of Ancient and Modern Freemasonry over the surface of *two hemispheres,* conformably to the Grand Constitutions.[1]

This was before the Count went to St. Domingo; but very soon after receiving his appointment, he went to that island. The exact date is unknown, but it was certainly in the early part of 1802, and there, at Cape Francois, in conjunction with De La Hogue, he organized a Supreme Council of the 33rd degree for St. Domingo and the West India Islands.

This was the second Supreme Council in the world. It had but a brief existence. In the latter part of 1802, the negroes of St. Domingo revolted for the second time, and at the close of 1803 they were masters of the island; the French residents had to flee for their lives, some to Europe, others to the United States and the Supreme Council became extinct.

The Count De Grasse, De La Hogue, and other members of the Supreme Council, fled to and sojourned in Paris.

On the 22nd of September, 1804, Count De Grasse, in his capacity as Sovereign Commander *ad vitam* for the French Islands of America, and *by virtue of his patent as a Deputy Inspector, from the Supreme Council at Charleston,* aided by the Lieutenant Commander, De La Hogue, and the Sov. Gr. Inspectors General, Armand Caignet, Hannecart Antoine, Pierre Gervais, and Nicolas Toutain, uniting some Scottish Masons at Paris also with them, organized and established the Supreme Council of the thirty-third degree, for France, at Paris. In the organization of this body the Scottish Rite of Heredom, which had been re-established in France by Hacquet in 1803, fused with the Ancient and Accepted Rite.[2] This was the third Supreme Council of the Thirty-Third degree.

It is claimed by some writers that the degrees over which the Count De Grasse pretended to have control, belonged of right to the Grand Orient of France, that body having acquired them through the old Grand Lodge, the latter body having been united with the Grand Orient in 1799, alleging that the old Grand Lodge had acquired control of the degrees by having absorbed the Council of the Emperors of the East and West in 1772.

We have shown that there was no such absorption or union ever consummated between the Council of Emperors of the East and West and the Grand Lodge that united with

[1] Pike's Constitutions, p. 191.

[2] Pike's Historical Inquiry, p. 195.

the Grand Orient in 1799; besides, the Grand Orient never countenanced or practised the degrees as a system.

Then, if this claim had been true it could only apply to twenty-five degrees. What title could the Grand Orient have to the additional eight degrees, embraced in Count De Grasse's system of thirty-three? The Grand Orient itself said, although these degrees (the twenty-five) had gone out of its own bosom, that by the lapse of time they had been forgotten in France, and that the Count De Grasse brought them back strangers, and they were not reclaimed.[1] The fact is the Count De Grasse, as a Deputy created by the Supreme Council of the 33d degree at Charleston, introduced a new system or Rite of Masonry consisting of thirty-three degrees into France, in 1804, under the title of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite. That this System included in it most, if not all, the degrees of the old Rite of Perfection, and that of the Council of the Emperors of the East and West, is also probably true.

These degrees, however, had been abandoned in France for many years before, for how long no one can tell. The Grand Orient had said that it knew of no degrees but the Symbolic. "They had been forgotten in France, and came back as strangers." No one can truthfully claim, or produce any evidence, that the thirty-third degree was ever heard of in France before its introduction there by the Count De Grasse in 1804. Then whence did the system come into France? Historical facts, justice and common sense answer—from Charleston, South Carolina, by the hands of the Count De Grasse Tilley.

Whether the founders of the Supreme Council at Charleston had the lawful right to organize the Rite as they did, is immaterial; therefore we shall not discuss it. It is enough for us to know that they did organize, and the strongest circumstance that can possibly be produced in favor of their right to do so is found in the fact that all rival claimants for original ownership of the system thereby *recognize the fact that there was and is a system or Rite of thirty-three degrees, with a Supreme Council as its head or governing body.*

One and all of them fail to produce a shadow of evidence of the existence of such a system or Rite antedating the celebrated circular issued by the Supreme Council at Charleston, and dated December 4, 1802. If the "Anneke Jans" claimants could produce a title to the Trinity Church property in the City of New York as clear and unimpeachable as that which Mitchell, Dalcho and their Charleston associates have, as being the founders of the system or Rite of the thirty-three degrees, under the Constitutions of 1786, their fortunes would be made, and Old Trinity would be ruined.

In 1802 the Grand Orient of France excluded the Scottish Masons from the Lodges of its jurisdiction, because, as was alleged, they had never acquiesced in the Union that took place in 1799 between the Grand Lodge of France and the Grand Orient, the Scottish Masons coming from the former body.

November 12, 1798, Pierre le Barbier du Plessis at Philadelphia, Pa., appointed German Hacquet a Deputy Inspector General, with the usual powers, etc.[2] This man Hacquet appeared in Paris in 1802, bringing with him the twenty-five degrees of the Rite of Perfection, or of the Council of Emperors of the East and West which he had obtained in

[1] C'est ainsi que le main du temps sut effacer en France le souvenir de ces degrés sortis de son sein, même de quelquesuns exclusivement français, et qu'ils y furent transportés comme etrangers, sans reclamation. Circular of the Grand Orient, July 31, 1819, p. 3.

[2] Old Manuscript Register, Carson Collection.

America, probably in Philadelphia. The Scottish Masons (Maçons Ecossais), having been excluded from the Lodges of the Grand Orient, rallied around him, and he started some kind of an organization, which he styled the Grande Loge Generale Ecossais or Scottish Grand Lodge. The term Scottish Masonry, or Masonry "Ecossais," here referred to, must not be confounded with the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite System in thirty-three degrees.

The Count De Grasse Tilley first appeared upon the Masonic stage of Paris, in 1804, and, as before stated, he instituted and organized the Supreme Council of the thirty-third degree for France. Hacquet and his followers united with the Count. The precise relations that existed between Hacquet's Grand Loge Generale Ecossais and the Supreme Council of France, are enveloped in obscurity. It is known, however, that the former body assumed to and did grant patents for symbolic Lodges, and its action in this respect greatly disturbed the Masons of Paris, as well as of the Provinces. The Grand Orient, which had so recently absorbed into its bosom its most formidable rival, the Grand Lodge of France with its Subordinates, became alarmed at the attention which its new rival was receiving, and the progress that it was apparently making.

Overtures were made by the Grand Orient for a union between it and the Supreme Council of France and the Grand Loge Generale des Ecossais, the latter body having absorbed into its organization nearly all the numerous Masonic factions of Paris, especially the Maçons Ecossais.

A Treaty of Peace, known as the "Concordat," was hurriedly entered into between the Grand Orient and the Supreme Council, and was consummated and signed December 3, and ratified by the Grand Orient December 5, 1804.[1]

A serious question arose at once between the contracting parties, as to the meaning of the Concordat, the Grand Orient claiming that by the terms it had incorporated into or with itself every other recognized Masonic Rite in France, with the power of absolute control and government over such Rites and their members. On the contrary, the Supreme Council claimed that it had only united with the Grand Orient, in order to secure peace and harmony among Masons, retaining, however, all its powers with absolute control over the degrees above the 18th. That control over the degrees from the 4th to the 18th was a *concession* made to the Grand Orient in the interest of peace and harmony, that body already having Chapters of Rose Croix under its French Rite system.

The original manuscript of the Concordat, in duplicate, was entrusted to the care of one Pyron, who allowed it to be published without authority; and the Grand Orient alleged that the text had been tampered with by him.[2] It is impossible to get at the truth of this affair, a most important event in the history of the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite in France; we have both statements, and they are irreconcilable with each other. What is a reasonable conclusion?

We know that the Supreme Council had just been established in Paris by the Count De Grasse Tilley; the Grand Loge Generale Ecossais, the body which had most disturbed the Grand Orient, had some close tie or union with it; the Grand Orient had made the first overtures for the Concordat. However, it is enough to know that the Grand Orient either made it, or entertained it. Certainly, this would not have been done had there not been some strong impelling motive back.

Is it probable or reasonable to suppose that the new power, with its attractive series

[1] Gould, vol. iii., p. 420. [2] Ibid.

of degrees, ending with that of Sovereign Grand Inspector General, 33°, with a prestige that had aroused the jealousy and alarm of the Grand Orient, would, under such prosperous circumstances, enter into a compact or arrangement by which all of its suddenly acquired and growing *éclat* and fame as a great Masonic governing power would be lost? And yet, if we are to credit the statement of this affair, as given by the Grand Orient, that is what the Supreme Council did. It is too improbable, however, for us to believe; the surrounding circumstances of the transaction, with the few facts we have connected with it, leads us to the conclusion that the Supreme Council's version of the affair is the true one. It does not appear, however, that either party paid much attention to the Concordat at the time, further than that the Grand Loge Ecossais ceased to interfere with Symbolic Masonry, and it was several years thereafter (1814) before the Grand Orient made any positive or definite claim of right of control over the degrees of the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite. When the Concordat was entered into, Roethiers de Montaleu was the acting Grand Master of the Grand Orient, and the Count De Grasse Tilley was the M. P. Grand Commander of the Supreme Council of the 33d degree.

On September 6, 1805, the Supreme Council, by formal decree declared the Concordat broken.[1] July 1, 1806, the Count De Grasse Tilley resigned the office of Most P. Sovereign G. Commander of the Supreme Council of the 33d degree, and his Serene Highness, the Prince Cambaceres, Arch Chancellor of the French Empire, was elected to the position.

On the 8th of July, 1806, a deputation from the Supreme Council waited on his Serene Highness in his palace, and informed him of his election. He accepted the office, and Marshal Kellerman, of the deputation, *conferred the degrees upon him*, and proclaimed him Most Potent Sovereign Grand Commander of the Supreme Council.

November 27, 1806, a meeting of the Supreme Council was held in the palace of the Prince Cambaceres, his Highness presiding. At this meeting the following decree was adopted

The dogmatic power of the Ancient Accepted Rite belongs to the Supreme Council of Prince Masons, Sovereign Grand Inspectors General, exercised under its supervision by the Sovereign Grand Consistory of France, with the right of appeal to the Supreme Council.

December 15, 1808, the Supreme Council met again in the palace of the Prince Cambaceres, and at the same place January 19, 1810, the Prince presiding at these meetings.

Prince Cambaceres was made Grand Maitre-adjoint of the Grand Orient of France December 13, 1805, and held the same until 1814, when he resigned. By holding this office he was virtually the Grand Master of the Grand Orient, though the office was nominally filled by Joseph Bonaparte. The remarkable fact that the Prince Cambaceres, the acting Grand Master of the Grand Orient, was elected to and accepted the office of M. P. S. G. Commander of the Supreme Council, nearly two years after the date of the Concordat, shows that the Grand Orient did not then claim that there was but one body, or that the Supreme Council was absorbed or incorporated into or with it in any way.

July 21, 1805, the Grand Orient issued a circular to the Lodges, advising them that, in order to satisfy their impatience to know the basis of the union of all the Rites, which had been entered into by the Concordat, and while awaiting the preparation of the re-

[1] Gould, vol. iii., p. 421.

vised regulations conformable thereto, then in the hands of a committee and soon to appear, gave them in advance an extract from the Concordat headed "Grand Directorie des Rites." However, there was not a word in this extract about the Supreme Council of the Thirty-third degree.

The Concordat, as published by the Loge Ecossais de Saint Napoleon, in the same year, gave the entire text of the document, printed from one of the duplicate copies entrusted to Pyron. It shows that it was the intention of the bodies that there should be a union between them, but *not an absorption* or *extinction* of either; that each was to retain or acquire, by the union, peaceful control over certain degrees, both retaining their independent organization and government, the Supreme Council conceding to the Grand Orient, in its Chambers, the right to control and confer the degrees from the first (Entered Apprentice) to the eighteenth (Rose Croix) inclusive, reserving to itself, however, absolute control over the granting and conferring of the degrees from the 19th to the 33d inclusive.[1] The Grand Orient gained by the Concordat all the Lodges of the Grand Loge Generale Ecossais, and that was probably the principal motive she had in view when the Concordat was entered into.

The revised statutes of the Grand Orient, announced in the circular referred to, were officially printed, and published in 1806. There is not a word in them about a Supreme Council, or about the Thirty-third degree.[2]

This is another circumstance going to show that the Grand Orient itself ignored the Concordat, so far at least as it applied to the Supreme Council's power over the High Grades.

The Grand Orient had accomplished its purpose, having absorbed the Scottish Lodges.

As before stated, the Supreme Council had already officially repudiated the Concordat, alleging as a reason for so doing that the Grand Orient had failed to conform to it.

Another remarkable circumstance pointing strongly in the same direction, that the bodies were to retain their separate organizations, is the fact that when the Concordat was entered into, many of the members of the Grand Orient received the degrees of the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite, from the 15th to the 18th inclusive, at the hands of De Grasse Tilley, as the representative of the Supreme Council, and some of them were also invested by him with the thirty-third degree, and all of them who did not already belong took an oath of fealty to the Supreme Council of Sovereign Grand Inspectors General of the Thirty-third degree.[3]

[1] Le trente-troisiéme degre n'appartiént qu' au sublime Grand Conseil de ce nom, qui seul peut le conférer. Extrait du Livre d'Architecture de la R. L. Ecossaise de Saint Napoleon (March 1, 1805), p. 30.

[2] Statuts de l'Ordre Maçonique en France, 8, pp. 11, 232, Paris, 1806.

[3] The oath of fealty to the Supreme Council taken by many members of the Grand Orient of France, when De Grasse Tilley, as the representative of the Supreme Council of France, entered into the Concordat:

We, the undersigned, members of the Grand Orient of France, hereby declare that we have received and gratefully accepted the eminent degrees of Knight of the East or Sword, Prince of Jerusalem, Knight of the East and West, and Sovereign Prince of Rose Croix, the eighteenth grade in Masonry, of the Ancient Accepted Rite, at the hands of the Puissant and very Illustrious Brother De Grasse Tilley, Grand Master *ad vitam*, President of the Supreme Council of the 33d Degree of the said Grand Council.

We truly swear upon our word of honor, and under all our obligations taken in the presence of the Grand Architect of the Universe, and to the Supreme Council of Sovereign Grand Inspectors

The Grand Orient, under date of August 26, 1814, addressed a communication to the Supreme Council, soliciting that body to unite and co-operate with it in formulating a plan by which all the recognized Masonic Rites in France should be definitely centralized into one governing body, that body to be the Grand Orient of France.

If the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite was already in the bosom of the Grand Orient, as she subsequently claimed that it was, why this appeal?

After some necessary delay, the Supreme Council, at an extraordinary Session held October 28, 1814, by a unanimous vote adopted a reply to the Grand Orient. This document was couched in modest, courteous and fraternal language; there was not a harsh word or sentence in it. The Grand Orient was admonished to give so serious a matter full and mature consideration before taking action; many pertinent suggestions and queries, relating to the subject, were presented for consideration. The effort that had been made for a union under the Concordat of 1804 was referred to, and particular attention was called to the fact that, within nine months after that agreement, the Supreme Council formally withdrew from it, the Grand Orient by its tacit assent and action having done the same, many months before; and that each body had since that time, a period of ten years, continued to act independently and separately from the other, with but little friction or strife between them; therefore, the Supreme Council did not deem it necessary, wise, or prudent to disturb this satisfactory condition of Masonry, by engaging in a hazardous experiment, which it was feared might result in discord and strife.

The Grand Orient paid no respect or attention whatever to this courteous and fraternal appeal, for within twenty-one days thereafter, *viz.*, November 18, 1814, she issued a circular to all Lodges, headed "Articles Additionels pour la Centralization des Rites dans le G. O. de France," in which it was boldly proclaimed that the Grand Orient *resumed* the exercise of all the powers which belonged to her over all the Masonic Rites in France, under Concordats with the Grand Orient of Clermont (?) in 1773, the Grand Chapter General of France in 1787, and with the Grand Loge Ecossais in 1804.

This was a bold attempt to obtain title by conquest, buccaneering, or by the right of "eminent domain;" and this is the only title that the Grand Orient has, or ever had, to control over the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite system of thirty-three degrees.

The circular contains a schedule of the prices for obtaining patents for Chapters and Councils, under the following peculiar headings: First. Rite d'Heredon, Ancien Accepte 25th degree, embracing the 22d and the 23d and the 24th degrees. Second. The Rite Ecossais Ancien et Accepte, 33 degree. Under this heading we find the 27th, 30th, 31st, and 32d degrees named, and a Council of the 22d degree.

The Thirty-third degree is only named in it as above, forming a part of the heading to a division of the Chapter.

We have been unable to find any earlier specific assumption or claim set up by the Grand Orient than is contained in this circular to control over the Grades of the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite. Undoubtedly the issuing of this document, with its buccaneering claim of power by right of conquest (we cannot look upon it in any other light), was the cause of the open war which immediately followed between the Grand Orient and

General of the 33d Degree, to obey the said Supreme Council, to respect its decrees, and to so conduct ourselves as to cherish and respect the Royal and Military Order of Freemasonry.

In testimony whereof, we have of our own accord, signed this obligation. Done at Paris the 29th day of the 10th month (December) 1804.

(Thirty-seven names attached.)

the Supreme Council; with the former it was a war for extermination, with the latter it was for existence. It is not our purpose, in this mere outline sketch of the history of the Ancient Accepted Rite, to enter into a discussion of the many questions that were, and still are, raised as between the Grand Orient and the Supreme Council of France, in regard to authority over the degrees of the Ancient Accepted Rite. We have shown from incontrovertible history that the Grand Orient never had any legal Masonic title to control over the Grades of either the Rite of Perfection (1754), the Rite of the Emperors of the East and West (1758), the System given to Morin (1761), nor those of the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite, introduced into Paris by the Count de Grasse Tilley in 1804. Whatever rights of the kind the Grand Orient of France has now, or ever had, have been acquired by usurpation or by an assumed right of *Masonic eminent domain.*

Mr. Gould concedes that the "fusion" between the two bodies in 1804 was broken, and that there was a tacit understanding between them by which the Grand Orient exercised control over the degrees up to and including the 18th, the Supreme Council having control over the degrees from 19 to 33 inclusive.[1] Whatever the written, verbal or tacit understanding may have been between the parties to the Concordat, and notwithstanding the fact that both treated it as null and void from the very beginning, yet there were certain conditions contained in it which both parties appear to have respected and observed up to the year 1814. The Grand Orient did not assume control over the degrees from 19 to 33, nor did the Supreme Council interfere in any way with the administration or control over those from the 1st to the 18th inclusive. All this was changed, however, when the Grand Orient attempted its grand *coup d'etat,* in 1814.

In 1815, August 28th, the Supreme Council issued a circular to the Lodges, Councils, Chapters, etc., absolutely rejecting any proposition for a union or centralization of the power of the Scottish Rite with that of the Grand Orient. With this ended all diplomatic interchange between that body and the Supreme Council, looking towards a union.

The Grand Orient, so far as she could, at once usurped control over the Masonic system of the Ancient Accepted Rite of thirty-three degrees, claiming to have acquired such authority by virtue of concordats, etc., as stated in the circular of October 18, 1814; on the other hand the Supreme Council *resumed* control over the degrees from the fourth to the eighteenth inclusive, and also assumed to itself authority for the conferring of the Symbolic degrees. About this time (1814) the Supreme Council appears to have fallen into a dormant condition, and so remained until 1821.

A spurious Supreme Council was organized in Paris, 1812, under the name of the Supreme Council of the 33d and last degree, of the Ancient and Accepted Rite, for France and the French possessions in America and the Indies. De La Hogue, father-in-law of the Count De Grasse Tilley, assumed the office of acting Grand Commander of this body, claiming to act as the representative of the Count De Grasse Tilley, Sovereign Grand Commander *ad vitam,* notwithstanding the latter had resigned his office and his "*ad vitam*" in 1806.

The excuse given by De La Hogue and his associates for the organization of this irregular body was most contemptible and disgraceful. In the printed proceedings of the Supreme Council of France for April 2, 1812, the names of the Sovereign Grand Inspectors for the French American Islands, then temporarily sojourning in Paris, were

[1] Gould, vol. iii. p. 425.

with others printed; but they were accidentally or intentionally omitted from the printed proceedings of September 14, 1812. De La Hogue and his pestiferous little coterie, filled with indignation at the slight that had been put upon them, assembled in Paris as a Supreme Council, which they had no legal Masonic right to do, and drew up an appeal to his Highness the Prince Cambaceres, the Grand Commander of the regular body, claiming that a great wrong had been done them by omitting their names from the proceedings, and demanding that in the future their names should be published in the proceedings, as forming a part of the Supreme Council of France, and that there should be established near that body a Supreme Council for the French American possessions, composed of themselves. Of course this audacious demand was declined by the Supreme Council, and then the schismatics met and resolved themselves into a rival body, styling themselves the Supreme Council for France and America.

In 1818 this body, known as the "Prado" Supreme Council, the name of its place of meeting in Paris, adopted a Code of Statutes and Regulations, based upon the Constitutions, Statutes and Regulations made in 1762, and those of May, 1786. This Code fully and minutely defined the powers and duties of each officer, and the various sections. It declared that the government of the Order was vested in a Supreme Council, that body being Sovereign, Legislative and Executive. It completely annihilated the mythical, audacious and mischievous claim that the Most Puissant Grand Commander was clothed with absolute despotic powers. It constituted the Supreme Council into a Constitutional Masonic monarchy, at the head of which, as its chief executive officer, was the M. P. G. Commander, with only such powers as were given him in the Constitution. All of which was and is in accord with the Grand Constitutions of 1786.

This did not suit the Count De Grasse, as under it his occupation was gone. On August 18, 1818, he issued a circular to "All Masons Greeting"—a bombastic and egotistical document—in which he announced himself as the Sovereign Grand Commander *ad vitam* for the French Windward islands, etc.; also as Honorary Sovereign Grand Commander *ad vitam* for France, Creator of the Supreme Councils in the Kingdoms of France, Italy, Naples, Spain, the Netherlands, etc. The document is full of misrepresentations of Masonic historical facts. He charged that the Commission which he had appointed to prepare the Code had exceeded its powers; that its labors were never submitted to and approved by the Supreme Council; that the pretended Constitution was founded upon the most ruinous principles, contrary to all social prosperity, and that which is most destructive of all, *the creation of offices for life*, etc. We have not space to follow him in all his inconsistent arguments. He concluded by declaring the work of the commission null and void.

He also declared the action of the pretended Supreme Council, instituted by this commission, illegal, and its acts an attempt on *his* rights and those of the Supreme Council 33°, subversive of all the laws of the Scottish Rite; therefore void. He further declared that without him and by him there could be no Supreme Council for the government of Scottish Rite Masonry in France. All of which was the merest illogical stuff and nonsense.

The Count had resigned his office of Grand Commander *ad vitam* in 1806. Once resigned it was gone forever. When the irregular Supreme Council was formed in 1812, De La Hogue assumed to act for the Count, whom the usurpers pretended to recognize as their Grand Commander *ad vitam;* and upon his return from England, where he had



Yours fraternally,
Elbert H. Carter, 33°

M. M. R. A. M. K. & T. and Hon. Mem. Sup. Coun. 33. N. M. J. U. S. A.
of Cleveland Ohio.

been detained as prisoner of war for many years, he very complacently assumed the office of Grand Commander, disregarding his resignation of 1806. However, when the offensive Code was presented and adopted, clearly defining and limiting the powers of the Grand Commander, he issued the circular as above, and three days thereafter, to wit on August 21, 1818, he with a few followers deserted the *Prado* body altogether, and formed themselves into another Supreme Council, the second irregular one then in Paris; it was known as the *Pompeii* body, from the name of its place of meeting.

The proceedings of this body were simply in the personal interests of the Count; his few followers in this selfish and dishonorable scheme had not yet recognized the fact that he had become an unprincipled Masonic adventurer and charlatan, and that *his cause was lost.* This body also pretended to adopt a Code of general statutes of Scottish Rite Masonry, presumably more congenial to the views of the Count. They provided that there should be no officers *ad vitam.* The Count made another personal statement and appeal, which was published in the proceedings of the body of September 3, 1818, intended as a reply to the action of the *Prado* body in suspending him from office, and preferring charges against him. This document is enough of itself to establish his Masonic dishonor.

The Prado Supreme Council did not remain idle after the Count's treason. On the 26th of August, 1818, it caused charges and specifications to be preferred against him, and he was summoned to appear before the body for trial on the 17th of September, 1818.

On the 10th of September a special session of the Supreme Council (Pompeii) was held, and a letter was received from the Count tendering his resignation as Grand Commander *ad vitam* which was accepted. It would appear that the Count took this course in the hope that the Supreme Council (Prado) would be induced to drop its proceedings against him; if such was his expectation, he was doomed to be grievously disappointed, for on the day appointed, September 17, 1818, the Supreme Council met, the Count was called, and failing to answer, his trial was proceeded with. He was found guilty of (1) abuse of official power; (2) of having usurped powers to himself which belonged only to the Supreme Council; (3) of appropriating to his own uses moneys belonging to the Supreme Council; (4) of having used the title, Grand Commander, for the purpose of creating a new (irregular) Supreme Council; (5) of having imposed an arbitrary tax of two francs for his own personal profit, for affixing his seal of office to each diploma or patent; (6) of having refused to recognize and conform to the Statutes and Regulations adopted by the Supreme Council, and having protested against said Regulations in a meeting of the body. It was ordered (1) that "The Illustrious Brother, the Count de Grasse Tilley," be deprived of the dignity of Grand Commander, *ad vitam*, of the Supreme Council for the French American possessions, and of every other (Masonic) dignity with which he may have been invested; (2) that he be degraded from every kind of Masonic title or employment, especially from that of Sovereign Grand Inspector General, 33d degree; (3) that his name be stricken from every tableau upon which it was borne; (4) that he be excluded from all Scottish Rite Temples forever; (5) Scottish Rite Masons were forbidden to recognize him in the future in any of the dignities or degrees which he had possessed, or to obey him directly or indirectly, or to take any obligation at his hands; (6) any Mason (Scottish Rite) violating number five, to be *ipso facto* declared a traitor to the Order and condemned to the same penalties, as an abetter and accomplice of the Count.

There were twenty-three members present and voting at the trial; nearly every charge was sustained by an unanimous vote. On one or two of them there were only two or three dissenting votes. Undoubtedly the Count was guilty of all that was charged against him, and the list of his Masonic offenses might have been enlarged almost indefinitely.

This trial was conducted with much form and ceremony; the whole proceedings were printed and published in 1818.[1] It forms a very interesting pamphlet, containing much matter relating to the history of the Scottish Rite, giving some curious information as to the mode of conducting a Masonic state trial, as we may not inappropriately term this one. *De Grasse Tilley did just what had been done, was being done, and has been done since, by nearly every Masonic peddler in both Europe and America, from Morin down to the present, and their name is legion.* The traffic in Masonic degrees was not confined to Scottish Rite Masonry by any means. It is only a few years since itinerant lecturers were common in the Lodges, Chapters and Commanderies. Nearly all of them peddled and sold Masonic degrees and rituals, those of the Symbolic degrees, being *extra contraband*, always commanded good prices. This pestiferous blight on Symbolic, Chaptral and Templar Masonry, was only suppressed after years of struggle, and by the most rigid legislation.

Unfortunately for Scottish Rite Masonry, the granting of roving patents to propagate the grades in "both Hemispheres" has been the great evil with which it has been afflicted.

The Count de Grasse Tilley was a typical representative of the Masonic degree peddler, of all times and all countries. He tried to make it pay. It is said that he received 3000 francs from the Grand Orient for entering into the Concordat in 1805.

Soon after his trial and expulsion he disappeared from public view and was heard of no more; when and where he died is unknown.

But little is known of Scottish Rite Masonry in France from 1818 to 1821; there was not much life in it, even in the irregular bodies. In 1821 the few surviving members of the regular Supreme Council of France, which had been dormant for several years, assembled and reorganized the body, and it appears that at the same time *there was a complete union* of all the contending elements among Scottish Rite Masons. The Prado and Pompeii bodies disappeared, and the Supreme Council of France became the active governing body of the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite in France, and has so continued down to the present time. This Union in France, in 1821, was in many respects very like the Union that took place between the contending Councils in the United States in 1867.

The Grand Orient, however, still claimed to control and confer the degrees, and there was a continual warfare carried on between the two bodies until 1862, when, through the power and influence of Marshal Magnan, peace and amity was established between them, and this has remained comparatively unbroken to the present time.

We have devoted more space than we originally intended to the history of the Rite in France, deeming it necessary, however, it being our purpose to present plainly before our readers an overwhelming mass of historical facts proving that the Grand Orient of France never had, nor has she now, any legal Masonic right or title to control over the degrees of the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite.

Mr. Gould treats the history of the Supreme Council of France quite fully, always,

[1] Supreme Conseil du 33° ; et dernier degré du Rit Écossais Ancien et Accepté. 12mo. pp. 108. Paris, 1818.

however, with the theory uppermost in his mind that the body was the culpable party whenever mischief was abroad in Masonry; that it was ever seeking by stratagems, plots and conspiracies to get control of the government of the Grand Orient of France.[1] We cannot agree with him in this view; on the contrary, the history of the Grand Orient shows, that that body has always been mischievously aggressive and grasping after power, ever disposed to claim everything, with but little respect or regard for the rights of her peers.

The Grand Orient of France has not now, and never had, any more legal Masonic right or claim to govern or control the System of the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite of thirty-three degrees, organized under the Constitution of 1786, and introduced into France by the Count de Grasse Tilley in 1804, than one of our American Grand Lodges would have to claim the government and control over Royal Arch and Templar Masonry.

A bold, brassy, audacious claim is one thing, a legal title is quite another; the latter the Grand Orient of France never had. This audacious claim was never openly proclaimed until the year 1814; at that time she took a mean and cowardly advantage of the Supreme Council. That body was then in a weak and demoralized condition, largely caused by the overthrow of the Napoleonic Empire, with which so many of its distinguished members were connected, and who had either been killed in the wars or had fled the country. Seizing upon this favorable opportunity the Grand Orient boldly proclaimed that she had possession of the Rite by virtue of a title acquired through another body. There was nothing in her claim, nor is there now, but cold, brazen audacity.

The early history of the Ancient Scottish Rite in the United States and France is so closely blended together, that the history of the Rite in either country cannot be fairly and fully written without giving the other. Therefore it is that we have devoted so much space to France.

We will now resume our history of the Rite in the United States.

[1] Gould, vol. iii., pp. – .

CHAPTER XLIV.

INTRODUCTION OF THE RITE INTO NEW YORK AND ITS PROGRESS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES.

LITTLE is known of the history of the original, now called the Southern Supreme Council, as its formal records, if any were kept, have been lost. We know, however, that the peddling of the Grades by Inspectors General went on after its organization quite as vigorously as before. As to what efforts, if any, were made by it to check the demoralizing traffic in the degrees we have no information, until the celebrated controversy arose between De la Motta and Cerneau in the city of New York in 1813, of which hereafter.

There is a Manuscript Register in the Carson Collection kept by one Jean Doszedardski, a Sovereign Grand Inspector General of the 33rd degree. This Register contains what purports to be a copy of Doszedardski's Patent, as a Prince of the Royal Secret, and Deputy Grand Inspector General and Member of the Sublime Council of the 33rd degree, dated May 5, 1813, signed by L. J. Lusson, S. G. I. G., 33rd degree, a member and representative of the Sovereign Senate sitting at Kingston, Island of Jamaica, in that Orient.

It also contains copies of Morin's patent and the Constitutions of 1762, certified by Hyman Isaac Long, saying that he had them from Moses Cohen, Deputy at Jamaica, and that they were verified and signed in the presence of De la Hogue, de Grasse, Magnan and Robin, concluding as follows: "I have placed at the bottom of the present the seal of our arms and the Grand Seal of Prince Masons at the ORIENT of CHARLESTON, the 12th of January, 1797, signed E. Fourteau, D. I. G., Bruneteau, I. D. T. L. S. C., L. M. Charien, S. P. R. S., and Louis J. Lusson, S. G. I. G., 33°."

This Manuscript contains certified copies of numerous patents granted by Hyman Isaac Long and others to sundry parties as Princes of the Royal Secret, Deputy Grand Inspectors General, &c. There is one from Morin to Antoine Menessier de Boissy, dated at Jacmel, St. Domingo, June 1, 1770. Also from Pierre le Barbier du Plessis to Germain Hacquet, dated at Philadelphia, Pa., November 12, 1798.

Also from Germain Hacquet to Antoine Mathieu du Potet, dated at Port Republic, August 5, 1799.[1]

Also from Bt. Aveille to Louis Jean Lusson, dated *at Charleston*, December 12, 1797.

The conferring of degrees and the appointing of Deputies by Deputies went on to the last date in this Register—1813; some of these Deputies claiming to belong to the

[1] It was from Dupotet, that Joseph Cerneau had his Patent as Prince of the Royal Secret (25 grade) dated July 15, 1806.

Supreme Council at Jamaica, others to that at Charleston, and some professing allegiance to both.

This and similar Registers demonstrate that irregularity in the conferring of the grades, the appointing of Deputies, and the organizing of bodies of Sublime Masonry in the United States for many years after the organization of the Supreme Council at Charleston was the rule rather than the exception.

A most important historical matter contained in this Register is an account of the organization of the first bodies of Sublime Masonry in New Orleans, especially a Consistory of S. P. R. S.

Under date August 13, 1810, Gabriel Jastram, 33°, "Member of the Supreme Council of the 33rd degree at Kingston, Island of Jamaica, organized by the Count de Grasse Tilley, Grand Inspector General of the 33rd degree, Grand Commander *ad vitam*, by authority and power of the Sovereign Grand Council sitting at *Charleston*, in *the State* of *South Carolina*," &c., granted a Patent to Pierre Joseph Duhalquod, P. R. S., Jean Baptiste Desbois, Rose Croix, and others for a Symbolic Lodge in New Orleans, under the name La Bienfaisance, to confer the degrees of Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft and Master Mason, of the Ancient Rite.

Then, under date December 20, 1810, Gabriel Jastram, by the same authority and in addition, "Under the special protection of the said chiefs of Masonry (the Supreme Council at Kingston) representatives of the Grand and Sovereign Chapter Metropolitan d'Herodom of Kilwinning and Edinburgh in Scotland," granted a Patent to Duhalquod, Savary Desbois, and others for a Lodge of Perfection, Council of Elect, College of Scotland, Council of Knights of the East, Princes of Jerusalem, and Chapter of Scottish Rose Croix, under the distinctive title of La Triple Bienfaisance, to be held in New Orleans, La., with power to confer the degrees from the 4th to the 18th inclusive.

Under date March 28, 1811, Jean Louis Lusson and J. Modeste Lefebvre, "Sovereign Grand Inspectors General, of the 33rd degree of the Supreme Council of Jamaica," granted a patent to Duhart, Christian Mittenberger Duhalquod, Jean Baptiste Desbois, Lansent Sigur, Nichola Roche, Jean Baptiste Labutut, Soulie, Thomas Urquhart, and Jean Francis Dubourg, for a Special Council and *Grand Consistory of Princes of the Royal Secret of Louisiana*, with power to confer the grades from the 19th to the 32d inclusive. They were required to report in the shortest time to the Sovereign Grand Councils of *Charleston, South Carolina, and of Kingston, Jamaica.*"

This Register settles beyond a question that there was a Consistory in New Orleans before the Cerneau Consistory, which is claimed to have been organized in 1813.[1]

We shall not pretend to decide which, if either, of these bodies were regular. We are only dealing with absolute historical facts. They show that the territory of New Orleans *was occupied* regularly or irregularly, before the Cerneau Consistory was organized.

It is a notable fact that many of the patents contained in this Register, state that the Deputy is acting under *authority* of the *Supreme Council* of the 33rd degree at Kingston, Island of *Jamaica* [instituted], the 15th of March, 1807, by *virtue and by warrant of the Thrice Illustrious Brother August de Grasse, Grand Inspector General of the 33rd degree, member of the Supreme Council, Grand Commander ad vitam*, [he] *by special authority and power of the Sovereign Grand Council, sitting at Charleston, South Carolina, United States of America.*

[1] Folger, p. 167.

Doubtless the Lodge, Council, Chapter and Consistory thus organized at New Orleans conferred the degrees, and had a kind of existence for some years thereafter, for how long or what finally became of them is unknown, as no record of their proceedings has yet come to light.

The same disordered condition prevailed in Sublime Freemasonry in other places in the United States.

One Abraham Jacobs, claimed in his own Register to have been made a Grand Inspector General (not 33rd) by Moses Cohen at Kingston, Jamaica, November the 9th, 1790. Jacobs became an active peddler of the degrees before the formation of the Supreme Council in May, 1801. His Register shows that he continued the business after that date, and that from December 12, 1801, to July 29, 1802, he conferred the degrees on quite a number of Brethren in Savannah, Georgia. De la Motta, a Sovereign Grand Inspector General, 33rd degree, and a member of the Supreme Council at Charleston, S. C., *dropped in upon Mr. Jacobs* at Savannah, Georgia, while he was engaged in conferring the degrees, and as a result a Lodge of Perfection *was organized* in that city December 30, 1802.

Jacobs was next heard of in the city of New York in 1804, where he again busied himself in conferring the degrees. His Register shows that from 1804 to November, 1808, he conferred the degrees on quite a number of brethren in that city, and that on the 26th of October, 1808, he assumed to organize a Lodge of Perfection, and Council of Princes of Jerusalem. Under date of November 6, he has the following:

"A Council of Princes of Jerusalem was opened at the request and solicitation of the brethren, our illustrious Brother, John G. Tardy, K. H. P. of the R. S., and Deputy Inspector General, attended the Council in company with the illustrious brethren John James Joseph Gourgas, and Moses Levy Maduro Peixotto, K. H. and P. of the R. S. Brother Tardy, having produced his warrant and other credentials, investigated our proceedings, sanctioned and approved of the same, and promised his protection and every assistance in his power; whereupon he was pleased to place our Illustrious Brother Richard Riker, Thrice Equitable, in the Chair, delivered him the Constitution and invested him with all the powers and prerogatives relating to the same by an instrument under his hand and seal, which was delivered in the presence of our Illustrious Brother Moses Levy, Maduro Peixotto, John James Joseph Gourgas and John Baptiste Desdoity, K. H. and P. of the R. S."

This is Jacob's version. It will be observed that although he did not organize the Lodge and Council until October 26, 1808, he had conferred the degrees on a number of parties in New York as early as 1804 and 1805.

Jacobs was an Inspector under the Old Rite of Perfection of twenty-five degrees; he received the 30°, 31° and 32°, and became a member of the New York Consistory November 24, 1808. We have no evidence that he ever had the thirty-third; he makes no claim to it in his Register; certainly he would have done so had he possessed it.

From an old Masonic Autobiographical Sketch in the handwriting of J. J. J. Gourgas in our possession, we learn that Abraham Jacobs received the 30th and 31st and 32nd degrees in and became a member of the New York Consistory, over which Jno. G. Tardy presided November 24, 1808.

We also learn from the same Manuscript the following most important fact:

"On August 4, 1806, Illustrious Brother Antoine Bideaud, a member and Deputy of Comte De Grasse's Supreme Council of 33rd at Cape Francais, St. Domingo, passing through this city (New York) on his way to Bordeaux, initiated the following five Brethren as Sub-

lime Princes of the Royal Secret 32nd and Inspectors. They paid him $46 each. Jno. Gabriel Tardy, John Baptiste Desdoity, J. J. J. Gourgas, Lewis De Soulles, Pierre Adrien Du Peyrat, all of them members Grand Officers of the Scottish Sovereign Chapter Rose Croix d' h-r-d-m of Kilwinning,[1] and on the 6th day of August (1806) they opened with the high honors the Sov. Grd. Council and Consistory of Subl. Princes of the Royal Secret, 30th, 31st, and 32nd degrees. for the Northern District and Jurisdiction U. S. A. November 3, 1808, a Grand Council of Princes of Jerusalem was established, and on the 7th a Sublime Grand Lodge of Perfection 14th degree. November 8, 1808, Daniel D. Tompkins, Richard Riker, Sampson Simpson, Knights of the Sun, were initiated and admitted Illustrious members of the Sovereign Grand Consistory S. P. R. S. 30, 31, 32.

"October 4, 1807, John G. Tardy received his patent as a Deputy Inspector General, from Illustrious Bro. Peter Le Barbier Du Plessis at Philadelphia, with a special understanding of the same grant through Bro. Tardy, in favor of the following Illustrious Brothers who could not attend the meeting at Philadelphia November 12, 1808, J. J. J. Gourgas, Deputy Inspector General November 18, 1808, J. B. Desdoity, Deputy Inspector General November 16, 1808, L. M. Peixotto, Deputy Inspector General."

Their Patents were subsequently *signed* by the Brethren of PHILADELPHIA.

What these bodies did or what became of them is unknown; their records, if any were kept, like those of most of the early Masonic bodies, are lost. Their Patents or Charters are still in existence in New York.

Under date November 24, 1808, the Grand Consistory of P. R. S. of New York issued a Patent to John Gabriel Tardy, certifying that he had been elected, accepted and installed "as Illustrious Commander, Sov. of the Sov. of our said Sublime Grand Consistory for and during the space of three years, he to conform to all the Rules, Statutes and Regulations, &c. which have or may be enacted hereafter by the Supreme Tribunal of Sovereign Grand Inspectors General of the 33rd degree." This document, engrossed upon parchment, is signed by John B. Desdoity, Lieutenant Commander, and M. L. Peixotto, Dep. Inspr. General, with the seal of the Consistory attached. The original is before us; there is no doubt as to its authenticity; it is another very strong coincident fact, going to show that the Sublime degrees were introduced into the city of New York in 1806.

In the latter part of 1806 (November) one Joseph Cerneau appeared in New York hailing from the Island of Cuba, but he exercised no assumed or real powers until Oct. 28, 1807. He claimed to possess the Sublime degrees, twenty-five, and that he was authorized to confer them and organize bodies.

"On the 28th day of October, 1807, the Most Puissant Sovereign *Grand Consistory* of Sublime Princes of the Royal Secret; Supreme Chiefs of exalted Masonry, According to the Ancient Constitutional Scottish Rite of Heredom, for the United States of America its territories and dependencies, was opened in the city of New York with the high honors of Masonry by Most Puissant Joseph Cerneau, Sovereign Grand Inspector General."

The foregoing is the style in which Mr. Cerneau and his followers announced this important event. He subsequently added 33rd degree after his name, a distinction which he did not claim or assume at the organization.

[1] In another part of this manuscript Mr. Gourgas has the following: "The act of this Bro. Antoine Bideaud in New York on 4th August, 1806, was completely irregular, unconstitutional. He had no right or power within any part of these United States of America, but then he was tempted and did succumb at the rate of five times $46, or $230. As to us, we were then new and raw in these matters, believing all was right; however, it was afterwards *made all correct* by the wiping off of our Illustrious Brothers at *Charleston, S. C.*, and *Philadelphia*."

The only authority Mr. Cerneau had that has been made public was a patent from Mathieu Dupotet, issued at Baracoa, Island of Cuba, dated July 15, 1806. Dupotet had only twenty-five degrees. In a subjoined foot note we give a copy of his Patent, the original of which is in French, the translation into English is by Mr. Pike, and is a faithful rendering of it. Dupotet styles himself a Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. His name does not appear as such in the printed history of that Grand Body. His own Patent was from Germain Hacquet, dated at Port Republican, St. Domingo, August 15, 1799, certifying that he (Dupotet) was invested with the highest degree, the [25th] and that he was authorized to inspect and create Knights Elect K. H. &c.

Germain Hacquet had his Patent, as we have before stated, from Pierre le Barbier du Plessis, of Philadelphia (Nov. 12, 1798).

Cerneau's Patent authorized him to act only as a "Deputy Grand Inspector, for the *Northern part of the Island of Cuba*, &c."

If he had any other powers than those given him in Dupotet's patent, neither he nor his friends have ever given any authentic evidence of the same to the world.

We have already related, how Antoine Bideaud, a Deputy, &c., &c., conferred the degrees on a number of brethren in the city of New York, and organized (!) a Consistory in that city August 6, 1806. Admitting that Bideaud's and Cerneau's Patents were legal, yet both were limited to certain territory, beyond the bounds of which they could not legally go, both transcended the limits, as all their Illustrious Predecessors before them had done.

Were not the Masons who received the degrees at the hands of Bideaud or Cerneau as legally invested with them as were most of those who received the grades in those days? Bideaud and Cerneau were Masonic adventurers and peddlers; one was quite as regular as the other. Joseph Cerneau had his Patent from Dupotet,[1] the latter had his from Ger-

[1] Copy of Mathieu Dupotet's Patent to Joseph Cerneau.

To The Glory of the [Gr: Arch: of the Univ:]

Lux et Tenebris.

From the Orient of the Very Great and Very Puissant Council of the Sublime Princes (of the Royal Secret), Chiefs of Masonry, under the C. C. of the Zenith (which responds) to the 20° 25′ N. Lat.

To our Ill: and Very Valiant Knights and Princes, Masons of all the Degrees, over the surface of the two Hemispheres:

Health.

We, Antoine Mathieu Dupotet, Grand Master of all the Lodges, Colleges, Chapters, Councils, Chapters and Consistories, of the higher degrees of Masonry, Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Orient of Pennsylvania, in the United States of America; and of the Grand Lodge and Sovereign Provincial Grand Chapter of Heredom of Kilwinning, of Edinburgh, for America, under the distinctive title of the Holy Ghost, Grand Provincial of San Domingo, by constitutive patent of 16th January and 19th April, 1801, under the distinctive title of The Triple Unity; transferred to Baracoa, Island of Cuba, on account of the events of war,

Do declare, in the name of the Sublime and Th: Puissant Grand Council, do certify and attest, that the Very Resp. Gr: Elect Knight of the White and Black Eagle, Joseph Cerneau, Ancient Dignitary of the Lodge No. 47, Orient of Port au Prince, Grand Warden of the Provincial Lodge same Orient, Venerable founder of the Lodge of the Ancient Constitution of York, No. 103, under the distinctive title of The Theological Virtues, Orient of the Habana, Island of Cuba, has been regularly initiated in all the Degrees of the Sublime Masonry, from that of Secret Master to and including that of Grand Elect Knight of the White and Black Eagle; and wishing to give the strongest proofs of our sincere friendship for our said very Dear Bro: Joseph Cerneau, in recognition of the services

main Hacquet,[1] he from Pierre Le Barbier du Plessis, who had his from Augustin Prevost, February 1, 1790. Du Plessis was recognized as a Prince of the Royal Secret by the

which he has rendered to the Royal Art, and which he is rendering daily, we have initiated him in the highest, in the most eminent and final Degrees of Masonry; we create him our *Deputy Inspector General,* Deputy Grand Inspector, *for the Northern part of the Island of Cuba,* with all the powers that are attached thereto, giving him full and entire power to initiate the Bros: Masons whom he may judge (worthy?) to promote them to the Sublime Degrees, from the 4th up to and including the 24th; provided, however, that these Masons shall have been officers of a Lodge regularly constituted Asyla; from which Bros: he will receive the obligation required and the authentic submission to the Decrees of the Sublime Princes; consulting, however, and calling to his aid the BB: whom he shall know to be decorated with the Sublime Degrees; we give him full and entire power to confer in the name of our aforesaid Grand Council, the highest Degrees of Masonry on a Kt: Prince Mason, one only each year, whose virtues he shall recognize, and the qualities required to deserve this favor; and to the end that our dear Bro: Joseph Cerneau, so decorated, may enjoy, in this quality, the honours, rights and prerogatives which he has justly deserved, by his arduous labors in the Royal Art, we have delivered to him these presents, in the margin whereof he has placed his signature, that it may avail him everywhere, and be useful to him alone.

We pray our Resp: BB: regularly constituted, spread over the two Hemispheres with whatever Degree they may be decorated, whether in Lodge, Ch:, Col:, Sovereign Council . . . . . Sublime, to recognize and receive our dear Bro: the Very Illustrious Sov: and Subl: Prince, Joseph Cerneau, in all the degrees above mentioned; promising to pay the same attention to those who in our Orients shall present themselves at the doors of our Sacred Asyla, furnished with like authentic titles. Given by us, S: Sublime Princes, G: C: G: I: G'al: of our aforesaid Grand and Perfect Council, under our Mysterious Seal, and the Grand Seal of the Princes of Masonry, in a place where are deposited the greatest treasures, the sight whereof fills us with consolation, joy and gratitude for all that is great and good.

At Baracoa, Island of Cuba, anno 5806, under the sign of the Lion, the 15th day of the 5th month called Ab, 7806, of the Creation 5566, and according to the Common Style the 15*th July*, 1806.

Signed, Mathieu Dupotet,
President Sov: . . G'al

A true copy: Signed, Mathieu Dupotet,
President, S: G: I: G'al

I certify that this is transmitted above and the other portions are conformable to my Register.

TIPHAINE.
S: P: R: S:, D: I: G'al: G: Comm:

[1] Copy of German Hacquet's Patent to Mathieu Dupotet as given in the Doszedardski Register, in the Carson Collection.

TO THE GLORY OF THE GRAND ARCHITECT OF THE UNIVERSE:

Lux et Tenebris.

From the Orient of the Very Grand and Puissant Council of Sublime Princes of the Royal Secret, Chiefs of Masonry, under the Celestial Canopy of the zenith corresponding to 18° 39′ North Latitude.

To our Illustrious and very Valiant Knights and Princes, Perfect Masons of all the degrees on the face of both hemispheres.

GREETING:

We, Germain Hacquet, Sublime Prince, Perfect Mason, Grand Master of all Lodges, Colleges, Chapters, Councils and Sovereign Chapters and Councils of superior degrees of Masonry, Deputy Inspector General, Patented by the Sublime Council of Princes, Perfect Masons, in the States of America, &c., &c., &c. Know ye that under the special protection of the Sublime Council, for him and in his name, certify and attest to all Masons, Perfect, Free and Accepted, that our dear Brother Antoine Mathieu du Potet, born at Chancéau, Department of Côte d' Or, &c., after having been

Lodge of Perfection in Philadelphia in 1787.[1] Antoine Bideaud had his Patent as Inspector from the Comte de Grasse Tilley, at Cape Francois, July 8, 1802; the latter had his authority from the *Supreme Council at Charleston.* Neither Cerneau nor Bideaud had any right under their Patents to confer the degrees in the United States. However, both did confer them and assumed to establish bodies. Those created by Bideaud were, according to Gourgas, "healed," or as he terms it, their irregularity was "wiped off," by the Illustrious Brothers at Charleston and Philadelphia.

The records of the early years of both the Bideaud and Cerneau Consistories are lost. Of the former we only know that in 1813 "Emanuel De la Motta, Deputy of the Charleston Supreme Council, made vigorous inspection of the proceedings of the [Bideaud] Sovereign Grand Consistory of the 30th, 31st and 32nd degrees, established in the city of New York August 6, 1806. He was pleased to declare, acknowledge and recognize it in the name of the Supreme Council at Charleston, S. C., as being the only lawful body in New York which could lawfully and constitutionally exist for the Northern District of the United States of America, all of which was fully confirmed by the Grand and Supreme Council of 33rd at Charleston, S. C., on the 24th December, 1813."[2]

The Cerneau Consistory ignored the Charleston Supreme Council, but opened up a correspondence with the Supreme Council of France, and in the printed proceedings of the latter body for 1813 we find the Sovereign Grand Consistory, Prince of the Royal Secret, 32nd degree, under the title of the Trinity, located in the city of New York, named as being in correspondence with the Supreme Council of France; there is nothing in the Proceedings themselves, however, referring to it. It was claimed by the Cerneau party

recognized Perfect Elect Mason, Grand Elect, Knight of the Royal Arch, and Prince of Jerusalem, Rose Croix, &c., &c., Patriarch Noachite, Prince of Libanus, Grand Knight of the Sun, of the White and Black Eagle or Kadosch; after having supported with zeal, firmness and constancy the brilliancy of the Great Light, and having justified his submission to the Supreme Tribunal of Sublime Princes, he has been initiated into the highest degrees of Masonry, having consequently the right of inspection over all Lodges, Colleges, Chapters, Councils, &c., and Sovereign Councils, and then to sit, make and complete Masons: to receive Knight, Prince and even Grand Knight Elect, Kadosch, without other authority. We pray, therefore, all Brothers, Knights and Princes of Masonry to receive and recognize in the above mentioned qualities the Sublime Brother Mathieu du Potet and greet that dear brother, also recommendable by his personal virtues, and by the eminence of his Masonic titles, promising to have the same regard for those bearing proper titles. Given under our sign and seal, and the Grand Seal of the Sublime Council in a place where are deposited the greatest treasures, the sight of which fills us with consolation, joy and gratitude.

Before the B. B. S. CC. At Port Republican, the 4th day of the 11th month named R.H. A. B. of the year 7799, of the Creation 5559, of the vulgar era Aug. 15, 1799, and Thermidor, 7th year of the Republic. HACQUET and ST. PAUL.

I certify the above copy corresponds in all respects to the original.

E. FOURTEAU,
D. I. G'ral.

I certify the above copy corresponds in all respects to the original.

BRUNETEAU,
P. D. R. S.
S. M. CHARIER,
S. P. R. S.

[1] Minute Book, Philadelphia Lodge of Perfection, page 80.

[2] Autobiographical Manuscript by Gourgas.

that on the 25th of May, 1812, they organized themselves into a Supreme Council, under the name of "The Supreme Council of the Sovereign Grand Inspectors General of the 33rd degree, for the United States of America, its territories and dependencies." Joseph Cerneau was announced as the M. P. Sovereign Grand Commander.[1] Whether the date as given is correct is not certain, inasmuch as the original records of the Proceedings of the early years of this body are lost. It is certain, however, that the organization of the Supreme Council of the 33rd degree did not take place before this date. Whence had they the 33rd degree?

On the 15th day of August, 1813, the Bideaud party was organized as a Supreme Council by one Emanuel De la Motta, Sovereign Grand Inspector General of the 33rd degree, acting as the special Deputy and representative of the Supreme Council for the Southern District and jurisdiction of the United States, Daniel D. Tompkins was made M. Ill. Sov. Grand Commander, and the Deputy declared the body lawfully formed, organized and established at the Grand East of the City of New York, and the only Grand Supreme Council of the M. P. Sovereign Grand Inspectors General of the 33rd degree which may legally and constitutionally exist, for the Northern Masonic District and jurisdiction of the United States of North America."[2]

The early records of the proceedings of this body, like those of the Supreme Council at Charleston, and the Cerneau body in New York, are lost, but we have an abundance of incoherent, disjointed scraps, letters, &c., relating to its doings down to 1844. It does not appear to have been run as a money-making scheme. As but few were admitted to its honors, the chiefs, it would seem, were opposed to popularizing the Rite. This idea continued to rule the body even to the end of Mr. Raymond's administration. There was but little publicity given to the organization and its proceedings prior to 1826, and in that year the anti-Masonic cyclone struck New York, when all kinds of Masonry became paralyzed, from which it did not begin to recover until ten years or more thereafter. The organization gave only occasional spasmodic evidences of life for many years, but about the year 1844 it began to give signs of awaking into activity, and such activity too as it never had before.

From the date of the organizations of the Northern and the Cerneau Supreme Councils in New York, 1812-13, there was continual controversy and warfare between them, the Supreme Council at Charleston taking the side of the Northern Supreme Council, which had been organized by its authority.

In 1813 De la Motta, as Deputy of the Southern Supreme Council, proclaimed Cerneau "an impostor of the first magnitude" and declared him expelled, &c., and under date December 24, 1813, the Supreme Council at Charleston confirmed and approved all the proceedings of De la Motta against Cerneau, and in the same circular formally declared him expelled.

The Cerneau Grand Consistory, *not the Supreme Council*, replied to the De la Motta and Charleston circulars, under date February 28, 1814, denying their allegations, and their authority, but producing no evidence whatever to controvert them. They simply dealt in bombastic rhetoric. Their reflection upon the "pretended Council of Charleston" was certainly in very bad taste. Dupotet, from whom Cerneau had his powers, was

[1] History of the Supreme Council 33°, &c., (Cerneau) Appendix to the Statutes and Regulations, New York, 1862, page 183.

[2] Proceedings N. S. Council Reprint, pages 333–34.

appointed Inspector by Germain Hacquet, he having his powers from Pierre Barbier du Plessis at Philadelphia, Nov. 12, 1798, who for many years was connected with the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania as Grand Secretary, Deputy Grand Master, &c. It is a notable fact that the Philadelphia Scottish Masons never recognized Cerneau. A pamphlet in French, "AVIS AU PUBLIC PAR VERITE ET JUSTICE," was published in Philadelphia in 1810. It was a savage attack on Cerneau, supposed to have been written by Barbier du Plessis.

There is no question but what both of the New York Consistories were irregularly organized by degree peddlers. When did they, or either of them, if ever, become regular?

It is claimed that the Cerneau body on June 23, 1813, granted a warrant for a Consistory, 32nd grade, at Newport, R. I. This was possibly done, though there is no record of it. Of course this was irregular. Folger says:

> In 1813 the Scottish Masons of Louisiana applied to the Sovereign Grand Consistory for the establishment of a Consistory, Thirty-second degree, or a Council of Sublime Princes of the Royal Secret for the State of Louisiana, to be located in New Orleans. The prayer of the petitioners was granted, and the said Consistory was inaugurated and proclaimed in New Orleans on the 19th day of June, 1813, and became a dependency of the Supreme Council and Sovereign Grand Consistory of the United States sitting at New York.[1]

We have shown that a Consistory 32° was established in New Orleans three years before this date. The later or Cerneau Consistory claimed the right to and did constitute symbolic Lodges in Louisiana.

In 1814 or 1816—Folger gives both dates—the Consistory (Cerneau) organized a Council of Princes of the Royal Secret in Charleston, S. C., as a rival of the old Consistory which had been organized there in 1796. This of course aroused bitter controversy and strife among the Masons of that city, finally getting into the newspapers. This body had an existence of some ten years. About the year 1817 the New York Sovereign Consistory (Cerneau) established a Council of Princes of the Royal Secret in Philadelphia. This body had but a sickly and brief existence. Folger says that Councils of Princes of the Royal Secret were also formed in Baltimore, Maryland; Norfolk, Virginia; Havana, Cuba; Mayanez, Puerto Rico; Cumana, Barcelona, Laguayra, and a Republic of South America. This may be so; the records, if any, however, are lost, so that this statement rests on a very slight foundation.

It is beyond question, however, that the Cerneau Consistory was very active in organizing bodies and in advertising itself in the New York Directories, and in Tableaus, circulars, &c.

What follows relating to the organization by the Cerneau Consistory, of the Grand Encampment of Knights Templars of the State of New York enables us to form a pretty fair idea of the character of the organization itself at that time and of the men who were its active promoters. The Grand Apotheosization of audacious Masonic irregularity in the United States took place on the 18th day of June, 1814, when at the suggestion of Mr. Joseph Cerneau the Sovereign Grand Consistory of Chiefs of Exalted Masonry, by a formal Decree, established (?) a Grand Encampment of Sir Knights Templar and Appendant Orders for the State of New York, and elected DeWitt Clinton as the Thrice Illustrious Grand Master.

[1] Folger, p. 167.

At that time there were "numerous Encampments of Knights Templar existing in the State of New York;" there were certainly five. Webb's Monitor for 1812 has a list of four, not including one called Rising Sun, which had just assisted in the formation of the Pennsylvania Grand Encampment. Not one of these Encampments were invited to, nor did any regular or irregular organized Encampment of Knights Templars or their representatives assist in the organization of the G. Encampment of New York. The officers of the Consistory (Cerneau) elected *themselves* the first officers of the body, and in the Constitution by them adopted *gave themselves perpetual seats.* It is the most complete case of audacious usurpation known in the annals of Masonry. They had just as much legal right to have declared their Sovereign Consistory the head of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States instead of Pius VII. as they had to form a Grand Encampment of Knights Templars. There is no evidence that they were all Knights Templar; indeed it is more than doubtful as to some of those whose names are connected with it. Undoubtedly the object was to secure a union between the Knights Templars, then a growing body, and the Consistory, in order to strengthen the latter, then engaged in war with the Northern Supreme Council and the Southern Supreme Council at Charleston, for it was provided in the Constitution that Grand Masters of Subordinate Encampments (now Em. Commanders of Commanderies) *should be admitted gratis* to the *degree* of *Prince of the Royal Secret, and Members of the Sovereign Grand Consistory* of *the Chiefs of Exalted Masonry.* This was the bait, and it would appear that it was swallowed with satisfaction, as there was no remonstrance against this arbitrary and illegal proceeding from any Templar organization or individual members of the Order, and the Encampments condoned the irregularity by acknowledging the government, and acting under it. This was the beginning of the present Grand Commandery of the State of New York.

It was claimed, and is still adhered to by some, that this was the first Grand Encampment in the United States, that Mr. Cerneau was the originator of the present American Templar system and that he made the Red Cross. A more glaring historical fabrication was never promulgated. The degrees of Knight Templar, Knight of Malta and Knight of the Red Cross, were conferred in Charleston, S. C., in 1783. The Grand Encampment of Rhode Island was organized in 1805. In 1806 the name was changed to "The United States Grand Encampment." This body was in full activity from date of organization, and at the time of the forming of the Grand Encampment of New York, was holding annual meetings, having at least four Subordinate Encampments.

"The Grand Encampment of Knights Templar in Pennsylvania" was organized in Philadelphia February 15, 1814, by *delegates* from five different Encampments hailing from Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Pa., New York, Wilmington, Del., and Baltimore, Maryland.

Referring to this transaction, Mr. Folger says: "There were several Encampments in different parts of the United States, which were working *without any authority whatever*, and in fact were not Masonic bodies." At the same time Mr. Cerneau *was in possession of the system* and had not only *conferred the degrees*, but had *established one Encampment*, New System. It was finally decided that the body (the Consistory) should *take upon itself* the *power* to found the *first Grand Encampment*, etc.

The *example* of the State of New York was followed by other States, and now (1881) every State in the Union has a Grand Encampment.[1]

[1] Revised History of the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite, Manuscript by Robt. B. Folger, in the Archives of the N. Supreme Council, also copy in the Carson Collection.

When and where did Mr. Cerneau get the Templar Orders? not in Cuba, nor the West India Islands; the order was never known there. Mr. Cerneau was a Frenchman, could not speak a word of English when he came to New York. There never was any Templar Ceremonial in the French language.

His only Masonic authority was the Patent from Mathieu Dupotet, and he was not a Templar. The fact is beyond a doubt, Cerneau was not a Templar at all; therefore he had no legal Templar authority whatever. The formation of the Grand Encampment K. T. of New York by him, with a proviso in the organic law that the Masters (Commanders) of Encampments, should have the 32d grade *gratis, and be members of the Consistory*, was simply a smart trade scheme, and is one of the strong circumstances going to show that he was a shrewd Masonic degree peddler, fortified with one of those dangerous, elastic Deputy Inspector General Patents, and like most of those who had preceded him in the same line, as well as those who have followed him since, both in Europe and America, was ready to furnish Masonic degrees, Rituals, History, or Tradition, to suit the demand or necessity of the case, and to confer any Masonic degree required,—always, however, for a proper consideration.

Another evidence of the shrewdness of Cerneau and his associates was shown in their securing the patronage of De Witt Clinton for their Consistory. Clinton had great Masonic, political and social influence in the city and State of New York at that date. In early life he had taken interest in the Institution, and contributed some of the great oratorical and literary powers, with which he was so richly endowed, to its glory and renown, but as he advanced in years, and political honors fell thick and fast upon him, he gave less personal attention to the fraternity than before; he did not forget, however, that Masonry in New York, in those days, was by no means a cipher among the available resources and assets of a careful, accomplished and shrewd politician, qualities which he possessed in an eminent degree.

The Masons wanted the prestige, patronage and influence of his great name, and he, fully realizing that it would be of no disadvantage to him *politically*, was always ready to and did accept their highest official honors, while he gave scarcely any personal attention to the duties of the offices or to Masonry itself. Thus, he was Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of the State of New York from 1806 to 1820, and from 1815 to 1820 he was present only upon one occasion, a single sitting, out of more than fifty that took place.

He was Thrice Illustrious Grand Master of the Grand Encampment of K. T. of New York from its organization (?), 1814, until his death in 1828. During that entire time he was present at only a single sitting out of twenty-five that occurred.

He was Grand High Priest of the General Grand Chapter of the United States from 1819 until his death; out of the great number of sittings and the two triennial Sessions of the body he presided at only one.

He was Grand Master of the General Grand Encampment of Knights Templar of the U. S. from its organization in 1816 to 1826; he was only present at one sitting.

In 1811 he was made Deputy Grand Commander of the Consistory, and was so continued until 1823, when, it is said, he was made Sov. Grand Commander. It does not appear that he was ever *present at a meeting*. It is presumable, however, that he gave about as much attention to the Consistory as he did to the other three Masonic Grand bodies of which he was the chief officer—that is, none at all.

De La Motta, relating what occurred when he called upon De Witt Clinton, September



PROMINENT FREEMASONS OF NEW YORK STATE.

C. L. STOWELL, 33°, P .·. G .·. SOV .·. G .·. COUN .·. OF THE R .·. AND S .·. M .·. OF THE U. S A.
J. B. ANDREWS, 33 , SOV .·. G .·. INS .·. GEN .·. 33 , N .·. M .·. J .·. U. S. A. ROBERT H. WATERMAN, 33 , HON .·. MEM .·.
SUP .·. COUN .·. 33°, N .·. M .·. J .·. U. S. A. JOHN BOYD THACHER, 33°, HON .·. MEM .·. SUP .·. COUN .·. 33°,
N .·. M .·. J .·. U. S. A. JOHN S. BARTLETT, 33 , P .·. G .·. COM .·. OF K .·. T .·. NEW YORK.

15, 1813, says that when he presented him with the pamphlet "List of the Grand Officers, Members, etc., of the Supreme Council, etc., of the 33d degree, 1813," "he declared that it was a *collusion*, acknowledged that he had signed the said pamphlet, together with others, at the special request of Mr. Thomas Lownds, who had brought them to him for that special purpose. I asked him if he had seen Mr. Cerneau's Patent, and from whom he had received the 33d degree and derived his powers for establishing a Grand Council of the 33d. Mr. Clinton replied he had *never seen any of his patents* or papers relating thereto, but had depended on gentlemen that called upon him, to wit, Messrs. Martin Hoffmann and John W. Mulligan, and at *their particular request* had some degrees *communicated* to him by this Mr. Cerneau, and observed he conceived it *rather a distinction as Grand Master of the State.* On my asking if Mr. Cerneau had conferred the 33d degree on him, Mr. Clinton replied, it was impossible for him to say, as he did not recollect, and *had as little knowledge of it as his child.*"

We believe this statement to be literally true, as it corresponds and is in perfect harmony with what we know of Mr. Clinton's connection with other branches of Masonry. He allowed the Consistory to use his name just as it had been, was then and continued to be used by the Grand Lodge of New York, and afterward by the General Grand Chapter, and General Grand Encampment K. T. of the United States. With such a record we do not regard Clinton as an authority in Scottish Rite Masonic history, law and usage.

This G. Consistory went on with more or less activity until the Anti-Masonic excitement burst upon New York in 1827, when, like all Masonic bodies in that State, it became dormant, and so remained until 1832, when a partial revival took place, at least on paper. In that year a treaty of Union and Amalgamation was entered into by it though Elias Hicks, as its M. P. G. Commander, and the Count de St. Laurent, as M. P. G. Commander of the Supreme Council of the P. Sov. Grand Inspectors General of the 33rd degree of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, Sublime Chiefs of Ancient and Modern Free Masonry, for Terra Firma, South America, New Spain, &c., &c., the Canary Islands, Porto Rico, &c., &c.

The document declared both the organizations named "United and Amalgamated into one individual Dogmatic and Administrative body, each one being an essential part of the other." It was stipulated that the "two united and amalgamated powers should thereafter be designated by the distinctive title of United Supreme Council for the Western Hemisphere, of the P. Sov. Grand Inspectors General 33rd and last degree of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, Sublime Chiefs of Exalted Masonry."

This treaty was solemnly ratified and the amalgamation completed April 13, 1832.

The labors of both bodies previously existing under their distinctive titles were declared to be *forever closed.* Then the officers of the new Amalgamated body were duly installed; Elias Hicks was its first M. P. Grand Commander. This was the end of the Supreme Council for the United States of America, its territories and dependencies, in its original and distinctive character.

Folger says the Consistory and the Supreme Council [Cerneau], &c., *ceased to exist* from this date—April 5, 1832.

It is claimed that another Treaty of Masonic "Union, Alliance and Confederation" was entered into in Paris, on the 23rd day of February, 1834, between the Count St. Laurent and General Lafayette, representing the United Supreme Council for the Western Hemisphere, &c., and a Committee of the Supreme Council for France consisting of the Baron Freteau as President, and Antonio Carlos Ribeiro De Andrada Marchado Da Silva, Lieutenant Grand Commander of the Supreme Council of Brazil, sitting at Rio Janeiro.

This treaty purports to be the consummation of a perfect Union between the three Supreme Councils named for their mutual benefit and the protection of the true Masons of every Rite, &c. The 3rd article reads as follows: "The Confederated Powers *Acknowledge* and hereby *Proclaim* anew, as *Grand Constitutions* of the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite, the *Constitutions, Institutes, Statutes and General Regulations* determined upon by the *Nine* Commissioners of the Sublime Princes of the Royal Secret, on the 21st of September, 1762, as they are now *modified by those dated 1st of May*, 1786, *which they also Acknowledge, Proclaim*, and promise to respect, observe and defend, *under the positive reservation* to examine, rectify and curtail the *alterations* and *additions* which have been made to the same, and which pervert their original dispositions. For this purpose an *authentic copy* of the said *Grand Constitutions* of 1786, *certified* and *signed* by all the members of the present Congress, shall be annexed to *each original duplicate of the present treaty.*

Certainly this is a most unequivocal *Recognition* and *Proclamation* of the Constitutions of 1786.

The document declares that "*There can exist* but one sole *Dogmatic Power, or Supreme Council*, of the 33rd *degree* of *that Rite within the same Territorial Jurisdiction;* that is to say, throughout the Territorial extent of an Independent State and its dependencies, whenever there does not exist boundaries legally established of such Territorial Jurisdiction."

This treaty has appended to it the names of the Count de St. Laurent and Lafayette, for the United Supreme Council of the Western Hemisphere; B. Freteau, de-Peny, Setier and Count Thiebault, for the Supreme Council of France; Andrada and Drummond. for the Supreme Council of Brazil; and Jube, Grand Secretary General of the Supreme Council of France, as Secretary to the Commission.

It also purports to have been made out in four languages, English, Spanish, French and Portuguese, and it so appears in print. Further that it was ratified by the Supreme Council of France February 26, 1834; by the Supreme Council at Brussels, March 5, 1835—the latter body was not a party to the original treaty;—by the Supreme Council of Brazil, October 29, 1834, and by the United Supreme Council for the Western Hemisphere, at New York, December 6, 1836. In the printed copy the latter has the following well-known names, then connected with the Cerneau Supreme Council, appended to it—E. Hicks 33° M. P. Sov. Gr. Commander; Jn. Schieffelin, 33°, 1st. L. G. Com.; Francis Dubuar, 33°, 2nd. L. G. Com.; De La Flechelle 33°; Joseph Bouchaud, 33°; Thos. Longworth, 33°; John B. Satterthwaite, 33°; P. Remy, 33°; Aaron H. Palmer, 33°; Seth Driggs 33°; Hn. Westervelt 33°; I. Da Rocha Galvao, 33°; James Herring, 33°; Jos. Michard, 33°; W. Wright Hawkes, 33°; T. W. Satterthwaite, 33°; G. De Loynes, 33°. Sealed by John Telfair 33°, Keeper of the Seals. By order Dd. Naar, 33°, Acting Secretary General.

This treaty, in four languages, with the ratifications by four Supreme Councils, and a copy of the Latin Version of the Grand Constitutions of 1786, purports by its title page to have been printed in Paris in 1836.[1]

[1] Title page to Paris edition of the so-called Treaty: Treaty of Masonic Union, Alliance and Confederation. Tratado de Union, Allianza, Confederacion, Mazonica. Traité d'Union, d'Alliance, et de Confédération Maçonnique. Tratado de Uniao, de Alliança, de Confederacao Maçonica. Paris, J. A. Boudon, 1836. Small folio, pp. 68.

We do not believe that any such Congress was held or that any such Treaty was ever made, except on paper. The whole story is a literary fabrication. Here are some of our reasons for this opinion:

1st. No authentic copy signed by the members of the alleged Congress, Saint Laurent, Lafayette, etc., has ever been seen. According to the document itself at least four copies of it were made—one for each Supreme Council. Were they all lost?

2nd. The Latin Constitutions, nor any fractional part of them as appended to this alleged treaty, and published in the Paris edition, bearing the imprint 1836, were ever heard of before, and *no original copy* of them has been found.

3rd. The Paris edition, the original of the whole fabrication, purports to have been published in 1836. That cannot be true, inasmuch as the same pamphlet contains what purports to be the ratification of the Treaty by the United States Supreme Council in New York under date December 6, 1836. It was impossible that this could have reached Paris in time to appear at that date. There were no Ocean Steamers nor Atlantic Cables in those days. However, we would not lay any great stress on this, were it not for the fact that the whole affair appears to us to be a fabrication, and this trifle is one of the links in the chain of suspicious circumstances going to show the fraud.

4th. The name of Lafayette was used to give credit to this literary fraud. Lafayette died May 20, 1834, nearly two years before this remarkable treaty and the Grand Constitutions appeared in print, with his name attached but not his autograph. "Dead men tell no tales" is an old adage, and a true one. No name except that of Washington could have been selected that would have been more potent to win the American heart and confidence than that of Lafayette. It was used by some trickster for a base purpose in connection with this mythical treaty and Constitutions.

5th. There is no mention of this most important document in any of the printed proceedings or Circulars of the Supreme Council of France at the time.

6th. In 1832 the Supreme Council of France published the Constitutions of 1786 and a complete collection of its decisions. The text of these Constitutions differs materially from that printed with the treaty in 1836.

Undoubtedly there was some close and confidential connection and understanding between the parties to this literary fraud in Paris and New York. Can any one doubt as to who the parties were in the latter city? The Paris part is involved in obscurity.

Folger says that the Supreme Council for the United States of America, its Territories and Dependencies, became extinct in 1827, that it was revived by the Count Saint Laurent in 1832 and then it amalgamated with the Supreme Council of Brazil, and by that act became extinct a second time.[1]

On the 27th of October, 1846, this Supreme Council was dissolved and the money in the Treasury divided among the four surviving members.[2] Assuming that the United Supreme Council was the Old (Cerneau) Supreme Council of the United States of America, etc., then, this was the third time that it had become extinct. Immediately after the third extinction in 1846, Henry C. Atwood, *an expelled Master Mason* of New York city, who had been running both Scottish and York Rite Masonic bodies irregularly, independently or clandestinely, assumed, with a few followers, to revive the old Consistory, or the Supreme Council, under its old name, "for the United States, its Territories, etc." We are unable to make out from Folger, or the History, just what was revived in 1846—

[1] Folger, p. 205. [2] Ibid., p. 226.

whether Consistory or Supreme Council; however, Atwood became the chief officer. In 1851 he resigned, and Jeremy L. Cross, a member of the Charleston Supreme Council, 33rd degree, and patented as its deputy, on June 24, 1824, was elected Grand Commander of this Supreme Council. In 1852 he resigned, and was succeeded by Atwood.

We shall not continue the history of this body in detail. In 1860 Atwood died, and Edmund B. Hays became M. P. G. Commander. Under his administration in 1862 bodies were established in Trenton, New Jersey, and Boston, Massachusetts. Here we will leave the history of this Supreme Council for the present, and resume the history of the body generally known as the Gourgas Supreme Council.

John James Joseph Gourgas, John B. Desdoity and Moses Levy received their Patents as Inspectors General, etc., in the order in which they are named, November 12, 16, and 18, 1807, from John Gabriel Tardy. We have already noted that they were made Princes of the Royal Secret, 32nd grade, by Antoine Bideaud, August 4, 1806. We may therefore assume that Tardy's Patent was given them to heal any real or supposed irregularity in their having received the degrees at the hands of Bideaud, Tardy's personal irregularity having been "wiped off" by Du Plessis.

Gourgas says that his own, Desdoity's, Levy's and Peixotto's Patents as Deputies Inspectors General, etc., etc., granted to them by Tardy at New York November 12, 16, and 18, 1808, were exactly word for word the same as the one from Prevost to Du Plessis.[1]

Du Plessis' Patent certifies that he is initiated into the highest degree in Masonry, and appoints him Deputy Inspector General, and Grand Master over all Lodges of the Royal Arch and Perfection, Council of Knights of the East, Princes of Jerusalem, etc., etc., etc., gives him full power to constitute Lodges, etc., etc., and also Grand Councils of Knights of the Sun, and of the White and Black Eagle, over the globe, at the distance of at least twenty-five leagues from any such Lodge, Chapter, Council or Grand Council already regularly established, etc.[2]

How confusing all this is! If Gourgas' Patent was "word for word the same" as that of Du Plessis, certainly Tardy was not yet acting under the Constitutions of the 33rd degree, nor was he recognizing the authority of the Supreme Council at Charleston. It would seem from this that the old system of irregularity, or rather no system at all, still prevailed. Deputies created Deputies at pleasure, with such powers and prerogatives as they were pleased to put in their Patents.

It is a recorded fact that on the 5th day of August, 1813, Emanuel De le Motta, 33rd degree, Special Deputy of the Charleston Supreme Council 33° with authority, etc., did initiate Sampson Simson and John James Joseph Gourgas into the 33rd degree, and proclaimed each of them a Most Puissant Sovereign Grand Inspector General of that degree.

This is the first authentic account we have of the conferring of the Thirty-Third degree in the City of New York, or in the Northern Jurisdiction, and we do not believe that it was ever conferred in the Jurisdiction before that day.

On the 21st day of September, 1813, the Supreme Council granted a Warrant for a Sovereign Grand Consistory of P. R. S. 32d degree, to Tardy, Gourgas and others. This

[1] Proceedings of the Supreme Council 33° N. Jurisdiction, 1815–51, page 19.

[2] Ibid., p. 18.

document officially recognizes the fact *that on the 6th (4th) day of August*, 1806, these same brethren did first form and establish in the city of New York a Sublime Grand Consistory, etc., and are in truth the *original* possessors and *founders* of those high orders of Masonry in these *Northern parts of the United States of America*, etc.[1]

What this Supreme Council did in its early days is involved in great obscurity, as no formal records of its doings have ever been found. The little we know of it until 1846 came from detached papers and minutes kept by Mr. Gourgas, and some of which were printed by the Northern Supreme Council in 1876. In this respect it was not unlike the original Supreme Council at Charleston and its rival in the city of New York—the body founded by Mr. Cerneau. Neither of them appears to have kept complete official records of their doings; what we have is only detached patchwork, gathered from letters, autobiographic sketches, etc., etc. If perfect records were kept as such, which we doubt, until a comparatively recent date they have not yet been discovered.

Comparing the little activity displayed by the Northern Supreme Council and its members from its organization in 1813, down to about 1844, with that pursued by the Southern Supreme Council during the same period, we are impressed with the conviction that the leading men of both those bodies were opposed to any effort towards popularizing the Rite. They thought it a high Masonic honor to be a Sovereign Grand Inspector General of the 33rd degree, and that it should be confined to a very limited few, and we do not find that either of them made any effort to organize or establish subordinate bodies until within a very recent period, when it would appear they were overcome by the popular clamor for the enlarging of the Rite. It appears to have been their purpose to hold the Rite down to some kind of discipline without attempting to make it popular among the Masonic masses. This was the view taken by Mr. Raymond, the M. P. Grand Commander of the Northern Supreme Council from 1851 until his dethronement in 1861.

In 1844 petitions were presented to the Supreme Council of the Northern Jurisdiction from Edward A. Raymond, Reuel Baker and Charles W. Moore, all of Boston, praying to receive the 33rd degree; at least one of them (Mr. Raymond) had received the preceding grades under the authority of the Charleston Supreme Council. They were accepted, the Thirty-third degree conferred upon them and they were made members of the Supreme Council.

About the year 1822–23 the Southern Supreme Council established Lodges of Perfection in Montgomery, Onondaga, Saratoga and Monroe counties, New York, and in 1824 Giles Fonda Yates received a patent from that Supreme Council, authorizing the establishment of a Consistory in Albany. In 1825 a Charter was granted to Edward A. Raymond and others, authorizing the establishment of a Council of Princes of Jerusalem and a Consistory in Boston, Massachusetts.

By amicable arrangement and settlement with the Southern Supreme Council, all of these bodies subsequently became subordinates of the Northern Supreme Council.

In 1825 Giles Fonda Yates was made a Sovereign Grand Inspector General of the 33rd degree by Joseph McCosh, a Special Deputy of the Southern Supreme Council. This, and the case of Jeremy L. Cross, and the conferring of the degrees upon the Cincinnati brethren by John Barker, in 1827, shows conclusively that but little regard was yet paid to boundary lines between the two Supreme Councils.

[1] Proceedings of Sup. Council 33rd degree 1813–51, pp. 47–8.

Mr. Gourgas, in his address to the Supreme Council in 1851, said that he acted as Grand Secretary of the Supreme Council from its organization in 1813 until 1832, when he assumed the duties of Sovereign Grand Commander, which office he held until 1851, when he resigned, and Giles Fonda Yates succeeded to the position.[1]

In 1846 the Northern Supreme Council, on application, authorized Robert Thomas Crucifix, M.D., of London, England, to organize a Supreme Council of Sovereign Grand Inspectors General of the 33rd degree for England. For this purpose he was furnished with a complete set of Rituals, a copy of the Grand Constitutions of 1786, Morin's Patent of 1761, and the Supreme Council for England was duly organized by Crucifix during the year.

From June 12, 1844, the meetings of the Supreme Council became quite frequent, and the records were kept and are preserved. The only members who appear to have been present at the earlier meetings were Gourgas and Yates. November 13, 1844, the names of Edward A. Raymond, Reuel Baker and Charles W. Moore appear as members. To these names were added those of John Christie of New Hampshire, K. H. Van Renselaer, and Archibald Bull.

In 1845 the following important action was taken: "That as soon as practicable, it will be advisable to open, organize and establish at the Capital or chief town or city in each of the fourteen States forming this our Northern District and Jurisdiction, an Ineffable Lodge of the Grand Elect Perfect and Sublime Masons, 14°, under the government of a General Council of Princes of Jerusalem, 16°, a Chapter of Sovereign Princes Rose Croix, 18°, forming part of, or attached to a particular or private Consistory of the Sublime Princes of the Royal Secret, 30°, 31°, and 32°."

This shows that a complete change in the policy which had heretofore governed was now contemplated. Bodies of the Rite were organized in New Hampshire, Massachusetts and other States.

In 1845 M. P. G. Commander Gourgas wrote to a party: "You were perfectly correct in not receiving any of the 'Ineffable and Sublime degrees or Orders' from any travelling Agents, Deputies, etc., in any shape. As to this Supreme Council, it never has nor never will grant any such powers, only calculated to lower the standard of the Ineffable and Sublime degrees. Unbeknown to us, as far back as 1830 [it was 1827], the liberty was taken by a certain individual (now no more) at Cincinnati, Ohio, a State belonging to our jurisdiction, under the specific pretext of healing several brethren by taking them over to the Kentucky side."[2]

In 1851 Mr. Gourgas resigned as M. P. Grand Commander in favor of Giles Fonda Yates; the latter resigned at the same session in favor of Edward A. Raymond of Boston, Mass., and the G. Orient of the Northern Supreme Council was removed from New York and established in the former city.

From 1851 the Supreme Council held annual Sessions, printed and published its proceedings in pamphlet form. It was the only body in the United States claiming to be a Supreme Council of the 33d degree that did this. This indicates that so far as the Northern Supreme Council was concerned the Rite was beginning to emerge from chaos. Its affairs were conducted in a business manner. Laws and Regulations were enacted, and the Subordinate bodies and their members were required to conform to them.

The number of members to which a Supreme Council was limited under the Consti-

[1] Proceedings N. Supreme Council Reprint p. 230.

[2] Proceedings N. Supreme Council 1813-51, p. 93.

tutions of 1786 was nine, and this body was still acting under those Constitutions without change in this respect.

In 1851 the Supreme Council had its full complement of nine members, provided that Joseph R. Stapleton, a resident of Baltimore, Maryland, and Ammi B. Young, a resident of Washington, D. C., were eligible, neither of them residing in the jurisdiction.

The Annual Meetings of the Supreme Council and the Sovereign Consistory of P. of the R. S. 32° were largely attended, and bodies of the Rite were being established in most of the States of the jurisdiction. There were forty-three subordinates distributed in nine States on the registry of this Supreme Council in 1858.

This popularizing of the Rite was not agreeable to the views of Mr. Raymond. He was disposed to use his influence to check its too rapid growth. He had been Grand Master of the Grand Lodge, Grand High Priest of the Grand Chapter, and Grand Master of the Grand Encampment of K. T. of Massachusetts, also Grand Treasurer of the General Grand Chapter and General Grand Encampment of Knights Templar of the U. S. However, the laws and usages in these bodies are quite different from those of the Scottish Rite.

Mr. Raymond was an honest man, aristocratic, stubborn and self-willed, with an idea that he was much greater than he was in Masonry. He was a gentleman of large means, of limited education, but with easy manners and pleasing address he always made a good appearance and impression. Although he had taken an active part and great interest in Masonry all his life, he had but a very limited knowledge of its philosophy and history; especially was this the case as to Scottish Rite Masonry.

He had conceived the idea that as the M. P. Grand Commander of the Supreme Council *he* was the representative of Frederick the Great, and that his Masonic powers were absolute, that he could direct the Supreme Council as he chose, open or close it at his pleasure, and that the members were not his peers. This idea, so contrary to the Constitutions of 1786, and so utterly absurd, he held to with the most stubborn and ignorant tenacity. Of course his foolish position that he was "Frederick" was bound to result, sooner or later, in trouble; it came in 1860. Then he had assumed the right to and did confer the thirty-third degree upon parties without consulting members of the Supreme Council, and in defiance of their opposition; he refused to put motions when presented, and insisted upon closing the Council in defiance of the protest of the members.

At the Annual meeting of the Supreme Council in 1860 he absented himself from its sessions, to the great inconvenience and annoyance of the members. Owing to his continued absence without notice to them they were finally compelled to disperse and go to their homes. One of the prime causes that probably moved him to take the action he did at this time was the fact that it was proposed to change the law governing the Rite, making the officers elective, instead of their being appointed by the Sov. G. Commander.

An extra session of the Supreme Council was called for August 22, 1860, for the purpose of trying an Inspector. Mr. Raymond opened the Council and made the unqualified declaration "that he had the legal right to close the body when he pleased, and to open it at what time he pleased," and he tried to exercise this arbitrary power by declaring the Supreme Council closed *sine die*. The majority of the active members of the Supreme Council and thirty-thirds present, proceeded at once to organize a *Provisional Supreme Council*, calling one of their number, Killian H. Van Rensselaer, to the chair. Un-

doubtedly some of Mr. Raymond's rulings at this time were right; for instance, a motion was made to reconsider a vote by which at a previous meeting a Sovereign Grand Inspector General had been expelled. He ruled it out of order, and he was right; but then he would not entertain an appeal from his decision to the Supreme Council, in this he was wrong. He was simply the presiding officer of the body, not having the arbitrary powers which the Master of a Symbolic Lodge has, although he contended that he had.

At the Annual Meeting of the Supreme Council in May, 1861, charges and specifications were presented against Mr. Raymond as follows:

1st. That he has persistently neglected and refused to discharge and perform his constitutional duties and requirements as the chief officer of the Supreme body.

2nd. That he has in an irregular and unlawful manner, assumed to create Sov. Gr. Inspectors General 33° to the great scandal of the Order, and in derogation of the interest and rightful authority of this Supreme Council; and with the aid of the persons so unlawfully elevated to the high grade of Inspector General, to exercise powers and authority which alone reside in this body as the head of the Ancient and Accepted Rite in the Northern Jurisdiction of the United States.

3rd. That he has assumed powers wholly inadmissible, and exercised authority inconsistent with the just rights which are justified by the Constitutions equally to every member of this Supreme Council.

He was summoned to appear, and failing to answer,—he not recognizing the right of the body to try him,—the Supreme Council proceeded with the trial, he was found guilty, and, so far as their action could do it, he was deposed from the office of Sov. Grand Commander!

The Supreme Council then elected Wm. B. Hubbard, of Ohio, Sovereign Grand Commander; he declining the position, Killian H. Van Rensselaer was elected and installed into the office at the Annual Session in May, 1862.

At the Annual Session in 1860 a Constitution and code of statutes for the government of the Rite were presented and adopted. These were amended in 1861. One of the marked changes in the statutes was a provision that the *officers* of the Supreme Council, *except* the Sovereign Grand Commander, *should be elected triennially.*

Before this all of the officers of the Supreme Council, except the Sov. Grand Commander, were appointed by the latter officer and were *ad vitam.* Under the revised statutes all that was left of the *ad vitam* system was the office of Sov. Grand Commander, and that was probably accepted to placate Mr. Van Rensselaer, who had been ambitious for that office, and he had always been a strong advocate and defender of the *ad vitam* feature of the Rite.

The Northern Supreme Council has the distinction of being the first in the world, whether regular or irregular, in making its *officers elective,* and for fixed periods. The Cerneau Supreme Council adopted a similar rule *four years later.*

At the annual session of the Supreme Council in 1867 the Constitutions were amended, and the office of M. P. Sov. Grand Commander was declared *no longer ad vitam,* and like the other offices of the Supreme Council was made elective *every three years.*[1]

The Order, under the government of this Supreme Council, had been making wonderful progress from 1844 to 1866. At the annual meeting in the latter year there were present at the opening ten Grand Officers, six deputies, seven additional active Members,

[1] Proceedings 1867, p. 9.

one Emeritus Member, and twenty-seven Honorary Members, a total of fifty-one; and the register showed eighty-five subordinate bodies reporting.

We will leave this body for the present and return to the date, 1861, when the M. P. G. Commander Raymond was deposed.

The Raymond-Robinson and Cerneau Supreme Councils from 1861 to their union in 1863.

At that time (1861) the Northern Supreme Council was composed of the following members, including those of doubtful membership as well: E. A. Raymond, S. W. Robinson, Charles W. Moore, A. B. Young (Washington, D. C.), A. Case, Wm. B. Hubbard, Charles Gilman (Baltimore, Md.), C. R. Starkweather. Deputies K. H. Van Rensselaer, John Christie, Honorary Members; with, as was claimed, full powers, Archibald Bull, Francois Turner, J. J. J. Gourgas. All of these, except only Messrs. Raymond and Robinson, voted for or approved the action of the Supreme Council in deposing Mr. Raymond. On August 24, 1860, Mr. Raymond, as Sov. G. Commander, as before stated, closed the Supreme Council *sine die*. A Provisional Council was organized on the next day, and the business went on. Nothing was heard from Mr. Raymond until December 20, 1860, when he, still claiming to be Sov. G. Commander, issued an order denouncing the proceedings of the Van Rensselaer party or Supreme Council as illegal, and revoking Mr. Van Rensselaer's authority as a Deputy.

From their printed proceedings issued in 1861 it appears that on December 13, 1860, Mr. Raymond convened what he claimed to be the Northern Supreme Council, in Boston; there were only two members of the old Northern Supreme Council present, himself and Simon W. Robinson. However, the Minutes read, "the Supreme Council was opened in ample form." Another meeting was held on the next day, again on the fourteenth and nineteenth of the same month, the same members being present. At these meetings, names were proposed, and the Consistorial grades were conferred upon several parties, and Peter Lawson is recorded as 33°.

On January 9, 1861, the Minutes read "the Supreme Council assembled this day at eleven o'clock, A. M., pursuant to adjournment. Present:

M. P. Edward A. Raymond, Sov. Gr. Insp. Gen. 33°.

Ill. Peter Lawson, Sov. Gr. Insp. Gen. 33°.

Ill. Wm. Field, S. P. R. S. 32°!

Ill. Aaron B. Hughes, S. P. R. S. 32°!

This was certainly an anomaly—32nd grade Masons *forming a part of the Supreme Council*. The printed proceedings show that there were meetings on January 23rd and February 1, 1861.

The next meeting occurred March 20, 1861. The name of Wm. Field is added as a 33°, Lucius R. Paige was made a 33rd, and an active member of the Supreme Council. Meetings were held on May 8th and 10th. Thirty-seconds and thirty-thirds were created at these meetings.

On May 21, 1861, the printed proceedings show that the "Supreme Council assembled in annual session," and we find that the two original members had grown to six by the addition of the following names: Peter Lawson, Grand Master of Ceremonies; William Field, Grand Captain of Life Guards; Rev. George M. Randall, Grand Minister of State; Lucius R. Paige, Grand Marshal.

By unanimous vote the action of the Sov. G. Commander in removing Mr. Van Rensselaer as Deputy, and in appointing Peter Lawson as Assistant Secretary, was approved. This was sublime.

Three of those who voted upon this approval had not even the Consistory grades when the rupture occurred.

All the officers of this body were appointed by the Sov. G. Commander.

Mr. Raymond delivered a long address in which he gave his version of the trouble. We make the following extract from it, as showing his views in regard to the government of the Rite:

"In the interpretation and application of the Constitution, it is to be borne in mind that this is not, and never was designed to be, a popular branch of Freemasonry. It originated with a Monarch; it was exclusive in its beginning; its founder made it so by the laws which he ordained; he intended to keep it so; this was to be a marked feature, in contrast with those forms of Freemasonry which are popular, and hence in their general principles readily adapted to the spirit of the age in a republican form of government. To undertake, therefore, to popularize this institution, and to adapt it to the state of things as they chance to be to-day in a great Republic, is to divest it not only of a chief excellence, but to rob it of its most distinguishing features.

"We have the democracy of Freemasonry in the fullest measure in the first three degrees. This has its advantages and its disadvantages. So here we have the highest form of the aristocracy of Freemasonry. If there be disadvantages attending such exclusiveness, there are certainly in this age, when liberty is so rapidly degenerating into licentiousness, no small advantages attendant upon this elevated quality, which partakes so largely of the Monarchical and so slightly of the democratic element; but whether wise or not, well adapted or ill adapted, to this country and to this age, here it is."

He charged improper motives to some of the fomenters of the trouble. He may have been warranted in making this allegation; there were some deep shadows cast in that direction. All of this, however, did not warrant him in assuming that he had Masonic powers such as had Frederick the Great, forgetting that the object in the formation of the Supreme Council by that Monarch was that after his death the powers he possessed should be centered in a Council consisting of nine members—not in the Sov. G. Commander. If Mr. Raymond's theory was correct, then of what use were the other eight members?

Mr. Raymond's Council also adopted General Statutes and Regulations at the session of 1861.

In that year authority was given to the subordinate bodies to remit by vote such portion of the regular initiation fees to Candidates as they, in their judgment, might deem proper, etc. They were also authorized to "grant complimentary initiations[1] to such distinguished Masons as they may desire to honor." This privilege was subsequently used for all there was in it. On the 22nd of January, 1862, Messrs. Van Rensselaer and Moore having had charges and specifications preferred against them for unmasonic conduct in assuming to carry on a Supreme Council, were tried and expelled therefor. Five of the seven who composed the Supreme Council at this meeting were not members of the body when the rupture took place; three of them were not even members of the Consistory. However the war went on.

The body continued bestowing the grades and establishing paper bodies almost indiscriminately during the years 1861 and 1862. Notwithstanding the flattering showing

[1] In the original "invitations," evidently a typographical error.

made on paper, as to growth and prosperity, it was in a sickly, languishing and deplorably demoralized condition at the beginning of the year 1863. Here we leave its history for the present, and resume the history of the Cerneau Supreme Council, so called, from 1836, where we left it.

But little of interest took place in the Cerneau S. C. for several years after the confirmation of the Concordat in 1836. In 1837 Henry C. Atwood and associates were expelled by the Grand Lodge of New York for violating the laws of Masonry and of the Grand Lodge of that State by organizing an illegal Masonic body called the St. John's Grand Lodge of the State of New York. Folger tells pretty fairly the story of Atwood's Masonic odd ways and strange doings during this period. He says:

"Mr. Atwood at this time was Sovereign Grand Inspector General, Thirty-third degree, and held the power of the same, confirmed and countersigned by Dewitt Clinton, the M. P. Sov. Grand Commander, which according to the laws and Constitutions of the Order gave him the power for life to establish, congregate, superintend and instruct Lodges, Chapters, Colleges, Consistories and Councils of the Royal and Military Order of Ancient and Modern Freemasonry over the surface of the two hemispheres, etc. Taking advantage of his position as a Sovereign Grand Inspector General, he *chartered a Chapter of Royal Arch Masons*, under the title of Oriental Chapter, a Council of Royal and Select Masters, *and an Encampment of Knights Templar*. Under this organization, in the course of a few years, the bodies prospered and largely increased in numbers. He, at the same time continued the meetings of Lafayette Rose Croix Chapter, being its presiding officer, and established a Consistory of Sublime Princes of the Royal Secret. In due time he gathered around him the old members of the United Supreme Council, and with others who had been elevated to the Thirty-third degree, *he formed a Supreme Council*, which took the place of the old body, which had been dissolved."

This happened in 1846, or nine years after the formation of the St. John's Grand Lodge.[1]

"From this period (1838) to 1846 the meetings of the Supreme Council were annual, and the records show that the only attending members were Joseph Bouchaud, Francis Dubuar, and five others, *all the others having become disaffected and dropped off*. On the 27th of October, 1846, there were present Joseph Bouchaud, President; John Telfair, George Smith, and John S. Mitchell, Assistant Secretary. On motion of Brother Telfair, it was ordered "*that the funds of this Supreme Council in the hands of the Treasurer, be distributed, pro rata, among the surviving members of the Supreme Council, who composed the body previous to the introduction of new members.*"

In accordance with this resolution, Ill. Bro. Bouchaud paid over the funds to Ill. Bro. Geo. Smith, Secretary General of the Supreme Council, to be divided among those brethren, Bro. Bouchaud refusing to receive any part of the same.

"This date TERMINATED THE EXISTENCE OF THE BODY, AS THEN CONSTITUTED, AND IT THEREBY CAME TO AN END.[2]

"All honor to the memory of Bouchaud!

"It will be seen by this date the United Supreme Council in this branch had dwindled down to four members. Ill. Bro. Hicks and Jonathan Schieffelin were dead; the Count St. Laurent had returned to France, etc.

"The members had forsaken the body, and the four remaining members could not transact the regular business. Under these circumstances *they brought it to an end.*"[3]

Then it was that Mr. Atwood, *an expelled Master Mason*, leaped into the arena, and "gathered around him the old members, etc., and formed a Supreme Council, which took the place of the old body."

There was but little good done for the organization or for Masonry from 1846 to 1851. The fact that Atwood, *an expelled Mason*, was at the head of it, had a most blighting effect. In 1851, it was agreed among them that Atwood should resign, and they pre-

[1] Folger, page 224. [2] Ibid., page 226. [3] Ibid., page 227.

vailed upon Jeremy L. Cross, the well-known Masonic Lecturer, to accept the office of Sov. Grand Commander. Before doing so, however, he made certain conditions which he undisguisedly stated were in the interests of York Masonry, and which were agreed to and accepted. It was stipulated that only Royal Arch Masons should receive the 16th degree of Prince of Jerusalem, and the remaining degrees—19th to 32nd—should only be open to Knights Templar.

The remarkable feature connected with the placing of Cross at the head of the Cerneau Supreme Council was the fact that he was received and acknowledged by that body as having his authority as a Grand Inspector General, 33rd degree, from the Southern Supreme Council at Charleston, S. C., and his Patent shows that he was a member at the time of that body.

His Patent credits him with being a Sovereign Grand Inspector General and member of the Supreme Council, which could only mean the Southern Supreme Council. This document, dated at Charleston, S. C., June 24, 1824, is signed by Moses Holbrook, Frederick Dalcho, Joseph McCosh and five others, all well known and recognized members of the Southern Supreme Council.

As this event is an important one in the history of the Cerneau Supreme Council, we will give a full account of what occurred when Mr. Cross, by virtue of his Patent, reorganized the Cerneau Supreme Council on May 29, 1851, as related by Mr. Folger in his Manuscript history, in the Archives of the N. Supreme Council.

"The Ill. Bro. Jeremy L. Cross took his seat in the East, and after briefly stating the object for which they had assembled produced his Patent, and having read it aloud in the hearing of all present, he said:

"By virtue of the high power in me vested *herewith* [by the Patent, of course] I now declare this Supreme Grand Council of Sovereign Grand Inspectors General, 33rd and last degree, duly and lawfully congregated, and shall at once proceed to install the officers and vest them with the powers appertaining to the same."

The curious, who want to examine the text of Cross's Patent, are referred to Folger's History.[1]

Mr. Folger, continuing his account of this affair, says:

"The Ill. Gr. Commander then called Ill. Bro. Henry C. Atwood into his presence, and, after alluding in a feeling manner to the long, arduous services he had rendered to the craft, proceeded to install him as Grand Master of Ceremonies, at the same time requesting him to introduce in rotation the officers he would name to fill the seats of this Supreme Grand body."[2]

Mr. Cross then proceeded and appointed and installed all the officers of the body. After which the "Supreme Council 33rd and last degree for the United States of America its Territories and Dependencies, was opened in ample form."

This action by Mr. Cross, and its recognition by the body, settles beyond question that the Cerneau Supreme Council recognized the Southern Supreme Council as a legitimate body of the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite.

It is curious to note that while Mr. Cross in accepting the office of Sov. G. Com. said he did so in the hope that it would result in good to York Masonry, yet at that very meeting he appointed and installed as one of the principal officers of the body *an expelled*

[1] Folger's Supplement, p. 366. [2] Folger's Manuscript History.

Mason, one who was at the time in open war with the Grand Lodge of the State of New York.

At a meeting of the Supreme Council April 29, 1852, Mr. Cross's letter of resignation as Sov. Grand Commander was received and accepted.

May 22nd following, Salem Town, Grand Keeper of the Seals, also tendered his resignation, which was accepted.

At a meeting of the Supreme Council held on October 28, 1852, the Acting Grand Commander, Atwood, announced that the business now before the body was the *election* of officers, in order to a *reorganization,* as the Supreme Grand Council of Sovereign Gr. Inspectors General for the SOVEREIGN FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATE OF NEW YORK. All the officers were *elected,* Mr. Atwood M. P. Grand Commander.

The Installation of the officers was formally postponed, awaiting the arrival from France of one Mr. Foulhouze, then engaged in active warfare and rebellion against the authority of the Grand Lodge of the State of Louisiana.

Dec. 23, 1852, Mr. Foulhouze was received in ample form and he installed the officers, and proclaimed the body as the Supreme Council 33rd and last degree of the Sovereign Free and Independent State of New York. March 8, 1863, at an extra convocation, a Charter was *unanimously* granted for a Scottish *Symbolic Lodge,* A. A. Rite, to work the *first three degrees* of *Masonry* in the English language, in the city of New York, etc. Mr. ROBERT B. FOLGER was named as its first Master.

At the same meeting a charter was also granted by a *unanimous* vote for a Scottish *Symbolic Lodge* in the city of New York to be worked in the French language.

At a regular meeting of the body November 30, 1854, the Sov. G. Commander, Atwood, announced that *he had changed the name of the body* from that which it now bore (Supreme Council 33rd and last degree of the Sovereign Free and Independent State of New York) to its original name, the Supreme Council of Sovereign Grand Inspectors General 33rd and last degree Ancient and Accepted Rite for the United States of America, their territories and dependencies, and *resumed* its ancient jurisdiction.

Then, at a regular meeting January 25, 1855, he announced that he had appointed for the ensuing year, as the number of active members in the Supreme Council was too small to elect, officers of the Supreme Council, *viz.,* Edmund B. Hays, Dep. G. Commander, and seven others to different offices. They had a kind of go-as-you-please regulation, or perhaps no regulation at all, in regard to filling the offices, for we find that sometimes they were elected, at other times they were appointed, so reported in their own printed reports.

Henry C. Atwood died in 1860. As an illustration of his Masonic character and integrity we give the following ancedote as reported by Mr. Folger. Speaking of what he had done after the closing of the United Supreme Council in 1846, he (Atwood) went on and said:

"As regards Lafayette Rose Croix Chapter, that also has been continued, and is in a very prosperous condition; it has a large number of members, and now meets regularly once per month. The warrant of that body has done us good service, inasmuch as it served its purpose for the document founding and establishing Oriental Chapter of *Royal Arch Masons,* and Palestine *Encampment of Knights Templar.* It was shifted over from one body to the other at every meeting as occasion required, and was never called in question. It had *plenty of large seals* in *silver cases,* it passed off admirably, and no one knew the difference. If any brother made any objections after receiving the degrees of

the Chapter or Encampment, I *always threw myself upon my Patent as a Sovereign Grand Inspector General, 33rd and last degree*, which gave me full power to establish Lodges, Chapters, Councils, and other bodies at my pleasure."[1]

Nothing more infamous than this can be found in the annals of Masonic fraud; it is the man's own confession too.

Notwithstanding he was engaged in this gross Masonic fraud business he was most anxious, as he informed Folger, to do something to counteract the influence of Gourgas, who was making some stir with his Supreme Council in New York at the time.

Atwood was succeeded in 1860 by Edmund B. Hays as M. P. Sov. Grand Commander —Folger says by *election*, which was not the fact.

Two years before his death, May 14, 1858, Atwood in writing, as is claimed, *appointed* Hays his successor. In the document he styled the body the "Supreme Council of the thirty-third degree Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite for the *North Masonic Jurisdiction* of the Western Hemisphere."

This appointment of Hays was endorsed as accepted by Geo. L. Osborne as Grand Chancellor, etc., Robert E. Roberts, Grand Treasurer, and Hopkins Thompson as Grand Master of Ceremonies for the Supreme Council, October 6, 1860.

Hays infused new life and activity into the organization, and the conferring of degrees and the creating of new bodies went on right and left. Notwithstanding all this, matters were not in a satisfactory condition. The Raymond portion of the Northern Supreme Council was struggling for existence, and had some very good and influential names connected with it. The Van Rensselaer branch of the Northern Supreme Council was flourishing and growing beyond what could reasonably have been expected under the circumstances at its organization.

In order to meet and check this alarming growth of the Van Rensselaer body, the leading members of the Hays and Raymond Supreme Councils came together for consultation as to what was best to be done under the circumstances. There were at the time (1863) so called Supreme Councils, within the Northern Jurisdiction proper, as follows:

1. The Hays-Cerneau body, with headquarters in New York city.
2. The Van Rensselaer body, with headquarters in Boston.
3. The Raymond body, with headquarters also in Boston.

There was also a so-called Supreme Council of Connecticut, with one Edward W. Atwood as M. P. Grand Commander at its head. There was also a Supreme Council for the Free and Independent State of California. They, however, were considered as too small a quantity for either of the other bodies to condescend to notice, and yet these bodies had been recognized by the Cerneau Sup. Council, and the enterprising chief officer of the Connecticut concern was trying to turn an "honest penny" by selling the degrees at a very low price. See his most remarkable letter addressed to a brother, making special offer of the 33rd degree, written on a circus letter head.

The result of the consultation between the commissioners of the Raymond and Hays-Cerneau bodies was a mutual agreement for the "consolidation" of the two bodies; the articles were agreed to and signed by the commissioners, on February 7, 1863, and the "consolidation" was finally consummated by the two bodies coming together, and the installation of the officers of the consolidated body took place in the city of New York April 15, 1863.

[1] Folger's revised history of the Scottish Rite, Manuscript in the Archives N. Sup. Council.

As preliminary to the consolidation, the following action was taken by the Hays-Cerneau body January 19, 1863:

"The Committee on the condition of the A. and A. Rite would most respectfully beg leave to report,

"That the party known as the Raymond body of Boston have lately proposed in their individual capacities, and by official resolution, suggestions looking to the merging in and association with this Supreme Council, bringing with them documents, properties and everything appertaining to their organization.

"Your committee, on invitation, met those gentlemen in social and friendly converse on these important subjects, and were treated in the most cordial and hospitable manner, and have arrived at the conclusion that the best interests of this Supreme Council would be subserved by an immediate solution of the matters in question, which shall be alike just to the original authority of this Supreme Council, and the dignity of the gentlemen with whom the conference has been had.

"Your Committee therefore recommend that they or some other Committee be empowered to act in the premises."

The recommendation was adopted, and the committee was composed of Edmund B. Hays, Daniel Sickels, and Henry C. Banks.

At the meeting of the Raymond body April 2, 1862, the following action was had:

"Whereas, It has been unofficially made known to us that the Body over which our Ill. Bro. E. B. Hays now presides is disposed to unite with this body in one enlarged Supreme Council; and whereas this Body is disposed to adopt any legal measures for the promotion of peace and harmony in the Ancient and Accepted Rite:

Decreed, That M. P. Edward A. Raymond, Esq., Ill. Lucius R. Paige, D.D., and Ill. George M. Randall, D.D., be a committee, with power to confer with a similar committee, to be appointed by the body over which our Illustrious Bro. Hays presides, and to arrange, if practicable, such union of the two bodies upon a just and honorable basis; and to report such basis if arranged, for the final action of the Supreme Grand Council."

February 18 the Committee reported the Articles of Consolidation as agreed upon, they were accepted and approved by the Supreme Council, and the Raymond body adjourned *sine die*.

The Articles of Consolidation were reported to and approved by the Hays-Cerneau body April 15, 1863, and the consummation immediately followed. We give the Articles of Consolidation as they were agreed to and adopted by the contracting parties.

Articles of Consolidation.

Adopted and consummated by and between the Supreme Grand Council, thirty-third and last degree for the Northern Jurisdiction of the United States, sitting at Boston, of the one part, and the Supreme Grand Council thirty-third and last degree Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite for the United States of America, their Territories and Dependencies, sitting at New York, of the other part.

Whereas, The said parties, in their individual and sovereign capacity, being mutually desirous of advancing the interests of Masonry within the jurisdiction, and wishing to *consolidate* the authorities therein under one governing head, have clothed their Representatives with full and perfect power to that end, who in the name of said parties have agreed, consented, provided and ordained, and do by these presents agree, consent, provide and ordain as follows:

1. The said Supreme Councils are by virtue hereof *consolidated*, under the name of the "Supreme Grand Council, thirty-third and last degree of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite for the United States of America, their Territories and Dependencies" sitting at New York.

2. All sovereign Grand Inspectors General heretofore created by either of the parties

hereto shall be recognized *upon taking the oath of fealty* to the Supreme Council for the United States of America.

3. All subordinate Bodies, hailing under either of the parties hereto, are to be duly acknowledged and recognized, upon taking the oath of fealty to the said Supreme Council for the United States of America, etc.; and new warrants may be granted, or the existing ones properly endorsed, as the said Bodies respectively may elect.

4. All properties, of whatever name, kind and description, belonging to the parties hereto, or either of them, are hereby declared to be vested in the said Supreme Council for the United States of America, etc., and will be delivered accordingly to the Grand Secretary General thereof.

5. Until otherwise ordered, the Constitutions and General Regulations of the second party hereto are hereby adopted and in full force for the government of the consolidated body herein provided for.

6. The number of Active Members of said Council is hereby increased to seventeen (creating eight new offices), and the officers of the said consolidated Council, *ad vitam*, shall be as follows:

Sov. Grand Commander, Edmund B. Hays; Sov. Assist. Grand Commander, Edward A. Raymond; 1st Lieut. Grand Commander, S. W. Robinson; 2nd Lieut. Grand Commander, H. Thompson; Grand Orator, ; Grand Minister of State, G. M. Randall; Grand Chancellor, Lucius R. Paige; Grand Secretary General, Daniel Sickles; Grand Treasurer General, Robert E. Roberts; Grand Marshal General, Henry C. Banks; Grand Sword Bearer, Aaron P. Hughes; 1st. Grand Master of Ceremonies, H. J. Seymour; 2nd Grand Master of Ceremonies, C. T. McClenachan; Grand Expert Introductor, Peter Lawson; Grand Standard Bearer, John Innes; 1st Grand Captain of Guard, William Field; 2nd Grand Captain of Guard, William H. Jarvis.

7. The Emeritus position of Sovereign Assistant Grand Commander is conferred on Ill. Edward A. Raymond, in recognition of his long and distinguished services in the Rite.

In testimony of all which, Edward A. Raymond, George M. Randall and Lucius R. Paige, on behalf of said first party, and Edmund B. Hays, Daniel Sickels and Henry C. Banks, on behalf of said second party, have hereunto set their hands and seals interchangeably, for the uses and purposes herein before expressed.

Done at the city of Boston this seventh day of February, A. D. 1863.

Edward A. Raymond	(L. S.)
George M. Randall	(L. S.)
Lucius R. Paige	(L. S.)
Edmund B. Hays	(L. S.)
Daniel Sickels	(L. S.)
Henry C. Banks	(L. S.)

Immediately after the officers of the newly consolidated body were installed, and the new Supreme Council proclaimed, *every member present took and subscribed the "oath of allegiance."* Those who were not present signed the same at subsequent dates. We subjoin a few of the more prominent names. The originals are in the Archives of the N. Supreme Council.

Edmund B. Hays, April 15, 1863; E. A. Raymond, not dated; S. W. Robinson, April 15, 1863; Hopkins Thompson, July 9, 1863; Albert P. Moriarty, April 15, 1863; Geo. M. Randall, April 15, 1863; Lucius R. Paige, April 15, 1863; Daniel Sickels, April 15, 1863; R. E. Roberts, April 15, 1863; Henry C. Banks, April 15, 1863; Aaron P. Hughes, April 15, 1863; Harry James Seymour, July 9, 1863; C. T. McClenachan, April 15, 1863; Peter Lawson, April 15, 1863; John Innes, April 15, 1863.

It is argued by some that the New York body absorbed the Boston body. We do not read it so; neither was absorbed by the other; the two were *consolidated into one*, under the name of the Supreme Council, thirty-third and last degree of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite for the United States of America, their Territories and Dependencies, but it was no longer the old body, although it bore the same name, else why require all the members of both of the old bodies to take the oath of Allegiance as to the

Consolidated. However, we have given the naked facts connected with this affair, and our readers can form their own conclusions.

The Consolidated Cerneau-Raymond Supreme Council, 1863–67.

The consolidated body went into the business of conferring the degrees and establishing bodies in a most vigorous manner. Agents were traveling through the Northern States making a business of Masonry. The degrees were being conferred for a mere nominal sum, frequently for nothing, the object being to get the field as against the Van Rensselear or Northern Supreme Council. Of course there was a large increase in the membership, and many new bodies were formed. At the Annual Session in October, 1864, the Constitutions were amended and all the officers were made elective for three-year terms. It is a notable fact that Mr. Hays, the M. P. Sov. Grand Commander, absented himself from the meeting when the vote was taken on the *ad vitam* question.

Mr. Raymond did nearly the same thing: when that question was pending in his Supreme Council in 1860 he declared the body adjourned *sine die*. For striking out the *ad vitam* feature there were thirteen Ayes and three Nays; those voting Nay were Hopkins Thompson, Peter Lawson and John Innes.

A large number of honorary thirty-thirds were made in 1864 and 1865.

As an illustration of the way matters were going, we quote the following, adopted at the December meeting in 1864:

"That the Grand Commander be requested and authorized to visit various States to establish and constitute Subordinate Bodies of the Ancient and Accepted Rite, with authority to call to his aid such members of the Supreme Council as he may desire, and charge the expense thereof to the Supreme Council."

December 14, 1865, Edmund B. Hays resigned the office of M. P. Sov. Grand Commander, and was succeeded by Simon W. Robinson, the Lieutenant Grand Commander.

Here is another illustration of the demoralization that was prevailing. The following was adopted:

"Resolved that authority is hereby granted to Ill. Bro. —— with the approval of the members of this Supreme Council, to confer the degrees of the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite to and including the 32d degree or Sublime Prince of the Royal Secret, until the first day of February, 1866, the funds to be applied to the liquidation of the indebtedness of the Supreme Council."

At the meeting, September 11, 1865, a committee was appointed to take into consideration the propriety of resuming the old name—Supreme Council of the Northern Jurisdiction of the United States of America, in lieu of the one adopted at the consolidation.

At the next meeting, October 22, 1865, the committee reported in favor of the proposed change of name, and it was agreed to by *unanimous vote*.

When the consolidation took place in 1863 the uniting bodies could have taken the name of Northern Supreme Council. It appears that they did not deem it best to do so then. However, the circumstances afterwards changed. This body, as well as the Van Rensselaer body, was seeking recognition from the Southern Supreme Council, and were in hot competition with each other in every way, each striving to get the advantage. This body undoubtedly adopted the change of name hoping that it would strengthen them

to do so. There can be no well-grounded doubt as to their constitutional right to make the change they did.

Sept. 11, 1865, charges and specifications were preferred against Harry J. Seymour, a member of the Supreme Council, for unmasonic conduct. At the meeting of the Supreme Council on December 14, 1865, he was found guilty, and by *unanimous* vote of the body he was "Expelled from all the rights and privileges of Masonry in every branch of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite." In this connection it is important to note the fact that the commission having the matter of charges against Seymour in hand, consisted of former members of the Cerneau organization. They brought in an unanimous report against him.

Seymour tried to shield himself by pleading the excuse that he was not a member of the body, that he never was a member nor claimed to be a member of any organization known as the Supreme Council, thirty-third degree, for the Northern Jurisdiction of the U. S., etc.

Sept. 11, 1865, a deputation was informally authorized to visit the Southern Supreme Council, to seek recognition, or to sound that body upon the subject. At the meeting of the Supreme Council in June, 1866, there was an encouraging report from this deputation. At the same session, it was resolved that a committee of five be appointed for the purpose of receiving any proposition which may be made to this body from any source within its jurisdictional limits, to adjust any differences which may exist therein, and that they be and they are hereby empowered to make such settlements and give such positions to bodies, or individuals in the Order, as may, in their judgment, be deemed just and proper, provided that any proposition affecting the present status of this Supreme Council, or having any reference whatever to the thirty-third degree, be submitted to and determined by this Council while in session. That the committee have until the next annual session to act and report, and should circumstances warrant an application for a *Special Meeting* of this Council, its utility *shall be determined by the first three officers.**

This was referred to the same committee appointed to consider the action of the Southern Supreme Council. At this session, the law requiring a fee of $50 for the conferring of the 33d degree was repealed; any Master Mason could have the degrees, from the fourth to the thirty-second inclusive, conferred upon him by communication, upon the written approval of three active members of the Supreme Council. Any active member of the Supreme Council was empowered to confer the grade of Deputy Inspector General, 33°, on any of the candidates elected at the session (June, 1866).

The thirty-third degree was voted to several candidates at this meeting.

At this meeting the following was adopted:

Resolved, That this Supreme Council claims and assumes jurisdiction over the following states—and NO MORE: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin.

The Southern Supreme Council, at its session in April, 1866, considered the troubles in the Northern Jurisdiction and the history and exciting condition of its affairs at great length. The M. P. Sov. Grand Commander Albert Pike, and a special committee to whom the matter was referred, reached the conclusion that both the Van Rensselaer and the Raymond Supreme Councils were illegal, null and void; that the only surviving legal

* Reprint of Proceedings page 217.

Sovereign Grand Inspectors General of the 33d degree, active members of the Old Northern Supreme Council at that date, 1866, were Simon W. Robinson, Charles W. Moore, Albert Case, Ammi B. Young and Charles R. Starkweather. And that Mr. Robinson was the legal successor of Mr. Raymond as Sovereign Grand Commander; he having been appointed by the latter, Lieutenant Grand Commander, and succeeding at his death to the vacant Commandership, which he was entitled to retain until lawfully removed by the Supreme Council.

The Committee, as conclusion to their report, said "That any action taken or principle affirmed by these five Sovereign Grand Inspectors, in accordance with the Constitutions of 1786 and the regulations of their own body, for the purpose of reassembling the Supreme Council of the Northern Jurisdiction, will be hailed with pleasure by this Supreme Council, and will meet with its hearty concurrence and co-operation."

This very able report was presented and signed by W. S. Rockwell (written by him), A. G. Mackey, A. T. C. Pierson, Henry Buist and B. B. French, a committee of as great legal ability and Masonic knowledge as ever made a report in a Masonic body in the United States.

Mr. Pike, in his address, said, "Ill. Bro. Robinson, made Lt. Gr. Commander by Ill. Bro. Raymond, before any attempt was made to depose him, is in my opinion, by virtue of the Grand Constitutions, the Sov. Grand Commander.

"These six [Hubbard was then alive] may be called together by him, and may proceed to reorganize the Supreme Council. There are distinguished Masons enough on *both sides* to make such a governing body as perhaps the world has never seen. By increasing the number of members to thirty-three, the best men and Masons on *each side* may be selected, and if any ambitious men are in the way, they should be made to stand aside."

Mr. Pike was very severe in his criticism upon the Cerneau branch of the Union Council of 1863, denouncing it, in unmeasured terms, as illegal and unmasonic.

Undoubtedly the action of the Southern Supreme Council, and the argument of Mr. Pike, had great effect upon the members of the consolidated Council in reaching the conclusion they did. They were most anxious to be recognized by the Southern Supreme body, and they had hoped and expected by skillful diplomacy to accomplish their purpose.

They were disappointed; Mr. Pike and his Supreme Council determined the question by applying to it only the stern, uniform rules of Masonic law and usage, without any regard to the parties who might suffer by their decision. Diplomacy or personal friendships were not allowed to play any part in the matter. The leading members of the Consolidated Supreme Council were anxious to be recognized as a legitimate body of the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite; many of them were prominent men in their business and professions, and most of them had made honorable and distinguished names for themselves as Masons in the York Rite. They were tired of being stigmatized as irregular Scottish Rite Masons, and were disgusted with the unfraternal strife then raging; therefore they were ready to do almost anything that was not dishonorable in order to gain Masonic recognition and bring peace to the Rite.

We may reasonably assume that a consultation was held, and that all the active members of the Supreme Council, both the Cerneau and the Raymond side, participated in it. The result was that, influenced by the intimation contained in the report of the Committee to the Southern Supreme Council, and the remarks of Mr. Pike, they concluded unanimously to disband their Consolidated body and to revive and reorganize the Northern Supreme Council.

It is probable that the Committee on the settlement of differences, etc., exercised the discretion with which it was vested, and asked for an extra session of the Supreme Council, and that its "utility" was indorsed by the first three officers; for on November 27, 1866, Simon W. Robinson, Ill. P. Sov. Grand Commander, issued the following call for an extra session of the Supreme Council:

T. T. G. O. T. G. A. O. T. U.

ORDO AB CHAO,

Health, Stability, Power.

From the East of the Supreme Council of Sovereign Grand Inspectors General of the Thirty-third and last degree, Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite, for the Northern Jurisdiction of the United States of America, under the C. C. of the Z., near the B.B., answering to 40° 42′ 40″ N. L., and 2° 0′ 51″ E. Long, Meridian of Washington City,

Orient of New York, Nov. 27, 1866.

Peer and Bro.: Sov. Gr. Insp. Gen.

You are hereby summoned to meet the Sovereign Grand Commander, and Brethren Sov. Gr. Insp. Gen. at Nassau Hall, Corner of Washington and Summer Sts., Boston, Massachusetts, on Thursday, December 13, at eleven o'clock, A.M., for the purpose of opening a session extraordinary of the Supreme Council, and for the transaction of such business as may come before it.

Per Order

S. W. ROBINSON 33°

M. P. Sov. Grand Commander of the Supreme Council for Northern Jurisdiction, U. S. A.

Attest:

John F. Currier 33°

Ass't. G. Sec. Gen. H. E.

In response to this call, the following members appeared at the time and place of meeting in Boston: * Simon W. Robinson, * JOHN L. LEWIS, * Lucius R. Paige, * George W. Bentley, * HENRY C. BANKS, * C. T. McClenachan, Wm. Field, JOHN SHEVILLE, * CLINTON F. PAIGE, * J. Clarke Hagey, * Wm. Barrett, *Aaron King ,* Peter Lawson,

Those with a star prefixed to their names were present at the meeting in New York June 6, 1866, when the committee of five was appointed. There were fifteen voting members present at that meeting, eleven of whom were present in Boston; only four of the members who were present in New York were not at the Boston meeting, *viz.*: Daniel Sickels, John Innes, Israel Hunt, and Hopkins Thompson.

Those members whose names are printed in small capitals were original Cerneau Masons; that is, before the consolidation in 1863. There were seven original Cerneaus voting at the New York meeting, all of whom approved the action at Boston in reorganizing the Supreme Council. One of them withdrew his approval fourteen years after giving it.

Mr. Robinson announced that, in consequence of the death of Mr. Raymond, late Sov. G. Commander, he had succeeded to the Sov. Grand Commandership of the Supreme Council of Sovereign Grand Inspectors General of the thirty-third and last degree of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, for the Northern Jurisdiction of the United States of America, and in the exercise of the rights, privileges and functions of said office he

had notified and summoned the following Ill. Brethren, *viz.*: Charles W. Moore, Albert Case, Charles R. Starkweather, and A. B. Young, to appear before him in Council Chamber, and they having failed or neglected to obey said summons, or to take any notice thereof, he declared and proclaimed their seats in the Supreme Council to be vacant, and that he should proceed to fill up the vacancies in the Supreme Council pursuant to the Articles two and three of the Constitutions of 1786.

He called to his assistance Peter Lawson as Treasurer, and these two selected John L. Lewis as the third member; the three selected Lucius R. Paige for the fourth member; the four selected Clinton F. Paige for the fifth member; the five then selected Charles T. McClenachan for the sixth member; the six selected William Field for the seventh member; the seven selected William Barrett for the eighth member. Three of these officers were original Cerneaus; two were made in the Raymond Council and three in the Consolidated body. The M. P. G. Commander then proclaimed that the Supreme Council 33° for the Northern jurisdiction of the United States of America was fully organized and proceeded to install the officers.

On motion the following Amendment to Article 5, Sec. 1, of the Constitutions of 1786 was unanimously adopted:

"That the Active Membership of this Supreme Council be raised to thirty-three."

It will be observed that this reorganization was done in strict accordance with the suggestions that came from the Southern Supreme Council and its Most P. Sov. Grand Commander. After the Installation Mr. Robinson delivered the following Address, which fully explains why the reorganization took place.

Address.

We have met, in the Providence of God, to deliberate on the present state of this Supreme Council, and to adopt such measures as will best subserve its interest, and I rejoice to meet so many of you apparently in the enjoyment of health and all the comforts of life, and I earnestly pray for their continuance. The present meeting of the Council has been called at the request of several of its members and the business to be considered is of the first importance.

In the year 1863, and for many years previous, there were two Supreme Councils: the Raymond Council, whose Grand East was in Boston, and the Hays Council, with its Grand East in New York, both claiming jurisdiction.

These two Councils, to a certain extent, were antagonistical and hostile to each other. Much of the strength of both parties was wasted in finding fault and aiming blows at each other, and their power for good was thus paralyzed.

This condition of things could no longer be endured, and it became a subject of absorbing solicitude and inquiry, if not checked, what would be the result?

The affections which the Order inculcates were being alienated and the fountains of social happiness poisoned. To obviate these evils, the exercise of the best faculties of the mind were put in requisition; negotiations were commenced, and prosecuted with indefatigable industry, to their completion. The fruits of those negotiations were the merging of the two Councils into one, and their constituting a "Union Council." Exceptions were taken to this Union, especially by the Southern Council, who, after a long and deliberate consideration of the subject, were of the opinion that it was irregular, and therefore decided not to recognize the Council.

Ill. Bro. Pike, whose researches, Masonic intelligence and familiar acquaintance with whatever pertains to the Ancient and Accepted Rite gives to his opinion almost the authority of law, concurs with the Southern Council, and he is also of the opinion that the Raymond Council is not dead, but its vital energies suspended for the time being; and the Lieut. Commander under the late E. A. Raymond, succeeds to the office of Sov. Grand Commander of the only legitimate Council of the Northern Jurisdiction.

To place ourselves within the pale of legitimacy, and secure fraternal relations with

the Southern Council and all other regular Councils, induced the Brethren to dissolve the "Union Council," which has been done by the *unanimous consent of every member.*

The Union Council being dissolved, its members are consequently absolved from the Oath of Fealty, and may lawfully resuscitate the Raymond Council and exercise all the rights, privileges and functions to which it was entitled previous to its union with the Hays Council.

This resuscitation has been consummated, as provided in the second section of Article three of the Constitution of 1786; and proclamation has been made that the Officers have been regularly appointed and installed, and the Council is now ready to proceed to the consideration of business that may regularly come before it.

And now, Ill. Brethren, permit me to congratulate you upon the success of your efforts in the business for which the present meeting was called. You have resuscitated this Council from its dormancy, breathed into it the breath of life, and restored all the vital energies with which it was originally invested.

It is now believed that every obstacle to a full and complete recognition by all regular Councils is removed, and we may reasonably hope that this Supreme Council will continue to hold a high place in the scale of usefulness among the honored institutions of the land. Pax Vobiscum.

It has been said by some hypercritical parties that this reorganization was brought about by fraud, that it was a conspiracy by the Northern Supreme Council, members of the Consolidated body, to revive that Council and to utterly destroy the Cerneau Council. A careful investigation of all the facts and circumstances connected with this affair must satisfy any fair, unprejudiced mind that there is no real foundation in this allegation.

It is most evident that the Northern Supreme Council members were not influenced in any way by a sentimentalism about the name. This was demonstrated when they cheerfully gave up their own name at the union in 1863, and accepted that borne by their old-time adversaries.

On the other hand, there is no evidence that the Old Cerneau members were troubled with any mawkish sentimentality on the subject. Just as the other side had done in 1863, they were willing to and did do in 1866: they gave up their old name and accepted the other because they thought it necessary to accomplish what was near to the hearts of all—securing peace, if possible, to the Rite; influenced no doubt to some extent by a wish to get the prestige of recognition as a regular Scottish Rite body, to the disadvantage of their adversary, the Van Rensselaer Supreme Council.

The printed account of this affair as published in the Proceedings in 1867 appears to be imperfect; it is most evident that the records of one or more meetings of the Supreme Council have in some way dropped out.

Mr. Robinson in his address says: "To place ourselves within the pale of legitimacy, and secure fraternal relations with the Southern Supreme Council and all regular Councils, induced the Brethren to *dissolve* the 'Union Council,' which was *done by the unanimous consent of every member.*"

This statement was made openly, in the presence of every member of the Supreme Council who had been at the meeting of the body in New York in June, except only four; four of those who were present at Boston had been members of the old Cerneau Supreme Council of the United States, etc., the body which some claim was wronged by dissolving the Union body and taking the name of Northern Supreme Council. No one at the time contradicted the statement made by Mr. Robinson, which certainly would have been done had it not been true; therefore we must believe that it was true, *and that a meeting had been held,* probably in New York, about the time Mr. Robinson

issued the call for the "extraordinary session," and at that meeting the Union Council *was* dissolved by "*unanimous vote;*" further, that Mr. Robinson was requested to issue the summons for the extraordinary session in the name of the Northern Supreme Council just as he did. Possibly, all of this may have been done by correspondence with the members, with the understanding that their approval *in writing* would be accepted and have the same effect as though they had been assembled in regular session. No one who knew Mr. Robinson personally, can have any doubt but what his statement was absolutely true. We knew him well; he was honest and truthful. Another corroborating circumstance in this connection is the fact that the summons was issued from New York and by the Assistant Grand Sec. Gen. of the United Council, John F. Currier, and he was not of the Northern Supreme Council. Is it reasonable to suppose that he would have issued the summons with the heading it bore, had he not been authorized and instructed by the Supreme Council itself to do so?

All the facts and the circumstances connected with this important incident show that the Union Council *was dissolved*, and that the reorganized body, under another name, was composed of the very same members as the old one, that the whole change was made with the most absolute unanimity of sentiment and purpose, and that the great object was to secure recognition from the Southern Supreme Council—this and nothing more; there was no plotting or conspiracy about it.

Immediately after the reorganization had taken place as related and the constitution had been changed, enlarging the membership of the Supreme Council to thirty-three, thirteen new members were elected; six of them were from the original Cerneau Supreme Council, before the consolidation in 1863, four from the Northern or Raymond Sup. Council after the rupture of 1860, but before the consolidation, and three from the consolidated body.

At the same meeting two additional active members were elected.

Andreas Cassard was restored to his former rank in the Order; this also was done to conciliate the Southern Supreme Council, that body claiming that he had been illegally deprived of his rights by the Northern Supreme Council just before the schism took place. Much business was transacted at this extra session. It is claimed by some that the proceedings of this meeting were not published at the time; that what was done was unknown to the members of the Rite until a reprint of the proceedings of the Raymond-Cerneau branch of the Northern Supreme Council, from 1860 to 1866, made by authority of the United Northern Supreme Council, appeared in 1881. There is no truth whatever in this statement. The Proceedings at the Meeting in Boston, December 13 and 14, 1866, were printed and published as soon thereafter as is usual in such cases; and the pamphlet containing the entire Proceedings bearing the imprint New York: Masonic Publishing and Manufacturing Co., appeared early in 1867 in 8vo; 90 pages.

It was circulated not only to the members and subordinate bodies of the old "Consolidated body" and to the members of the reorganized body, but also to others not members of either organization.

In 1881 the Northern Supreme Council, which had been formed by the members of the Old Cerneau, Gourgas-Raymond and Gourgas-Van Rensselaer Supreme Councils in 1867, reprinted the Proceedings of the Gourgas-Raymond Supreme Council from the date of the rupture in the Northern Supreme Council in 1860 down to the date of the consolidation of that body with the Cerneau Supreme Council in 1863, to which was

added the Proceedings of the consolidated body from its organization until and including the celebrated meeting in Boston, December, 13th, 1866.[1]

This pamphlet is now known as the "Reprint," about which so much has been said and written. We have given the actual facts of the history relating to it, with which we leave it to our readers.

This action of the consolidated Cerneau-Raymond Supreme Council produced a sensation in Scottish Rite Masonry. The consolidated body and the Van Rensselaer Council were in active rivalry with each other, each doing all it could to enlarge its membership; bodies were being established all over the jurisdiction in places where it was impossible for them to be sustained. The degrees were being hawked about the country by Masonic peddlers, who frequently conferred them for nothing. The war was waged with unrelenting acrimony in the public newspapers, pamphlets, and periodicals. The true men of the Rite of both sides realized that something should be done to end the strife. With this we leave this branch of the Rite for the present.

Scottish Rite Masonry in the Southern Jurisdiction, 1813 to 1867.

We have said that but little is known of the early history of the Southern Supreme Council. Whatever activity it had before was all lost during the Anti-Masonic excitement in 1828, etc., but it began to manifest signs of reviving in 1844.

The irregularities in the government of Scottish Rite Masonry in the South, as in the North, had gone on without interruption. What became of the Consistory and other bodies established in New Orleans, by Lusson and Lefebure, in 1811, no one can tell, as the record of their doings has never been found.

The Consistory of New Orleans was established by authority from the New York Cerneau body in 1813.

Folger says it continued in active operation and uninterrupted harmony with the parent body up to the year 1828, when the labors of the Sov. G. Consistory were interrupted by the Anti-Masonic excitement. The establishment of the Cerneau Consistory in New Orleans caused much trouble to Masonry in Louisiana.

"The regularity of the New Orleans Consistory (Cerneau) was questioned from the first, and several members of the Grand Lodge and its constituents in possession of the high degrees of the A. and A. Rite, refused to have anything to do with it."[2]

In 1818 the Grand Orient of France granted a charter for a Lodge in New Orleans, "La Triple Bienfaisance" No. 7319, C. Miltenberger, Master. At the same time the Lodge received from the Grand Orient Capitular letters for a Chapter of Rose Croix which was attached to it bearing the same name. There had already been a Chapter of Rose Croix d'Harodim established there under the name of "Triple Bienfaisance," Nov. 12, 1810, by authority of Gabriel Jastram, Deputy, etc.

Other bodies were established, none of them, however, coming from the Supreme Council at Charleston prior to 1852; though the first Consistory, that authorized by Lusson and Lefebure in 1811, was required to report to that body.

October 27, 1839, a Supreme Council was established in New Orleans; the founders claimed that it was formed by virtue of the Constitutions of 1786.

[1] Reprint of the Proceedings of the Supreme Council, 33, A: and A: Scottish Rite, N. M. J. Volume II. Part I 1860 to 1866. Portland, Maine, Stephen Berry, Printer, 1881 (8vo. pp. 304).

[2] Outline of the Rise and Progress of Freemasonry in Louisiana, by Jas. D. Scot, p. 23.



PROMINENT FREEMASONS OF WESTERN STATES.

THOMAS H. CASWELL, 33°, G ∴ REC ∴ G ∴ COM ∴ K ∴ T ∴ OF CALIFORNIA.
J. H. BROWN, 33°, G ∴ SEC'Y ∴ G ∴ L ∴ OF KANSAS. R. W. WOODBURY, P ∴ G ∴ COM ∴ K ∴ T ∴, AND P ∴ G ∴ M ∴ G ∴ L ∴ OF COL. ALEX. G. ABELL, 33°, K ∴ T ∴ G ∴ SEC'Y ∴ G ∴ LODGE OF CAL. L. N. GREENLEAF, 33°, D ∴ INS ∴ G ∴ A ∴ A ∴ S ∴ R ∴ OF COL.

From the year 1839, V. E., until February, 1855, V. E., there existed in Louisiana a Supreme Council which had arrogated to itself rights exclusively belonging to the Grand Lodge. This Supreme Council not only pretended to administer the higher degrees of the Ancient and Accepted Rite, but also the three symbolic Degrees. The Concordat which took place in February, 1855, V. E., between that Supreme Council and our own (the Southern), put an end to that state of things, and since then the M. W. G. Lodge of Louisiana has, without opposition, exclusively held all the symbolic Lodges under its jurisdiction, and the Supreme Council retained its authority over the higher bodies of the Ancient and Accepted Rite.[1]

A Consistory of P. R. S. 32° was established in New Orleans by the Southern Supreme Council in 1852; this was the first organization by direct authority of that body in the State of Louisiana.

A rupture occurring in the Louisiana Supreme Council (Cerneau) in 1853, a number of the members withdrew, among them James Foulhouze, the Sov. G. Commander of the body at the time, a name that was destined to become notorious in the annals of irregular Masonry in Louisiana. The immediate cause of the rupture in this body was from its interference with Symbolic Masonry by Patenting Lodges, etc. This was Mr. Foulhouze's favorite theory, he being the champion of this disturbing dogma.

It is hard to keep the run of these founders of Supreme Councils and so called Scottish Rite bodies. Those of the New Orleans body, in 1839, claimed to act under authority of the Constitutions of 1786, and boldly proclaimed them to be authentic and genuine.

A few years later and Mr. Foulhouze, a member of this body, denounced those Constitutions as a forgery and fraud. In 1851 the Supreme Council of Louisiana claimed to exist by virtue of the Constitutions of 1786; in 1853 it repudiated them.

The leading members of the Louisiana Sup. Council, after the rupture in 1853, entered into negotiations with representatives of the Southern Supreme Council, looking towards the abandonment of their organization and its mergment into the Southern Supreme Council.

A Concordat was finally entered into Feb. 6 and 17, 1855, between the Louisiana body, represented by Charles Claiborne, C. Samory, Ch. Lafon-Ladabat and M. Prados, and the Southern Supreme Council, by Albert G. Mackey, its special representative, by which the former body, of its own voluntary act, forever relinquished and transferred to the Supreme Council at Charleston all its rights, prerogatives, powers, etc.

By this Concordat the members of the Louisiana body were received into the Southern Supreme Council, retaining all the official titles and powers they formerly possessed as members of their old Supreme Council. Among these parties were the following well-known prominent Masons: Charles Claiborne, C. Samory and Charles Lafon-Ladabat.

When the Concordat was entered into the Louisiana Supreme Council consisted of twenty-three members, nineteen of whom were present and voted for the dissolution of the body in 1855.

As before stated, Mr. Foulhouze withdrew from the body in 1853; notwithstanding this, we find him at the head of what he claimed was the same body in 1856, assuming then that it was the old Supreme Council of 1839 and that it had been in unbroken existence from that date. How disgusting is all such criminality in Masonry! Beyond question the body ceased to exist by unanimous vote in 1855.

It has been said, and is still persisted in by some writers, that the Southern Supreme

[1] Proceedings of the Sup. C. S. Jurisdiction. Lafon-Ladabat's Address, 1857, p. 10.

Council was "extinct for years," especially from 1802 to 1844. This is simply an assertion without any foundation in fact. It was a lively fighting organization in 1813–24, as the numerous controversial publications by both sides in the newspapers of Charleston, S. C., of that date show. It was not extinct in 1824, when it issued a Patent to Jeremy L. Cross, certifying that he possessed the Thirty-third degree and was a member of that Supreme Council, by virtue of which Patent he was received by the Cerneau Supreme Council in New York in 1851 and made M. P. Grand Commander. It was not extinct when it issued Patents for the establishment of bodies in the State of New York and in Massachusetts in 1822–24, etc. It was not extinct in 1825, when it made Giles Fonda Yates of New York a Sovereign Grand Inspector General 33d degree. Mr. Pike says, and we believe his statement to be absolutely true, that it had eight members in 1822; nine in 1823; seven in 1825; nine in 1844; nine in 1846; eight in 1855; nine in 1859 and twenty-six in 1860.

As we have said before, it was not the intention of the founders of the Charleston Supreme Council to attempt to popularize the system. Their view was that it should be very exclusive—a Masonic aristocracy. Most of them were attached to and had made names in York Rite Masonry, and they were not disposed to favor any movement which was in the slightest degree likely to come in competition or rivalry with that Rite; therefore they very complacently sat down upon the high Masonic honors they enjoyed, and frowned upon any attempt made toward popularizing the Rite. This was the theory of the founders from 1802 until 1827–28, the beginning of the Anti-Masonic excitement in the United States.

In 1815 Dr. Dalcho, in a letter written to A. L. Moret in New York, said: "There are three vacancies which the Council have not been in a hurry to fill up from prudential motives. They will take care to have no impostors among them."

Neither the Southern nor the Northern Supreme Council in their early days appear to have made any effort to obtain members or to establish bodies of the Rite. In the few instances where something in that way was done by traveling Deputies, in the name of either of the bodies, it was probably without any official authority from the Councils, as was the case when Barker conferred the degrees upon a number of Cincinnatians in 1827.

The Southern Supreme Council established a Grand Consistory of Sublime Princes of the Royal Secret at Augusta, in the State of Georgia, September 2, 1825, which had uninterrupted being in 1882.

It established a Grand Consistory of Sublime Princes of the Royal Secret for Virginia at Lynchburg in 1845, with John Robin McDanniel as Grand Commander. It had some years before 1851 established at Natchez a Consistory for the State of Mississippi, the revival of which its Deputy for that State, Reuben Nason, recommended on the 6th of July, 1851, saying, "There are still three of the original members of the Consistory remaining, and they still have their original Charter."[1]

When the Concordat was entered into in 1855 it was hoped that irregular Scottish Rite Masonry would end in Louisiana; in this the distinguished citizens and Masons who had entered into it were disappointed.

Mr. James Foulhouze, who had been a member of the Louisiana Supreme Council but had dimitted before the Concordat was entered into, as before stated, organized or

[1] Pike's Beauties of Cerneauism, No. 6, p. 56.

"revived" a Supreme Grand Council of the 33d degree; irregular Masons always claim that it is simply a revival of an old body.

Mr. Foulhouze took strong ground against the York Rite Grand Lodges controling the symbolic degrees to the exclusion of the Supreme Council; therefore his Supreme Council organized Symbolic Lodges.

Foulhouze was a man of more than ordinary ability and of extensive Masonic knowledge, but a natural born Masonic Anarchist, always opposed to Masonic government, whatever it might be. In presenting an argument he was entirely reckless as to the use of logic or historical facts: anything to gain his point. His thorough and great knowledge of Masonic history and law, which it is known he possessed, is conclusive against him that, in some of the startling historical statements made by him he was not mistaken, but that he willfully lied. He was a Masonic disorganizer and Ishmaelite, whose hand was against every Masonic government.

His Supreme Grand Council of Louisiana, before the Concordat, was in full correspondence and sympathy with Henry C. Atwood's Supreme Grand Council in New York. In 1852 Mr. Foulhouze was received in the Atwood body in New York in ample form,[1] and in his official capacity, as Ill. G. Commander of the Supreme Grand Council, 33d degree, of Louisiana, he installed the officers of the Cerneau Supreme Council. Foulhouze's Supreme Grand Council went on organizing Scottish Rite bodies and issuing warrants for symbolic Lodges. However, after the Concordat in 1855, when all the prominent Masons who had been connected with it abandoned it, irregular Scottish Masonry ceased to have any Masonic or social standing or influence in Louisiana.

On February 7, 1857, the Deputies for Louisiana selected a number of Princes of the Royal Secret, 32d grade, among them Albert Pike, to be initiated into the 33d grade. This was reported to and approved at a meeting of the Southern Supreme Council held in New Orleans February 14, 1857, Albert G. Mackey presiding.

On April 25, 1857, a special meeting of the Supreme Council was held in New Orleans, C. Samory, acting M. P. S. G. Commander, presiding, and Albert Pike was initiated into the 33d and last degree; at the same meeting Chas. Lafon-Ladabat resigned as Deputy of the Supreme Council, and Albert Pike was elected to fill the vacancy.

In 1859 Mr. Pike was elected Grand Commander of the Southern Supreme Council. His initiation into the Scottish Rite and election as Grand Commander marked a new era in the history of Scottish Rite Masonry, not only in the United States, but in the world.

Mr. Pike is a gentleman of great ability and high scholastic attainments, an enthusiast in the study of the history and the esoteric philosophy of Freemasonry. No man ever lived who has contributed so much study and literary labor to the development of the philosophy and symbology of the rituals and ceremonials of the Ancient and Accepted Rite. With him, for a life time, it has been a labor of love.

We adopt and indorse every sentence and word contained in the following:

"He (Mr. Pike) has devoted the larger part of his life and time for twenty-nine years to the service of an Order for the purpose of elevating and exalting it, winning for it respect, consideration, and influence, making it worthy of the attention and deference of men of intellect and scholarship throughout the world, and beneficial in its influence upon men. And this he has done at his own cost and charges, and by gifts to it has left himself almost nothing; he need not be disturbed by the ready belief, given by some Masons, against his honesty in office.

[1] Folger, p. 251.

"The measure of the cup of his reward would not be full if it did not contain, with the approbation of the good who know all, the hatred of those whose evil purposes he has done his best to defeat."

From the time of Mr. Pike's installation as M. P. Sov. Grand Commander, annual or bi-annual meetings of the Supreme Council have been held, except the interruptions that necessarily occurred during the Civil War.

In 1866 the Transactions of the Supreme Council at the meetings in 1861–'62, '65 and '66 were printed and published in an 8vo. volume of 284 pages, and the Proceedings of the meetings of the body have been printed and published regularly since. It may be said that the advent of the emergence of Scottish Rite Masonry in the Southern jurisdiction of the United States from the chaos and irregularity in which it had been struggling for forty-five years, began in 1845. Then Albert G. Mackey was the most active man in it. His efforts resulted in bringing about the Concordat in Louisiana in 1855. However, the final triumph of order over disorder, regularity over irregularity, was not reached until Mr. Pike's Administration began in 1859. To be sure there are still self-styled Masonic Scottish Rite organizations in the Southern jurisdiction which do not recognize that body; all such are clandestine. The Southern Supreme Council of Sovereign Grand Inspectors General, of the 33d degree, is recognized by all the Masonic powers of the earth, as the only regular and legitimate governing one of the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite, within that jurisdiction, as much so as are the various Grand Lodges, Grand Chapters and Grand Commanderies are sovereign powers in their several respective jurisdictions. Having sketched the history of the Southern Supreme Council down to 1867, we leave it in a most prosperous and growing condition, with a thorough organization and a complete code of laws.

The Union of the Gourgas-Raymond, Cerneau-Hayes and Raymond-Van Rensselaer Supreme Councils, 1867.

We will now take up the history of the Raymond-Hayes and Van Rensselaer Supreme Councils, in the northern jurisdiction, from where we left them in 1866.

After the reorganization of the Raymond-Hayes body, in December, 1866, or rather after it had taken the name of Northern Sup. Council, the leading members of both bodies began negotiations looking toward a union of the two. The demoralization of the Rite had become deplorable, the establishing of the bodies, and the conferring of the degrees had degenerated into a farce, each trying to outdo and undo the other. When the proposed Union was first broached, there was much and violent opposition to it from members on both sides; finally, however, in view of the disreputable condition into which the Rite had fallen through the peddling of degrees by unprincipled emissaries from both sides, the outlines of an agreement for a union of the rival Councils were informally agreed upon by the Conference Committees, which had been at work for several months before their respective annual meetings in May. Both bodies met in Boston, May 15, 1867, the Van Rensselaer Council in Freemasons' Hall, Mr. Van Rensselaer presiding; the Raymond-Robinson-Hayes Council at Nassau Hall, Mr. Simon W. Robinson presiding.

The Conference Committees reported to their respective bodies the terms upon which the proposed Union should take place. They were as follows:

The Joint Committee of Conference of the two governing Bodies of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite in the Northern Jurisdiction of the United States of America

recommend the settlement of the differences existing between the two Bodies upon the following terms:

1st. There shall be one Supreme Council of the Ancient Accepted Rite for the Northern Jurisdiction of the United States, to be composed of the United Supreme Councils heretofore existing therein; the one having its Grand East in the City of Boston, and the other having its Grand East in the City of New York, whose active members shall be twenty-eight in number from each Council and no more at the time of the Union, in that the United Council shall consist of fifty-seven Sovereign Grand Inspectors General, which number may hereafter be increased at the pleasure of the Supreme Council, and whose officers shall be—

1. A Sov. Grand Commander; 2. A Lieut. Grand Commander; 3. A Treasurer Gen. H. E; 4. A Secretary Gen. H. E; 5. A Keeper of the Archives; 6. A Gr. Minister of State; 7. A Gr. Master of Ceremonies; 8. A Gr. Marshal; 9. A Gr. Standard Bearer; 10. A Gr. Captain of the Guard.

2d. All action heretofore taken in expelling members from either Council on account of those differences is hereby revoked.

3d. All action heretofore had by either Council, so far as regards the establishing of Subordinate Bodies of the Rite and conferring degrees, is to be deemed valid, and is confirmed by the United Supreme Council, and where difficulties may arise in a State, there shall be a commission of not less than three nor more than five, appointed by the Sov. G. Commander, to take into consideration the state of the Rite, and to adjust such difficulties, and to report their adjustment to the Supreme Council for final action.

4th. The two Councils shall forthwith officially exchange lists designating the names of the twenty-eight Inspectors General and active members of each body, and subsequently lists of their Emeritus and Honorary members.

5th. The two Councils shall each forthwith proceed separately to choose a Sov. Grand Commander, to serve for the full term of office that shall be fixed by the Constitution. The present Commanders of the two Councils shall thereupon resign their offices respectively, and the united Councils shall thereupon assemble as one Body, and the Sov. Grand Commander thus chosen to succeed the Commanders so resigning shall be forthwith inducted into office, and is hereby authorized to administer the obligations of fealty and allegiance to the United Supreme Council, and each member thereof shall thereupon be required to renew such obligation. The other offices in each of said Councils shall thereupon be rendered vacant, and the officers of the United Supreme Council be elected; and at such first election shall be elected as follows: The Sov. Grand Commander shall be taken from the Council at Boston, and the remaining officers shall be chosen so that an equal number of each shall be taken from each of said former Councils. The officers of the United Supreme Council shall be elected every three years thereafter, the Lieut. Grand Commander and the Secretary General to be taken from the New York Council.

6th. Each body shall pay its own liabilities, and convey and turn over to the United Council all properties, papers, books, manuscripts, records, patents, constitutions, seals, etc., in its possession or control.

7th. All subordinate bodies shall make annual returns to the United Council and renew their allegiance to the same.

8th. All other Inspectors General of the two Councils upon renewing the oath of fealty shall, according to their previous rank, become Emeritus or Honorary.

9th. The members of each Council shall have the right to throw twenty-eight votes in all elections and questions pertaining to the original organization; and if any of their active members are absent, the members present of such Council shall determine the mode in which the votes of the absentees shall be thrown. The respective parties to this agreement shall exchange their nominations before the election.

10th. The Grand Orient of this Jurisdiction shall be at Boston, from which place all decrees, balustres, patents, charters, diplomas, and all official documents shall bear test.

11th. One annual meeting at least in every three years shall be held at the Grand Orient in Boston; but the meeting at which the first triennial election of officers shall take place, after the organization of the United Council, shall be held in the City of Cincinnati; and the annual meetings not otherwise provided for shall be held at such places as the Council may, from time to time, determine. Special meetings called by the Grand Commander shall be held at such places within the Jurisdiction as he shall determine. Special meetings otherwise called shall be held at the Grand Orient.

12th. Nothing herein contained shall be considered as precluding any subsequent action by the Supreme Council in the amendment of its Constitution for the government of the Bodies of the Ancient and Accepted Rite, provided that a two-thirds vote shall be required to move the Orient.

13th. In the selection of officers at the first election, they shall be chosen from the two Councils as follows:

The Sov. Grand Commander, Lieut. Grand Commander, and Secretary General, as provided in Article 5th; the Treasurer General, the Keeper of the Archives, Grand Marshal and Grand Standard Bearer, from the Boston Council; and the Minister of State, the Master of Ceremonies and Captain of the Guard, from the New York Council.

Signed by the Robinson Body as follows: JOHN L. LEWIS, Lucius R. Paige, H. L. PALMER, CLINTON F. PAIGE, William Barrett, C. T. McClenachan, DANIEL SICKLES.

Signed by the Van Rensselaer Body as follows: Joseph D. Evans, Heman Ely, Chas. Levi Woodbury, Josiah H. Drummond, H. G. Reynolds, William S. Gardner, Robert H. Foss.

BOSTON, May 16, 1867.

These articles were submitted and considered in the respective bodies, and were *adopted by unanimous vote* in each.

In accordance with article four of the agreement, the two Councils exchanged lists designating the names of the twenty-eight Inspectors General and Active Members of each body, also lists of their Emeritus and Honorary Members.

On May 17, 1867, the union of the bodies was consummated by the two coming together, and they having previously elected Josiah H. Drummond, of Maine, he took the oath of fealty, and was declared the Most Puissant Sovereign Grand Commander of the Supreme Council for the Northern Masonic Jurisdiction of the United States of America.

John L. Lewis, the last M. P. Sov. G. Commander of the Cerneau Supreme Council, before kneeling at the Altar to take the oath of Fealty, said that he now with pleasure resigned, laying his sword upon that Altar before which he was about to kneel, together with all authority heretofore claimed by the Ill. Bros. Cerneau, Clinton, Atwood, Raymond, Hays and Robinson, of which he was the custodian by virtue of being their direct successor, pledging himself henceforth to know but one governing body for this jurisdiction.

The oath of fealty was then administered to seventy-six Sovereign Grand Inspectors General of the thirty-third degree who were present. Eighty others followed within a few days, and during the year all of the 33ds of both bodies, who were in good standing in either when the Union took place, took the oath of fealty, except a few to whom time was extended and they subsequently signed.

After the Union, the united body elected officers, selecting them alternately from each of the old Councils, as provided in Article five.

At the time of the Union there were 195 subordinate bodies under the two Supreme Councils, as follows: Lodges, 64; Councils, 51; Chapters, 43; Consistories, 37.

Every one of these subordinates accepted the Union and acknowledged the United Supreme Council.

Every Sovereign Grand Inspector General of the 33d degree, so far as is known, did the same; certainly *no one said anything openly against the Union.*

By this Union the last vestige of *Ad Vitam* in the offices was abolished, and all of the officers were made elective every three years.

Mr. Folger says:—

They buried out of sight the noted Secret Constitutions of Frederick of Prussia and have made a Constitution to suit themselves.

This statement, like so many others in Mr. Folger's so-called history, is not true.

In the preamble to the Constitutions adopted in 1867 we find the following:

"The Supreme Council of the Thirty-third degree of the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite for the Northern Masonic jurisdiction of the United States of America, founded upon the Constitutions of 1762, of 1786 and the Secret Constitutions of the Order," etc.

Certainly this is not "burying out of sight."

Of this Union, and what followed, Mr. Folger, some years after, truthfully said:

"We have now to take up this Supreme Council as it is, and carry it through a period of twelve years (to 1880).

"As everything connected with it has gone on prosperously there is very little to be said or written. The routine business of the body has been well and faithfully attended to, and complaints are not known. The degrees of the Rite are conferred in a Masterly manner; all the bodies are very fully attended; the interest of initiates is greatly increasing, and the Treasury is by no means poor; extravagance in expenditure is avoided, and a conservative spirit prevails. The transactions are printed annually, every member of the Rite can obtain a copy, and all that is wanting to be known can readily be found there." [1]

The grand and predominating idea and motive of every one who favored and participated in the Great Union of the two rival Supreme Councils was that by it war and contention in Scottish Rite Masonry would be forever ended; that the shameless traffic in degrees, which had disgraced both sides, would also end forever; therefore it was that the honorable gentlemen and Masons of both Councils came together, for the good of the Order. Those from the Old Gourgas Supreme Council met their brethren of the Old Cerneau Supreme Council, each accepting the other, and by the articles of Union there was a general condonement of whatever had been regarded as irregular by either side as against the other. This Union was a final wiping out of any real or alleged previous irregularity of either of the contracting parties.

Therefore it is not in accordance with the agreement entered into in 1867 that either a Cerneau or a Gourgas Supreme Council Mason should assail the Masonic antecedents of the other.

Some have said that this Union was not properly brought about, for the reason that the abandoning of the Union Council of 1863 by that Council in December, 1866, and the reviving and organizing of the Northern Supreme Council by Mr. Robinson, was a fraud. If it was a fraud, then the Masons with whom the Van Rensselaer Supreme Council treated in 1867 practiced a deception upon the latter body. How could the Van Rensselaer party know that the body with which they were dealing in 1867 were not what they represented themselves to be? They supposed they were the old Cerneau and Raymond Councils united.

The parties who since 1867 have raised the question as to the legality of the proceedings of December, 1866, were also parties to that transaction, and of course they were fully committed to what followed in May, 1867. The act of a partner binds the firm. If it was a fraud, they were parties to it. However, we have given the actual historical facts just as they occurred; our readers can form their own conclusion.

When we began this historical sketch it was not our design to become an eulogist or apologist; it was our purpose to endeavor to give the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite its true place in Masonic history in the United States.

[1] Folger's History. App. p. 97.

To do this we had to begin in Europe, where all kinds of Masonry, whether high or low grade, had their origin. It has been our aim to show by the plain facts of history that Sublime or Scottish Masonry so called, or finally the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite, was never absorbed nor swallowed up by any other Masonic Rite or organization, either in Europe or in this country, but that from its first appearance in France, in the middle of the last century, down to and including the present year 1889, amidst all the adversities which it has undergone, it has always preserved its distinctive character and organization. Its true history, which we have endeavored to give, shows this. We have written without the least bias or prejudice influencing us one way or the other, either for or against individuals or organizations, being governed solely by historic facts. Through all the ups and downs, changes and transmutations, that Scottish Masonry has undergone, it is our opinion that there has always been a true line of tr nsmission or descent. To be sure this has been so obscured through various causes—national revolutions, Masonic disorders, wars of Rites, etc.—that it was sometimes difficult to follow; however, we think that any careful, impartial Masonic student, who honestly devotes himself to the critical study of its history must come to the conclusion that we have.

The perfection of the organization of the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite, and the final healing of all the troubles with which it had been so long afflicted in the Northern Jurisdiction of the United States, was happily consummated by the Grand Union which took place in 1867 between the Cerneau-Gourgas-Raymond Supreme Council of New York and Boston and the Gourgas-Raymond-Van Rensselaer Supreme Council of Boston, when Josiah H. Drummond was elected M. P. Sov. Grand Commander of the United body.

The Southern Supreme Council, with the able M. P. G. Commander Albert Pike at its head, was at the same time in a most flourishing condition, peace and harmony prevailing throughout its jurisdiction.

With the year 1867, eventful in the history of Scottish Rite Masonry in this country, we will close our sketch; adding a recapitulatory chronological table of the more important events in its history.

This table shows two notable facts: 1st, that *Mr. Cerneau* was the *second* to introduce his system into New York (1807), (Bideaud was there a year *before*); into New Orleans (1813), (Lusson & Jastram's body was there two years *before* (1811); into Charleston (1814), (the Supreme Council was there thirteen years *before*); into Philadelphia (the Rite was there by Pierre Du Plessis and others more than twenty years *before*); into Baltimore (1822), (Sublime Masonry was there thirty years *before*); into Massachusetts (1862), (the Rite was there from 1824).

2d. The Cerneau governing organizations in New York and Louisiana were *the only bodies* in the United States of any of the so-called Scottish Rite Masons that were in conflict with the Grand Lodges by assuming to control or interfere with *Symbolic Masonry* by the granting of Charters for Lodges of Master Masons!

We cannot allow ourselves to part with our readers without saying a few words in justification of the claims of the Southern Supreme Council to seniority among the Supreme Councils of the world.

In preparing our history of the Origin of Sublime Freemasonry, or Scottish Rite Masonry, or the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite, in Europe and the United States, we had necessarily to give the subject a more critical and thorough investigation than we had ever given it before.

This investigation has satisfied us that Mr. Pike's claim for the Southern Supreme Council, and which we once regarded as preposterous, is literally true. He said:

"THERE IS NOT A SUPREME COUNCIL IN THE WORLD THAT IS LEGITIMATE WHICH HAS NOT BEEN CREATED BY VIRTUE OF POWERS WHICH, CONFERRED BY THIS SUPREME COUNCIL ON THE ILL. BRO. DE GRASSE, WERE CARRIED BY HIM TO EUROPE, OR ON THE ILL. BRO. DE LA MOTTA, WERE EXERCISED BY HIM IN NEW YORK. THIS IS THE MOTHER SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE WORLD."[1]

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

SHOWING THE MOST IMPORTANT EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF SCOTTISH RITE MASONRY IN THE "NEW WORLD."

1767. Dec. 20. A Lodge of Perfection organized in Albany, New York, by Henry Andrew Francken, a Deputy appointed by Stephen Morin.

This was the beginning of Sublime Freemasonry in the United States. The body is still in existence, a subordinate of the Northern Supreme Council.

1770. April 30. Morin gave a Patent to Henry A. Francken and others to organize a Grand Chapter of Sublime Princes of the Royal Secret (25th grade) on the Island of Jamaica (at Kingston), in the West Indies.

1781. A Lodge of Perfection in Philadelphia. The second organization of the kind in the United States.

1783. A Sublime Lodge of Perfection established in Charleston, S. C. The third of the kind in the United States.

1788. A Grand Council of Princes of Jerusalem organized in Charleston, S. C. The first of which we have any record, though it is probable the degrees were conferred in Albany, N. Y., as early as 1767.

1792. A Lodge of Perfection organized in Baltimore, Maryland, by Henry Williams, Deputy Inspector General. The fourth in the United States.

1797. December 3. A Sovereign Chapter of Rose Croix of Heredom of Kilwinning, in Scotland, under the distinctive title of "La Triple Union," was founded in New York City by Huet de la Chelle, Grand Provincial Master from the Petit Goave, St. Domingo, under the old Scottish Rite of Heredom of Kilwinning, and the Auspices of the Provincial Grand Royal Scottish Lodge of Kilwinning of Edinburgh. This was the Royal Order of Scotland. Mr. Gourgas was Secretary of this body for several years. It had no connection whatever with Sublime or Scottish Rite Masonry.

1797. January 13. A Grand Sublime Council of Princes of the Royal Secret established in Charleston, S. C. The first body of the kind in the country; probably it was only the 25th degree.

1798. The Council at Charleston asked and received acknowledgment (as a co-ordinate body?) by the Council at Kingston.

1801. May 31. A Supreme Council of the thirty-third degree for the United States of America was opened in Charleston, S. C. This was the first in this country, probably the first organization of the kind in the world.

[1] Pike's address, 1866.

July 5. The Grand Council of Princes of Jerusalem in Charleston, S. C., granted a warrant for a Lodge of Perfection in that city. This was the first Lodge of Perfection organized under the Supreme Council.

1802. February 21. The Supreme Council at Charleston granted a Patent to the Count Auguste de Grasse Tilley, certifying that he was a Sov. Grand Inspector General and member of the Supreme Council of the Thirty-third Degree, and that he was Grand Commander for life of the Supreme Council in the French West India Islands, also giving him power to *establish bodies, etc., over the surface of the two hemispheres.*

December 30. A Lodge of Perfection organized at Savannah, Georgia, under authority of the Southern Supreme Council.

The Count de Grasse Tilley and De La Hogue, under the Charleston authority, organized a Supreme Council of the 33d degree for St. Domingo and the West India Islands, at Cape Francis. This was the second body of the kind.

1804. September 22. The Count de Grasse Tilley, assisted by De La Hogue, *by virtue of his Patent from the Charleston Supreme Council* organized the Supreme Council 33d degree for France, in Paris. This was the third Supreme Council organized.

1806. August 6. By authority of Antoine Bideaud, 33d degree, Deputy, etc., Member of Count de Grasse Tilley's Supreme Council 33d degree at Cape Francis, St. Domingo, a Grand Consistory of P. R. S. 32d was organized in New York City. The members, John Gabriel Tardy, J. J J Gourgas, etc.

1808. October 26. A Grand Council of Princes of Jerusalem and a Lodge of Perfection were organized in the city of New York by Abraham Jacobs, a Deputy Inspector, etc. (25th grade).

October 28. Joseph Cerneau, a Deputy Inspector (25 degrees) appointed by Mathieu Dupotet, Deputy Inspector (25 degrees), organized a Consistory of S. P. R. S. (twenty-five degrees ?) in the city of New York. There were associated with him in the organization John W. Mulligan, De Witt Clinton and others.

November the 3d and 6th. According to Jacob's Register. The Lodge and Council organized by Jacobs, October 26th, *were regularized* by John Gabriel Tardy, Deputy Inspector, appointed by Peter Le Barbier du Plessis, at Philadelphia, Oct. 4, 1807.

1809. The Cerneau Consistory "reorganized" the Sovereign Chapter of Rose Croix under the distinctive title of "Triple Alliance." This was the body founded by Huet de la Chelle in 1797, and of which Gourgas was Secretary for a number of years. It was not the Rose Croix of the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite.

It is claimed that Mr. Cerneau organized a Lodge of Perfection and Council of Princes of Jerusalem in the *city of New York.*

1810. December 20. Gabriel Jastram, styling himself 33d degree, Deputy, etc., Member of the Supreme Council 33d degree at Kingston, Jamaica, granted a Patent to Duhalquod, Savary and others to organize a Lodge of Perfection, Council of Princes of Jerusalem, and Chapter of Scottish Rose Croix, etc., in the city of New Orleans, La., with power to confer the grades from the fourth to the eighteenth inclusive.

1811. March 28. Jean Louis Lusson and J. Modeste Lefebure, styling themselves Sov. G.

Inspectors Genl. of the 33d degree, of the Supreme Council of Jamaica, granted a Patent to Duhart, Mittenberger, Duhalquod and others for a Grand Consistory of P. R. S. of Louisiana, in New Orleans, with power to confer the grades from the nineteenth to the thirty-second inclusive; this body to *report in the shortest time to the Supreme Councils at Charleston, S. C.*, and Kingston, Jamaica.

1812. May 25. The Cerneau Supreme Council of Sovereign Grand Inspectors General of the 33d degree for the United States of America, its territories and dependencies, was opened in the city of New York, and Joseph Cerneau made M. P. Sov. G. Commander.

1813. Jan. 23. It is claimed that the Cerneau body granted a warrant for a Consistory of Sub. P of the R. S. 32d grade in Newport, R. I.

June 19. A Council of Princes of the Royal Secret, CERNEAU, was founded in New Orleans, Louisiana, subordinate to the Sov. Consistory in N. Y.

August 5. The original Bideaud initiates, whose Consistory had been established in 1806, were organized in the city of New York as a Supreme Council by Emanuel De La Motta, Sovereign Grand Inspector General of the 33d degree, G. Treasurer and Deputy of the Southern Supreme Council at Charleston. This body since known as the Northern Supreme Council of the U. S.

Sept. 21. Emanuel De La Motta 33d degree issued a Circular expelling Joseph Cerneau from Masonry (Scottish). His action was affirmed by a circular of the Southern Supreme Council, Dec. 24.

1814. A Grand Council of Princes of the Royal Secret. Instituted by CERNEAU in Philadelphia.

June 18. The Sov. Grand Consistory, CERNEAU, opened a Grand Encampment of Knights Templar for the State of New York!

A Sublime Council of Princes of the Royal Secret, CERNEAU, was instituted in Charleston, S. C., and P. Javain appointed Deputy Inspector General for the State of South Carolina.

1822. A Charter issued for a G. Council P. R. S. and Chapter of Rose Croix, CERNEAU, in Baltimore, Maryland.

1824. June 24. The Southern Supreme Council issued a Patent to Jeremy L. Cross certifying that he was a Sovereign Grand Inspector General and member of the Supreme Council of the 33d degree.

Nov. 16. A Patent issued by the *Southern* Supreme Council to Giles Fonda Yates, authorizing a Consistory of S. P. R. S. to be located in the city of Albany, N. Y.

Charters granted by the Southern Supreme Council to Edward A. Raymond and others for a Council of Princes of Jerusalem, and Consistory of S. P. R. S., to be located in Boston, Massachusetts.

1825. Giles Fonda Yates made a Sov. G. Inspector Genl. 33d degree, by Joseph McCosh, by authority of the Southern Supreme Council; Yates united with the Northern Supreme Council July 5, 1828.

The Southern Supreme Council established a Consistory P. R. S. 32d, at Augusta, Georgia.

1832. April 5. Treaty of Union and Amalgamation between the Supreme Council for the United States of America, its territories and dependencies (Cerneau), and the

Supreme Council for Terra Firma, by which each dropped their original names, and the amalgamated body was called "United Supreme Council for the Western Hemisphere," etc. This was the first change of name by the CERNEAU Supreme Council.

1834. Feb. 23. Treaty of Union, Alliance, and Confederation, between the Supreme Council for the Western Hemisphere (Hicks), the Supreme Council of France, and the Supreme Council of Brazil. Approved by the Cerneau Hicks Council December 6, 1836. Purports to have been signed by Lafayette; the whole thing a fraud.

1834-46. Lafayette Chapter of Rose Croix, Henry C. Atwood at the head. The warrant used one night for a Chapter of Rose Croix; the next for a Chapter of Royal Arch Masons, York Rite; the next for a Commandery of Knights Templar

1837. July 31. Henry C. Atwood expelled from Masonry by the Grand Lodge of New York.

1837–46. *Symbolic Lodges, Chapters of Royal Arch Masonry* and Knights Templar formed by Atwood, all of which were clandestine; they continued to work up to 1851. Most of the Members of the Lafayette Chapter of Rose Croix, CERNEAU, were expelled by the Grand Lodge of New York.

1839. The Supreme Council 33d degree of Louisiana organized at New Orleans by the CERNEAUS. It granted Charters for Symbolic Lodges.

1845. April. The Northern Supreme Council for the U. S. reorganized by Gourgas.

The Southern Sup. C. established a Consistory P. R. S. 32d degree at Lynchburg, Va.

1846. March 20. The Northern Supreme Council voted a Patent to Robert Thomas Crucefix of London, England, authorizing him to form a Supreme Council of the 33d degree for England, which he subsequently did.

Oct. 27. Only five members of the old Cerneau United Supreme Council had been attending the annual meetings; they divided the funds in the Treasury *pro rata* among four of them, and "*This date terminated the existence of the body.*"[1]

1846–51. The Southern Supreme Council established a Consistory P. R. S. 32d degree, at Natchez, Mississippi.

1850. The Cerneau body, H. C. Atwood at the head, dropped the name of the United Supreme Council for the Western Hemisphere, and resumed the name of Supreme Council for the United States of America, its Territories, etc.

1851. Jeremy L. Cross, a member of the Southern Supreme Council 33d degree, made M. P. Grand Commander of the *Cerneau* Supreme Council in New York.

The Northern or GOURGAS Supreme Council removed to Boston.

1852. Feb. 2. The Southern Supreme Council established a Consistory of P. R. S. 32 degree at New Orleans, La.

Jeremy L. Cross resigned as M. P. G. Commander of the Cerneau Supreme Council.

1853. July. The Cerneau Supreme Council, New York, reorganized, Henry C. Atwood (an expelled Master Mason) M. P. G. Commander. Officers installed by James Foulhouze of New Orleans. This body issued Charters for Symbolic Lodges in New York.

[1] Folger, p. 227.

1855. Concordat between the Supreme Council of 33d degree Louisiana, CERNEAU, and the Southern Supreme Council; the former disbanded by unanimous vote and the members affiliated in the Southern Supreme Council.

1856. James Foulhouze pretended to "revive" the Sup. Council 33d degree for Louisiana. It was in fraternal exchange and correspondence with the CERNEAU Sup. Council in New York, and in open rebellion against the Grand Lodge of Louisiana, chartering symbolic Lodges, etc.

1860. Henry C. Atwood died. He was succeeded in office by Edmund B. Hays, by appointment from Atwood. The CERNEAU body then had the name Supreme Council for the "Northern Jurisdiction of the Western Hemisphere."

1862. Jan. 23. A Consistory (CERNEAU) organized in Trenton, New Jersey.

May 4. A Consistory (CERNEAU) organized in Boston, Massachusetts.

1863. April 15. The CERNEAU-Hays Supreme Council 33d degree of New York, and the Gourgas-Raymond Northern Supreme Council of Boston, CONSOLIDATED into one body.

1865. October 22. The Cerneau, Hays, Raymond, Robinson consolidated Supreme Council by *unanimous* vote "resumed" the name of "Supreme Council for the Northern Jurisdiction of the United States."

Dec. 13. Edmund B. Hays resigned.

Dec. 14. Harry J Seymour expelled from the Supreme Council.

1866. Dec. 13. Simon W. Robinson declares the United Supreme Council dissolved by *unanimous* vote of the members, and he, with the members of the Cerneau, Hays, Raymond, Robinson Supreme Council, revived the Northern Supreme Council.

1867. May 17. Union of the Cerneau-Hicks-Hays-Gourgas-Raymond-Robinson Northern Supreme Council with the Gourgas-Van Rensselaer Northern Supreme Council. This union brought all Scottish Rite Masonry in the Northern Masonic Jurisdiction under one peaceful fraternal government, and there was peace!

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